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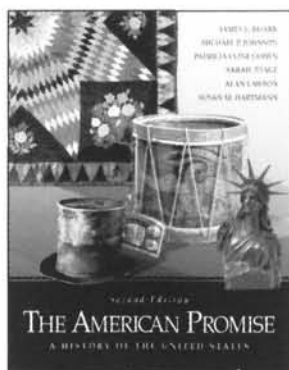
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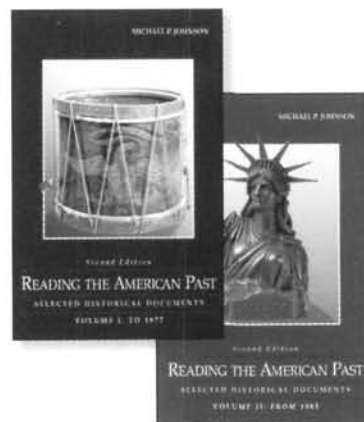
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In This Issue

This issue contains an American Historical Association Presidential Address, two articles, a forum, and a review essay. The presidential address connects the British colonial experience in Southeast Asia with the American presence in Vietnam. The articles analyze female spirituality in medieval Europe and the international context of domesticity in the United States. The *Forum* presents a debate over the revolutionary implications of the invention of printing. And the review essay explores the role of synthesis in contemporary historical scholarship. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Presidential Address

Wm. Roger Louis uses his Presidential Address to reflect on three themes: British imperialism in Southeast Asia in the 1950s and 1960s, the connection between the British colonial experience and the American presence in Vietnam, and the implications of these experiences for our understanding of the ideas of memory, time, and place. His larger intent is to suggest how the 1960s and the debate about the Vietnam War can for the first time be studied in a detached way that produces unexpected insights. He links the themes together by explaining how a sense of moral degeneracy among British colonials in Malaya became indelibly associated with the fall of Singapore to the Japanese in 1942. The memory and pain for the British lived on, he contends, from one generation to the next, just as for Americans the memory and pain of Vietnam have not faded. In addition, he narrates how those memories led the British to help create a stable, independent Malaya first by defeating Communist guerrilla forces and then by promoting independence. Louis goes on to explain the gradual British withdrawal from Southeast Asia and its refusal to participate in the Vietnam conflict. He also compares the British military and political actions of the 1950s to those pursued by the Americans in Vietnam a decade later. Louis's address thus provides a compelling example of the analytical potential of subjecting recent events to historical analysis.

Articles

Dyan Elliott examines the theoretical aims and practical effect of the discourse of spiritual discernment—the ability to discern between divine and diabolical inspi-

ration—for women in late medieval Europe. She maintains that an avid interest in spiritual discernment emerged in response to the rise of female mysticism and prophecy in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, an era of considerable spiritual unrest. And she identifies John Gerson, the chancellor of the University of Paris, as one of the most important writers who attempted to use the discourse of discernment and the procedures of the Inquisition to contain female spirituality by bringing it under clerical control. However, Elliott reveals, when Gerson attempted to defend the divine inspiration of Joan of Arc, he was defeated by the very success of his earlier efforts because his positive assessment of Joan immediately spawned a negative counterpart. This development raised the possibility of two Joans: one divinely and one diabolically inspired. As a result, Elliott concludes, rather than providing a mechanism for distinguishing counterfeit from genuine spirituality, spiritual discernment led to a blurring of boundaries—a confusion that would continue to taint perception of female spirituality. Her article thus provides a vivid and concrete historical example of the incalculable effects of discourse.

Kristin Hoganson challenges conceptions of households as preeminently local spaces by contending that they should be considered instead as points of global encounter. Drawing on government import figures, photographs of household interiors, catalogs, and decoration writings from the end of the United States civil war through World War I, she finds that bourgeois American women eagerly embraced foreign objects and decorating styles. The result, she asserts, was a seeming paradox of cosmopolitan domesticity: its adherents regarded foreignness itself as a decorating objective. Though premised on and conducive to commercial and imperial expansion, Hoganson argues, cosmopolitan domesticity revealed itself to be more receptive to foreign artistic production than to more domestic ones. As a result, the emergence of cosmopolitan domesticity provides a counterpoint to export-oriented historical narratives that emphasize the cultural expansion of the United States in this period. And it demonstrates how bourgeois women as consumers participated in international relations. Consequently, as Hoganson makes clear, cosmopolitan domesticity was more than simply a reflection of expanding international markets; the women who purchased imported goods actively contributed to the globalizing developments of their day. Her article is thus a significant contribution to the internationalization of United States history and to an expanded conception of the history of international relations.

AHR Forum

The *Forum* is a spirited exchange about the nature and meaning of the invention of printing by two historians who have penned pathbreaking books on the subject. **Elizabeth L. Eisenstein** is the author of the seminal 1979 book *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*; **Adrian Johns** wrote the award-winning 1998 volume *The Nature of the Book*. Eisenstein begins the debate by challenging Johns's analysis of early modern printing. She focuses on three main issues: whether or not the standardization that came into play after the widespread adoption of the new

duplicating system meant that print outperformed script and thus the significance of the shift from the latter to the former; the geographic scope of the new technology and particularly the need to take a broad continental perspective rather than focus on one nation; and questions about whether to periodize the “printing revolution” as an event of the fifteenth century or as an evolutionary development whose impact emerged most clearly in the eighteenth. In each case, Eisenstein expresses her reservations about Johns’s study of the advent of printing culture in early modern England. Instead, she sustains her initial contention that the new form of production be considered a print revolution. Johns responds by identifying and analyzing what he considers to be the broader issues at stake in the historiography of the printing revolution in early modern Europe. He highlights his own three major issues: the history and powers of reading practices; the role played by representations of cultural change in shaping such change; and the prime importance of local communities’ perceptions and labors in shaping even the most sweeping historical transformations. He contends that these issues warrant closer attention, and that Eisenstein’s approach, though useful for answering different questions, cannot adequately be used to address them. And Johns insists that there are real advantages to seeing the construction of print as historical in the fullest sense of the word. Thus, he maintains, we need not just a history of other things that is cast in terms of print culture but a cultural history of print itself. Eisenstein ends the *Forum* by reiterating her concerns about the critical role of periodization in understanding the history of printing.

Review Essay

Thomas Bender explains that while questions about the need or dangers of synthesis in the field of history were debates in the 1980s, that discussion was superseded in the 1990s by the publication of a wide range of synthetic histories. He argues that present social, political, and intellectual developments raise new questions for any national synthesis. Bender develops that argument by using examples from United States history to explore different ways of framing narratives and the relation of narrative strategy to the interpretive agenda of these works. He suggests that synthesis is a distinctive and valuable genre that invites its own particular mode of critical examination, distinct from that familiar in reviews of monographs. Ranging widely over historical periods, themes, and methods, Bender raises questions about a number of critical issues: teleology; causation, agency, and subjective meaning; inclusion and exclusion; the possibilities of democracy as a focal point of analysis and narrative; and the place and use of professional history in the broader public culture. He concludes by proposing a frame larger than the nation for synthetic narratives, suggesting that a history of the nation cannot be its own context. With such a larger framing, Bender argues, the study of the United States—or of any other nation or people—is much more effectively historicized, more clearly explained as the product of history.



WM. ROGER LOUIS

Presidential Address
The Dissolution of the British Empire in the
Era of Vietnam

WM. ROGER LOUIS

MY PURPOSE THIS EVENING will be threefold: to reflect on British imperialism in Southeast Asia in the 1950s and 1960s, to establish a connection between the British colonial experience and the American presence in Vietnam, and to pursue the idea of memory, time, and place in the context of those themes.

Following the frequent custom of an AHA presidential address, I begin by commenting on the extraordinary experience of reading former presidential addresses. In 1958, my predecessor Walter Prescott Webb, the only other AHA president from Texas, remarked that presidential addresses were notably solemn occasions, usually without a particle of humor. Since then, wit and humor have been somewhat more conspicuous. I can't match Webb's wit or iconoclasm, but at least I can say that he managed to present an address that ranks, in my judgment, with the best ever delivered, including those by Samuel Eliot Morison, C. Vann Woodward, and Robert R. Palmer, all of whom responded differently to the problem of how to entertain an audience on this annual occasion. It was disconcerting to find that Palmer questioned the utility of it all and wondered whether the tradition should be abandoned. Although I disagree with him, I can see his point, because there is no particular form or set purpose to the presidential address. Some seem to have been born in desperation. Many resemble exemplary scholarly articles, while others in one way or another wrestle with the problems of the AHA. Presidential addresses are frequently autobiographical. They sometimes read like sermons.

I have no intention of delivering a sermon, and I have already written an autobiographical account as well as an assessment of some of the salient problems of the AHA for *Perspectives*.¹ By studying past presidential addresses, I have become painfully aware that the quickest and surest way to make a fool of oneself is to move beyond one's area of specialization, yet I know also that the most certain way to be deadly boring is to stick narrowly to one's own subject. My address tonight will remain mostly within my own domain, the history of the British Empire, principally its dissolution in the 1960s. I'll say a few words more generally about that era, which can now be studied with a measure of emotional detachment that would

¹ "Historians I Have Known," *Perspectives* 39 (May 2001); "The Challenge of the Annual Meeting Program," *Perspectives* 39 (October 2001); "The American Historical Review," *Perspectives* 39 (November 2001).

have been virtually impossible only a few years ago. Perhaps we are beneficiaries not only of distance in time but also more specifically of the end of the Cold War. In any event, to paraphrase John Hope Franklin in his presidential address on the Civil War, it is now possible to study the 1960s without losing ourselves to fire and brimstone.² It would be an exaggeration to place the Vietnam debate within the AHA on the same level as that of the Civil War, but the wounds of the 1960s have been slow to heal.

The Vietnam War is of course within living memory, although it is perhaps worth bearing in mind that it is as remote to our students as World War I was to me as a young assistant professor at Yale in the 1960s. The liquidation of the British Empire is also a matter of the immediate past, especially if one brings the end of it down to the reversion of Hong Kong to China in 1997. My points of concentration in the 1960s will be the legendary naval base and colony, Singapore, and the creation of the state known today as Malaysia, or Greater Malaya. I also mention, as part of the background, Aden and Rhodesia as two other major colonial problems of the 1960s. Aden was the colony and protectorate at the tip of the Arabian peninsula. Some commentators at the time described Aden as Britain's Vietnam—although part of my conclusion will be that Malaysia's confrontation with Indonesia in the mid-1960s was, at least potentially, a much more serious conflict. Rhodesia (today's Zimbabwe) was the breakaway, internally self-governing African colony that in 1965 declared unilateral independence on the model of the United States. Rhodesia held a much more prominent place in British consciousness than did Singapore, Malaysia, or Aden, but all are examples of what has been called the death rattle of British imperialism. In a more general way, my address concerns memory, time, and place, the passions of the 1960s in our collective memory, and the continuity as well as the different shapes of British imperialism in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

Discussing such controversial subjects will force me to take a position, and I shall develop the argument that the events in Vietnam, Singapore, and Malaysia were not merely interconnected but can be studied in such a way as to illuminate the spirit of the age—a deeply anti-imperial age but then as now not without champions of the British imperial mission or, in this country, the American cause in Vietnam. In the 1960s as much perhaps as in any other decade in our national history, some historians believed that they should play an activist role in public affairs, while others held that the job of the historian is to write about the past and to teach the subject of history. Some, indeed many, managed to do both. As William E. Leuchtenburg pointed out in his presidential address in 1991, there is a creative tension between these two positions, but in 1969 this tension nearly burst when the mounting protest against the war in Vietnam came close to politicizing the AHA.³ In 1970, Robert R. Palmer in his presidential address asked the question point blank: "Are we activists or academics?"⁴ The lesson I draw from studying this episode is that the AHA made the right decision by rejecting politicization. I myself

² John Hope Franklin, "Mirror for Americans: A Century of Reconstruction History," *AHR* 85 (February 1980): 14.

³ William E. Leuchtenburg, "The Historian and the Public Realm," *AHR* 97 (February 1992): 17.

⁴ R. R. Palmer, "The American Historical Association in 1970," *AHR* 76 (February 1971): 1.

stand in the camp of C. Vann Woodward, Robert R. Palmer, and William E. Leuchtenburg in believing that eternal vigilance is needed in resisting political pressure and refusing to make the AHA anything other than an association dedicated to the study and teaching of history.

The ideological currents of the Vietnam War and decolonization are at last ebbing, although, as I discovered while working on the *Oxford History of the British Empire*, the controversies of substantive interpretation continue unabated. The purpose of the *OHBE* was to provide a new assessment of that empire from its beginnings. There were some 125 historians who took part in the five-volume project. In its historiographical dimension, we reaffirmed that historical judgment changes dramatically from one generation to the next. Ideological engagement fluctuates in relation to the temper of the times, but the issues of historical controversy remain fairly constant. For example, we had as much difficulty in agreeing on when the empire began as when it ended. Would the point of demarcation be the transoceanic voyages for trade and the establishment of colonies in America or the Anglo-Scottish domination of Ireland? Determining the end of the empire raised similar questions. In the popular view, the empire came clattering down—Winston Churchill’s phrase—in the 1960s, but the withdrawal of all forces east of Suez was not completed until 1971, and the major issue of Rhodesia was not resolved until 1980. The empire continues today in such places as Gibraltar, the Falklands, scattered islands throughout the world, and, some would say, Northern Ireland. I am concerned with the 1960s, but by concentrating on Southeast Asia, or for that matter the Middle East, there is a danger of conveying the impression that the British Empire came to an abrupt end. Like the beginning, the end was complex, and a broader unfolding would begin at least as far back as Indian independence in 1947 and would extend to the present.

In 1968, the U.S. secretary of state, Dean Rusk, commented that he was “profoundly dismayed” by the British intention to evacuate all forces from Southeast Asia and the Middle East. “This represented a major withdrawal of the UK from world affairs, and it was a catastrophic loss to human society. These decisions involved the highest level of judgment and of instinct about where the human family was going. We were facing a difficult period in world affairs and Britain was saying it would not be there.”⁵ His lament, of course, has to be understood in the context of Vietnam, where the United States found little support among Western countries other than Australia and New Zealand. A perceptive British observer of American politics commented: “most Americans feel rather lonely about Vietnam.”⁶ The year 1967 saw the publication of Bertrand Russell’s *War Crimes in Vietnam*, and one British politician commented in retrospect that

⁵ Memorandum of conversation, January 11, 1968, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968: Western Europe*, James E. Miller, ed. (Washington, D.C., 2001), 12: 608.

⁶ N. C. C. Trench to J. E. Cable, Confidential—Guard [Guard = not for American eyes], August 13, 1965, FO 371/180543. (Archival references are to documents at the Public Record Office, London [Kew].) Part of Trench’s job in the British embassy in Washington was to gauge the reaction of the American public to the war. Another official commented: “what the President wants is for a few British soldiers to get killed in Viet Nam along-side the Americans so that their photographs can appear in the American press and demonstrate to American public opinion that the principal ally of the United States is contributing to a joint effort.” Minute by A. M. Palliser, July 28, 1965, FO 371/180543.

"the feeling against the war in Vietnam was so strong that [the] Labour [Party] . . . regarded [it] as the most immoral act since the Holocaust."⁷

Some of our AHA presidents were outspoken about the war in Vietnam, and their views expressed a sense of widespread unease and dismay on the part of the American public. John K. Fairbank, for example, in his address in 1968 described Lyndon Baines Johnson (as an adopted Texan from Oklahoma, I'll take the liberty of referring to him as LBJ) as "a President who talks like a Baptist preacher and who inherited his disaster from a Secretary of State [Dean Rusk] who was also a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church."⁸ That comment was not unrepresentative of British views as well. The British prime minister Harold Wilson was always studiously polite to LBJ, and LBJ in turn referred to Wilson in public as "Shakespeare."⁹ But at other times, Wilson had to endure the president's sanctimonious and earthy invective. Once asked why he put up with it, and why Britain did not take a stronger line against the war in Vietnam, Wilson gave an entirely candid reply: "Because we can't kick our creditors in the balls."¹⁰ In that single crude phrase, he identified the crux of the matter.¹¹ In the 1960s, the United States still propped up the faltering British economy, which in three successive decades had lurched from the convertibility crisis of 1947, to devaluation in 1949, to economic hemorrhage during the Suez emergency in 1956–1957, and again to devaluation in 1967. British trade deficits plunged to their worst level in history in October 1967, the same month as the 50,000-strong march on the Pentagon and antiwar demonstrations throughout the world. On November 28, 1967, the prime minister announced that the pound would be devalued by 14.3 percent to \$2.40.¹² Devaluation, as the British rediscovered, is one of the most serious steps a

⁷ Roy Hattersley, *Fifty Years On: A Prejudiced History of Britain since the War* (London, 1997), 184.

⁸ John K. Fairbank, "Assignment for the '70s," *AHR* 74 (February 1969): 879.

⁹ Or, to place Wilson much more accurately in British political tradition: "he had an almost Gladstonian belief in his own righteousness . . . He was [also] somewhat like David Lloyd George." Chris Wrigley, "Now You See It, Now You Don't: Harold Wilson and Labour's Foreign Policy 1964–70," in R. Cooney, S. Fielding, and N. Tiratsoo, eds., *The Wilson Governments, 1964–1970* (London, 1993), 126–27.

¹⁰ Philip Ziegler, *Wilson: The Authorised Life of Lord Wilson of Rievaulx* (London, 1993), 228–29. The other major biography is Ben Pimlott, *Harold Wilson* (London, 1992). Both biographers assess Wilson favorably though not uncritically. It is useful to bear in mind more severe appraisals, for example: "Wilson was . . . a mediocre but ruthless man . . . The Labour government which Wilson led . . . was immolated morally by its support of a war of atrocity and aggression in Vietnam and immolated politically by its fetishisation of an impossible and illusory position for sterling . . . The price exacted by Lyndon Johnson for support of sterling was that British Labour lent its vanishing prestige to his Indochina adventure. This was and remains a worse historical humiliation even than Suez." Christopher Hitchens, "Say What You Will about Harold," *London Review of Books* (December 2, 1993). See also Clive Ponting, *Breach of Promise: Labour in Power, 1964–1970* (London, 1989). For Wilson's own memoir, see Harold Wilson, *The Labour Government, 1964–1970: A Personal Record* (London, 1971).

¹¹ As did Philip Toynbee in the *New Statesman*, January 5, 1968: "We protest against the government's wretched support for the American crime in Vietnam . . . [But] we are economically dependent on the US. If we incensed the American government either by withdrawing from our East-of-Suez commitments or by condemning the Vietnam war, then the Americans would make it unbearably hot for us economically." Rpt. in Kingsley Amis, ed., *Harold's Years: Impressions from the "New Statesman" and the "Spectator"* (London, 1977), 56–60.

¹² For the background to the decision in both Washington and London, and generally on Anglo-American economic relations in the 1960s, see Diane B. Kunz, *Butter and Guns: America's Cold War Economic Diplomacy* (New York, 1997), chap. 6. Other useful works on Anglo-American relations relevant to my themes are C. J. Bartlett, *"The Special Relationship": A Political History of Anglo-American Relations since 1945* (London, 1992); John Baylis, ed., *Anglo-American Relations since 1939:*

government can take. It not only causes anxiety about inflation and savings but also impinges on national self-esteem. In Britain in 1967, the public mood reflected a general sense of national decline.¹³

The decision to devalue sterling in 1967 merely accelerated a process long under way of liquidating the major remnants of the empire, but the economic crisis gave the impression, then and forever after, of precipitating a scuttle. The minister of defense, Denis Healey, described the defense budget as a “runaway train.” To reduce expenditures and to minimize the danger of holding a military base in Asia, he had already decided in the previous year to close down the Singapore base—not immediately but at some point in the mid-1970s, perhaps in ten years.¹⁴ In mid-1967, these debates on military and colonial retreat took place against the background of momentous events in the Middle East and in the context of possible British entry into the European Common Market. In June, the Six-Day War disrupted the flow of oil and further strained the economy.¹⁵ The members of the British Cabinet now proved to be bitterly divided not only on the liquidation of the empire but also on Europe.¹⁶ Those who took a robust view, not least the prime minister himself, hoped that it might still be possible to transform the defeatist mood of decline and instill a revived sense of national purpose.¹⁷ Regardless of Britain’s future relationship with Europe, might the empire continue to exist in a

The Enduring Alliance (Manchester, 1997); and Alan P. Dobson, *The Politics of the Anglo-American Economic Special Relationship, 1940–1987* (Brighton, 1988).

¹³ For the sense in the American government that “British political culture was permeated by a kind of defeatist and disenchanted apathy,” see John Dumbrell, *The Making of US Foreign Policy* (Manchester, 1990), 224. On the general subject of decline, see Peter Clarke and Clive Trebilcock, eds., *Understanding Decline: Perceptions and Realities of British Economic Performance* (Cambridge, 1997).

¹⁴ See above all Matthew Jones, “A Decision Delayed: Britain’s Withdrawal from South East Asia Reconsidered, 1961–68,” *English Historical Review* (forthcoming, June 2002); Karl Hack, *Defence and Decolonisation in Southeast Asia: Britain, Malaya and Singapore, 1941–1968* (Richmond, Surrey, 2001); and two carefully written and useful articles by Simon J. Ball, “Harold Macmillan and the Politics of Defence,” *Twentieth Century British History* 6, no. 1 (1995); and “Macmillan and British Defence Policy,” in Richard Aldous and Sabine Lee, eds., *Harold Macmillan and Britain’s World Role* (London, 1996). See also C. J. Bartlett, *The Long Retreat: A Short History of British Defence Policy, 1945–70* (London, 1972); Phillip Darby, *British Defence Policy East of Suez, 1947–1968* (Oxford, 1973); M. L. Dockrill, *British Defence since 1945* (Oxford, 1988); and Michael Carver, *Tightrope Walking: British Defence Policy since 1945* (London, 1992).

¹⁵ The Middle Eastern war revived a longstanding analogy, used by the Chinese themselves, about the Chinese of Singapore as “the Jews of Asia . . . Singapore was to become ‘Little Israel,’ a diminutive, bellicose, indigestible socialist state bracketed by the bigger, predominantly Muslim sister-nations of Malaysia and Indonesia.” Dennis Bloodworth, *An Eye for the Dragon: Southeast Asia Observed, 1954–1986* (Singapore, 1987), 306. In October 1967, the government of Singapore recruited Israeli military advisers (under the official designation of “Mexican agricultural advisers”) to train the armed forces. See T. J. S. George, *Lee Kuan Yew’s Singapore* (London, 1973), 170. “Singapore’s decision to follow the Israeli pattern . . . suggested that the confrontation between the Chinese of Singapore and the non-Chinese of neighbouring countries was similar to that between the Jews and the Arabs” (p. 170).

¹⁶ See John Darwin, “Britain’s Withdrawal from East of Suez,” in Carl Bridge, ed., *Munich to Vietnam: Australia’s Relations with Britain and the United States since the 1930s* (Melbourne, 1991).

¹⁷ Roy Jenkins, chancellor of the Exchequer from 1967 to 1970, recalls the pro-empire members of the Cabinet as “worthy of a conclave of Joseph Chamberlain, Kitchener of Khartoum and George Nathaniel Curzon.” In 1967, their counterparts would have been George Thompson (Commonwealth secretary), Denis Healey (minister of defense), and George Brown (foreign secretary)—although Jenkins, alas, did not make direct individual comparisons. Roy Jenkins, *A Life at the Centre* (London, 1991), 224–25.

new or informal guise extending in an eastward arc from Britain to Aden to Singapore?

BRITISH SWAY IN THE MALAYAN PENINSULA can be traced to Stamford Raffles and the founding of a trading settlement at Singapore in 1819, but since my subject deals in part with living or collective memory, I take as my point of departure the *Malaya* of Somerset Maugham, who was to Malaya as Rudyard Kipling was to India. In Maugham's *Malaya* of the interwar years, Singapore society was orderly, stable, and calm on the surface but rotten underneath. British civil servants as well as the owners of the rubber plantations often led dissolute lives of drink, gambling, horses, and womanizing.¹⁸ Though a caricature, the notion of moral degeneracy became indelibly associated with the fall of Singapore to Japanese forces on the 15th of February 1942.¹⁹ The sense of ethical decadence or culpability lived on from one generation to the next. Sir Arthur de la Mare, a British official who at one stage of the Vietnam War presided over the South-East Asia Department of the British Foreign Office, reflected late in his career that Singapore exerted a strange fascination at once attractive and repellent, attractive because of its "vigour, industry, bustle and thrust," repellent "because I am reminded of the shame of 1942." He emphasized the word "shame" in a passage describing the sense of guilt at the worst military defeat in British history.

[E]very day I am reminded of the shame of 1942. It was as a diplomatic prisoner in Japan that, on my birthday, I heard of Singapore's surrender. Mercifully for all of us held captive in the enemy's capital we were then too numbed and too uninformed to realise that what had taken place was not only an appalling military disaster but the most shameful disgrace in Britain's imperial history.

It was only later that we heard of the irresolution, the incompetence and the bungling of those charged here [Singapore] with the duty of defending not merely Britain's military interests, but her very name. One may or may not regret the passing of Empire but no loyal British subject living in Singapore can forget that it was here that the hollowness of the imperial ethos was so cruelly and so shamefully exposed.²⁰

¹⁸ As a corrective to Maugham's *Malaya*, see especially T. N. Harper, chap. 1, "The Passing of the Somerset Maugham Era," in *The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya* (Cambridge, 1999). For the African equivalent, see Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London, 1992). The closest Asian parallel is that of Shanghai. See Robert Bickers, "Shanghaianders: The Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai 1843–1937," *Past and Present* 159 (May 1998).

¹⁹ There is an abundant and ever-growing literature on the fall of Singapore. For important recent essays, see Malcolm H. Murfett, *et al.*, eds., *Between Two Oceans: A Military History of Singapore from First Settlement to Final British Withdrawal* (Singapore, 1999); and Christopher M. Bell, "The 'Singapore Strategy' and the Deterrence of Japan: Winston Churchill, the Admiralty and the Dispatch of Force Z," *English Historical Review* 116 (June 2001).

²⁰ De la Mare to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, October 2, 1970, FCO 24/885. Those were stern words, and de la Mare regretted equally the signs of hedonism in the postcolonial Singapore of the early 1970s. It is thus ironic that today's Singapore not only bears the permanent features of Britain's architectural legacy, with the Raffles Hotel, for example, restored to a degree of garishness and luxury that Somerset Maugham would have found virtually unrecognizable, but also that the government of Singapore enforces a severe disciplinary code for the abuse of drugs and in general a certain puritanical standard of behavior. Lee Kuan Yew (prime minister of Singapore from 1959 to 1990), once commented on three hippies whose hair had been cut off by Singapore police: "Things like

I have quoted de la Mare's lamentation at length because it is an interesting merger of memory, time, and place. Some three decades after the fall of Singapore, the memory and the pain for the British remained as vivid as ever, just as for us three decades after Vietnam the memory and the pain have not faded. In a different way, the events of September 11 will influence our interpretation of earlier historical episodes. In the cases of Singapore and Vietnam, collective memory became legend or myth—which in a positive sense can inspire imaginative understanding of the past. But myth also obscures the historical reality.

Memory, time, and place. Two of my subjects are Singapore since 1942 and Malaya's independence in 1957 leading to the later creation of Malaysia. According to the heroic rendition, the British after 1945 redeemed themselves for the fall of Singapore by resolution, selfless dedication, and hard work. During the insurrection of 1948–1960 known as the "Emergency," the British defeated Communist guerrilla forces, they developed the rubber and tin industries to make Malaya a significant part of the world economy as well as a vital component of Britain's postwar economic recovery, and they built both the infrastructure and the polity of a modern nation.²¹ In this version of history, the British thus fulfilled their dual mandate to develop Malaya for the benefit of the indigenous peoples as well as for the British themselves.²² This is a myth that cries out for reassessment. The British had not come to Malaya, in the words of a recent historian, "to collect butterflies."²³

In the 1950s, the British were confronted with insurgency, which provided the motivation to build a unified state and to attempt the reconciliation of the indigenous Malays with the Malaysian Chinese. Bear in mind these round figures. In 1957, Malaya was a country with a population of 6 million and an area of 50,000 square miles, about one-fifth the size of Texas. The island of Singapore had a population of nearly 1.5 million, more than twice the population of Houston at that time! Singapore's population was predominantly—three-fourths—Chinese. In the 1960s, the British feared that Singapore might become a Chinese Cuba. How, then, did the British manage to defeat the Communist insurgents so efficiently that Malaya became a textbook case for the Americans in Vietnam, to create a political union of the patchwork of Malay states strong enough to endure after independence in 1957, and to resolve, if only by acquiescence, the problem of Singapore?

In answering those questions, it helps to deploy the fertile concept of the "colonial state," which like Thomas Hobbes's Leviathan set out to raise taxes, suppress revolt, defend the frontiers, and forge a unified economic and political structure.²⁴ All of this amounted to one of the most ambitious state-building

this happen in the best of places. If any embarrassment has been caused, we can send them three wigs. We make wigs here." Quoted in Thomas J. Bellows, "Big Fish, Small Pond," *Wilson Quarterly* 7 (Winter 1983): 80. See also Bellows, *The People's Action Party of Singapore: Emergence of a Dominant Party System* (New Haven, Conn., 1970).

²¹ For a careful examination of the extent to which the insurrection was inspired or led by Communists, see A. J. Stockwell, "'Widespread and Long-Concocted Plot to Overthrow Government in Malaya'? The Origins of the Malayan Emergency," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 21 (September 1993).

²² On this theme, see Robert Heussler, *British Rule in Malaya, 1942–57* (Singapore, 1983).

²³ Harper, *End of Empire and the Making of Malaya*, 58.

²⁴ See especially Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (New Haven, Conn., 1994); for the colonial Leviathan, Ronald Hyam, "The British Empire in the Edwardian

projects in the postwar era. From 1945 to 1949, the British pumped into Malaya's economic development £86 million in grants and loans, a huge amount in view of the Labour government's scarce resources. Malayan rubber and tin production reached record heights at the time of the Korean War. The rubber and tin boom brought windfall revenues to finance the war against the guerrilla insurgents.²⁵ Malaya was the top producer of the world's rubber, with rubber plantations covering two-thirds of the colony's cultivated soil, although its position as a ranking supplier of rubber eroded later in the decade.²⁶ Malaya in the 1950s also provided half the world's tin. Malaya's economy boomed, while Singapore made major leaps forward as a thriving trade and manufacturing entrepôt. The numbers of people employed by the Malayan government increased from 48,000 in 1948 to 140,000 a decade later.²⁷ This was state-building with a vengeance, but Singapore remained apart as a separate colony.

As a consequence of 1942–1945 wartime planning, the Colonial Office after the war had detached Singapore from Malaya as an autonomous colony with its own governor. There was an underlying logic in this decision. In a merger with Malaya, Singapore, as an extremely populous and predominantly Chinese city, would intensify Malay suspicions of a Chinese takeover of Malaya itself. On the other hand, Singapore as a separate colony might remain forever under British paramountcy as an impregnable military and naval fortress. Commercially, it might become a Hong Kong of the south. Yet there was a counter logic. Singapore was a city “as large in relation to the country as a whole as London is in relation to the United Kingdom.”²⁸ Keeping the city separate was no more reasonable than sealing off London from the rest of Britain. Economically, socially, and geographically, Singapore was an integral part of the Malayan peninsula. A causeway joined it to the mainland by road and rail. The two contradictory patterns of logic eventually intersected. The colony would develop autonomously, but later on—assuming Singapore did not remain a permanent British colony—it might form part of a federation with Malaya. This idea could be traced to the 1940s or earlier, and then as later it seemed to be a compelling vision: “a substantial block of territories with Singapore as its centre of trade and communication . . . [possessing] a potential

Era,” in Judith Brown and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 58–61.

²⁵ See Richard Stubbs, “The Malayan Emergency and the Development of the Malaysian State,” in Paul B. Rich and Richard Stubbs, eds., *The Counter-Insurgent State: Guerrilla Warfare and State Building in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1997).

²⁶ See especially Nicholas J. White, *Business, Government, and the End of Empire: Malaya, 1942–1957* (Kuala Lumpur, 1996), which portrays the vulnerability or fragility of the Malayan economy and the ambivalent relations between business and government. For the modernization of the rubber industry in the 1950s, see Martin Rudner, “Malayan Rubber Policy: Development and Anti-Development during the 1950s,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 7 (September 1976).

²⁷ Richard Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency, 1948–1960* (Singapore, 1989), 263. This number included some 500 former members of the Palestine Police, who helped to transform the Malayan police into an effective paramilitary force. See A. J. Stockwell, “Policing during the Malayan Emergency, 1948–60: Communism, Communalism, and Decolonisation,” in David M. Anderson and David Killingray, eds., *Policing and Decolonisation: Politics, Nationalism, and the Police, 1917–65* (Manchester, 1992).

²⁸ Minute by Sydney Caine, December 1, 1943, in A. J. Stockwell, ed., *Malaya, British Documents on the End of Empire, Series B, 3 vols.* (London, 1995), 1: 63. The British documentary series (BDEEP) is indispensable for all aspects of British colonial history since 1945.

strength which would offer promise of economic and political development.”²⁹ Virtually no one in the 1940s or 1950s anticipated Singapore’s future as an independent city-state. The general sentiment in the city could be summed up in the words of a contemporary Singaporean verdict: “Nobody in his senses believes that Singapore alone, in isolation, can be independent.”³⁰ In 1959, Singapore became self-governing, but the British retained rights to the base as well as control over foreign affairs and internal security.

In the 1950s, British forces in Malaya had fought a bitter and ultimately successful war against the insurgents by regrouping some 500,000 rural Chinese into “new villages” where the British attempted to win “hearts and minds.” This is a phrase that Americans associate with Vietnam, but it had its origins in Malaya with General Sir Gerald Templer.³¹ To mobilize the totality of the colonial state against the insurgents, Templer was given plenipotentiary military and civil powers unparalleled, so it was reiterated in the 1950s, since Oliver Cromwell and the English civil wars of the seventeenth century.³² Templer’s unrelenting drive and ruthless efficiency contributed to the defeat of the Communist guerrilla forces and also to the construction of a powerful, unitary state. This was not without certain comic interludes. Once when addressing the Chinese inhabitants of one of the new villages, Templer said: “You are all bastards.” The Chinese interpreter translated: “his excellency says none of your parents were married.” Templer: “And I can be a bastard too.” Chinese interpreter: “his excellency says his parents were also unmarried.”³³

During the 1950s, the infrastructure of Malaya grew to include airfields, roads, bridges, and canals extending into remote parts of the country, along with radio networks, power lines, and electrification. In this complex process, war and economic development forged a new sense of national identity. The British anticipated the rapid growth of Malayan nationalism. In the mid-1950s, when they assessed the prospect of the movement for independence veering out of control, they decided to yield to moderate nationalist demands before it was too late. By granting—or yielding to—the independence of Malaya in 1957, the British avoided the fate of the Dutch in Indonesia and the French in Indochina.

The British were able to defeat the Communist guerrillas primarily because the full force of the colonial state could be brought to bear on the insurgents—in contrast with Vietnam, where the United States was not the colonial master and could only exert, in the phrase of the day, leverage rather than control.³⁴ The winning of hearts and minds in the reconstructed villages in Malaya did actually

²⁹ Quotation from a 1942 Colonial Office document in A. J. Stockwell, “Colonial Planning during World War II: The Case of Malaya,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 2 (May 1974): 338.

³⁰ Quoted in C. M. Turnbull, *A History of Singapore, 1819–1988*, 2d edn. (Singapore, 1989), 267.

³¹ See Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare*.

³² “With the powers of a Cromwell at his disposal, he often looked like the Lord Protector, albeit in his English rather than his Irish role.” Anthony Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948–1960* (New York, 1975), 386. Short’s book is the classic work on the insurgency. For the military campaign, see especially Richard L. Clutterbuck, *The Long Long War: Counterinsurgency in Malaya and Vietnam* (New York, 1966).

³³ Heussler, *British Rule in Malaya*, 186.

³⁴ For other critical differences, including those of geography and ethnic composition of the two countries, and for comparisons as far afield as Algeria and the Congo, Clutterbuck’s *Long Long War* is unconventional and useful despite its insistent Cold War tone.

occur, because it was undertaken—in British self-interest—as a sustained, dedicated effort that held out promise for a better life to the rural inhabitants. This vast experiment in social engineering secured improved living conditions, local representation, and, above all, legal entitlement to the land. Nevertheless, the lessons from Malaya's social revolution were difficult to apply to the very different circumstances of Vietnam, even though the Americans tried hard to do so by studying closely the British methods of counterinsurgency as well as the techniques and aims in reconstructing rural villages.

IN THE EARLY 1960s, the British worked in concert with the Malayan prime minister, the Tunku (Prince) Abdul Rahman, to achieve a federation of "Greater Malaysia."³⁵ The motivation was in part the preoccupation of coping with the increasing instability and radicalism of Singapore. On the left of Singapore's political spectrum, there was articulate and stalwart sympathy for the People's Republic of China—Communist China. The British saw the danger of subversion in the active and well-organized trade unions. Federation with Malaya seemed to be the answer, in a narrow sense because internal security would be controlled from the capital at Kuala Lumpur. In a wider sense, there were other significant issues. Federations were the grand design of the 1950s and 1960s, in the Middle East, Africa, and the Caribbean as well as Southeast Asia. Larger territorial units, in this case Malaysia, would be more economically viable than fragmented pieces of empire such as Singapore, which represented the type of "micro-state," as they became known, that everyone wanted to avoid.

The plan for a greater Malaysian federation included not only Singapore but territories in neighboring Borneo to balance the ratio of Malays to Chinese. The Malays were thus to be reassured that the Chinese would not outnumber them. Malay suspicion of the Chinese, however, could not be overcome. Just as the Africans in the Central African Federation had been apprehensive of the supremacy of the white settlers, so the Malays feared dominance by the Chinese, whatever the numerical proportion.³⁶ The Chinese for their part resented their treatment, at least on the mainland, as second-class citizens who had a restricted right to vote and who bore the brunt of a different scale of taxation. Just as the Malays saw themselves as an ethnic group who by kinship and sentiment were related to the peoples of Indonesia and the greater Malay world of Southeast Asia, so the Chinese of Singapore were conscious of their cultural heritage, although they were bitterly divided on the issue of whether or not Singapore should defy the West and turn to Communist China. The British high commissioner in Malaysia summed up this complex society in a manner hardly profound yet nevertheless revealing of the

³⁵ See Matthew Jones, *Conflict and Confrontation in South East Asia, 1961–1965: Britain, the United States and the Creation of Malaysia* (Cambridge, 2002), a major new work on which I have relied for my own interpretation. See also especially S. J. Ball, "Selkirk in Singapore," *Twentieth Century British History* 10, no. 2 (1999). For the Tunku in Malaysian politics, see Mohamed Noordin Sopiee, *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation: Political Unification in the Malaysia Region, 1945–65* (Kuala Lumpur, 1974).

³⁶ See especially Albert Lau, *A Moment of Anguish: Singapore in Malaysia and the Politics of Disengagement* (Singapore, 1998).

British perception: "Right-wing Chinese hate Left-wing Chinese, Malays are frightened of Chinese, and the Left-wing Malays dislike the Tunku's régime."³⁷

Two dominant but conflicting visions of Malaysia became apparent in the ambitions of the Tunku Abdul Rahman—known universally to the British simply as "the Tunku"—and the politician who emerged as the leader of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew. The Tunku cultivated a reputation for having the "Edwardian outlook" of an Anglicized Malay of an older generation. In a way, the Tunku was to Malaya as Britain's Harold Macmillan was to his country. The British came to regard the Tunku as a comrade-in-arms, the "brown brother" often sought as a collaborator but seldom found. But he was not a stooge. He sometimes gave the impression of being out of his depth in dealing with the highly intelligent Lee Kuan Yew, but in fact the Tunku knew what he wanted and tenaciously stuck to his goals. Sometimes charming and ebullient, at other times pugnacious and emotional, he aimed to incorporate Singapore into a greater Malaysia to prevent the city from gravitating into the orbit of Communist China.³⁸ But there were great risks. With Singapore and Malaya united, the Chinese would outnumber the Malays. Thus the Tunku planned to include the three British territories on the island of Borneo—Brunei, Sarawak, and North Borneo—to preserve a non-Chinese majority.³⁹ The Tunku also insisted on a precondition for the new state of Malaysia. He wanted the leaders of the radical left-wing opposition of the Barisan Sosialis (the Socialist Front) and other political enemies in Singapore to be jailed indefinitely. This demand for repressive action caused some soul searching on the part of the British. The evidence for subversive activity was slender or nonexistent, nor did the British believe that there was any immediate danger of a Communist takeover. But they agreed eventually to the lock-up.⁴⁰

Lee Kuan Yew had studied law at Cambridge. He was tough-mannered and clear-minded. The characteristic British view was that personally he demonstrated

³⁷ Lord Head to Commonwealth Relations Office, December 11, 1963, FO 371/175065.

³⁸ The following passage well reflects both the contemporary and retrospective British view of the Tunku, who served as prime minister of Malaya from 1957 to 1963 and of Malaysia from 1963 to 1970: "The Tunku was straightforward, steady and slow . . . No one could have survived in office for so long without political skills of the highest order . . . Perhaps it was the fact that many of them [the British] looked down on him intellectually—he always consulted the racing calendar before agreeing to an official engagement—that made them so fond of him." Brian Lapping, *End of Empire* (London, 1985), 188–90.

³⁹ The population of the territories were Brunei, 118,000 (mainly Malay); Sarawak, 750,000 (130,000 Malay, 230,000 Chinese, plus 238,000 Sea Dyaks [Ibans] and 58,000 Land Dyaks); and North Borneo, 450,000, including 104,000 Chinese and the rest indigenous peoples. The total Chinese population of the Borneo territories was calculated generally as less than 350,000. In round figures, the Chinese in the new federation of Malaysia would be 3.7 million and would be outnumbered by 4 million Malays. In dealing with these nominal and, in the case of Borneo, highly hypothetical figures, Lee Kuan Yew preferred a calculation that would establish an equal number of 4 million Chinese and 4 million Malays. But in any estimate, the additional Indians, indigenous peoples, and others would constitute a non-Chinese majority.

For North Borneo (Sabah), see M. H. Baker, *Sabah: The First Ten Years as a Colony, 1946–1956* (Singapore, 1965); for Sarawak, Vernon L. Porritt, *British Colonial Rule in Sarawak, 1946–1963* (Kuala Lumpur, 1997); for Brunei, Donald E. Brown, *Brunei: The Structure and History of a Bornean Malay Sultanate* (Brunei, 1970); and David Leake, Jr., *Brunei: The Modern Southeast-Asian Islamic Sultanate* (Jefferson, N.C., 1989).

⁴⁰ See Matthew Jones, "Creating Malaysia: Singapore Security, the Borneo Territories, and the Contours of British Policy, 1961–63," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 28 (May 2000).

“no warmth, humanity or humour.”⁴¹ Publicly, he was a “firebrand.”⁴² Although the British regarded him as habitually cold and ruthless—and with none of the Tunku’s sentimental attachment to Britain—Lee Kuan Yew had a genuine dedication to building a new state of Malaysia that would be based on absolute equality between Chinese and Malays. The Tunku, on the other hand, viewed the new state essentially as an extension of Malaya with the built-in system or tradition of privilege and class distinctions.⁴³ Lee and the Tunku mistrusted each other. The Tunku believed that Lee aimed eventually to become prime minister of Malaysia, and Lee thought that the Tunku wanted to replace him, perhaps subversively. Nevertheless, an uneasy but indispensable partnership emerged in the early 1960s to build the new state. Lee saw no less acutely than did the Tunku that it would be to their mutual advantage to imprison the ringleaders of the political opposition, including the key left-wing activists of the Barisan Sosialis.

The pretext for the lock-up came, in Lee Kuan Yew’s phrase, as a “heaven-sent opportunity” provided in the form of an insurrection in one of the three Borneo territories.⁴⁴ In December 1962, a rebellion broke out in the oil-rich protectorate of Brunei. It was quickly suppressed. Its origins had little to do with political unrest in Singapore but rather with the unpopularity of the local sultan and the attempt to overthrow British rule in favor of union with Indonesia. Both the Tunku and Lee claimed that the insurrection in Brunei would lead to trouble in Sarawak and North Borneo. The revolt in turn would spread to Malaya and Singapore. The British government in London now authorized the arrests in Singapore urged by the Tunku and Lee. In February 1963, some two dozen members of the Barisan Sosialis and over a hundred other suspects were imprisoned.⁴⁵ During the same period, the prime minister himself, Harold Macmillan, took the initiative in overriding Colonial Office objections to pressing the Borneo territories into the new federation. The Colonial Office believed that the peoples of Borneo would be compelled to join

⁴¹ Minute by T. J. Bligh reporting the views of the British commissioner-general for Southeast Asia, Lord Selkirk, Secret, May 16, 1962, PREM 11/3735. C. Northcote Parkinson, the distinguished historian of the British Empire and also the inventor of Parkinson’s Law—in this case that footnotes in presidential addresses usually fill the amount of space allocated to them and then some—once wrote of Lee: “Utterly without charm, his expression is one of barely concealed contempt for his opponents, for his followers, perhaps for himself . . . One cannot imagine that . . . he is even capable of friendship.” Parkinson, *A Law unto Themselves: Twelve Portraits* (London, 1966), 174. This is a harsh judgment, but it reveals a certain strain of British opinion. Harold Wilson on the other hand got on well with Lee and admired his intellectual sophistication. (Wilson, *Labour Government*, for example, 195.) Lee’s own autobiography is remarkably charitable and, on the whole, honest. Though silent on certain points, it clearly reveals that his passion was the building of Singapore. *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew* (Singapore, 1998).

⁴² So described by Sir Robert Scott (commissioner-general in Southeast Asia, 1955–1959), quoted in John Drysdale, *Singapore: Struggle for Success* (London, 1984), 148.

⁴³ For his own rather fragmented autobiographical account, which throughout emphasizes horse racing, football, the virtues of the Malayan aristocracy, and the general theme that “we in Malaysia are among the happiest people in the world,” see Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-haj, *Looking Back: Monday Musings and Memories* (Kuala Lumpur, 1977), 332. Beneath the platitudes lay a shrewd grasp of Malaysian politics. Lee’s contempt for the Tunku as a man whose purpose in life was “to preserve the orchid from wilting” was a radical misperception. George, *Lee Kuan Yew’s Singapore*, 167.

⁴⁴ See Jones, “Creating Malaysia.”

⁴⁵ They included Lim Chin Siong, the spokesman of the Chinese working class of Singapore and a vital figure in the opposition. See T. N. Harper, “Lim Chin Siong and the ‘Singapore Story,’” in Tan Jing Quee and Jomo K. S., eds., *Comet in Our Sky: Lim Chin Siong in History* (Kuala Lumpur, 2001). This is a seminal essay.

before they were sufficiently ready to determine their own future. To use Macmillan's own phrase, Malaysia was very much a "shotgun wedding."⁴⁶ Brunei remained apart, but Sarawak and North Borneo were fused into the union. In September 1963, the new state of Malaysia was born.

At this point, it is worth bearing in mind the British purpose in helping to create Malaysia. The federation would be more viable than the individual units, but there were other basic reasons. One immediate purpose was to prevent a Communist takeover in Singapore. Another aim was colonial and military withdrawal. By incorporating Sarawak and North Borneo (Sabah) as well as Singapore in an independent state, the British era of colonial rule in Southeast Asia would virtually be brought to an end.⁴⁷ Though not entirely dismantled (a few units might stay on), the Singapore base would be closed down, thus relieving an immense strain on the British defense budget and averting the danger, at some point in the future, of a possible clash with a radical socialist or revolutionary regime in Singapore. Immediately after the launching of the new state, however, Malaysia came into conflict with Indonesia in what was known as "confrontation" in the jungles of Borneo. The British also feared Indonesian raids on the Malayan peninsula itself.⁴⁸ The British now deployed forces on behalf of the nation of Malaysia, a country of 8 million, against Indonesia, a country of 100 million. Some 50,000 British, Malaysian, and Australian soldiers eventually fought in jungle theaters, backed up by one-third of the British fleet. Along with the campaign in Aden, the Indonesian conflict in Borneo was one of two ferocious colonial campaigns that the British fought at the same time that the Americans waged war in Vietnam. Far from resolving Britain's colonial and military problems in Southeast Asia, the new federation intensified them.

From the American vantage point, the creation of Malaysia seemed to be a dangerous venture from the beginning. Sukarno, the charismatic leader of Indonesia and hero of the revolution against the Dutch, put forward irredentist claims to the British Borneo colonies as lost provinces of the homeland.⁴⁹ He denounced the new state as an artificial construction of British "neo-colonialism."⁵⁰ There was

⁴⁶ See Ronald Hyam and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The Conservative Government and the End of Empire, 1957-1964*, British Documents on the End of Empire, Series A, 2 vols. (London, 2000), 1: lviii-lx, 718-49. See also especially Nicholas Tarling, *The Fall of Imperial Britain in South-East Asia* (Singapore, 1993), 199-201.

⁴⁷ The British Protectorate in Brunei continued until 1984, when Brunei became an independent sultanate within the Commonwealth. North Borneo in 1963 was renamed Sabah.

⁴⁸ See John Subritzky, *Confronting Sukarno: British, American, Australian and New Zealand Diplomacy in the Malaysian-Indonesian Confrontation, 1961-5* (London, 2000); Greg Poulgrain, *The Genesis of Konfrontasi: Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, 1945-1965* (London, 1998); and J. A. C. Mackie, *Konfrontasi: The Indonesia-Malaysia Dispute, 1963-1966* (Kuala Lumpur, 1974).

⁴⁹ The balanced and judicious study by J. D. Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography* (London, 1972), repays re-reading in this context. For example, from the Indonesian perspective: "In social terms Malaya, with no revolution to launch her into the modern world, appeared a conservative, aristocratic country as compared with Indonesia's radical nationalism. Symbolizing this difference of temperament was the personal contrast between the Tengku [the Tunku] and Sukarno—the English-trained, racehorse-owning, Malay prince and the Jacobin leader drawn from the lower aristocracy of Java and trained through the long struggle against Dutch rule" (p. 364).

⁵⁰ The considered definition of neo-colonialism by the Foreign Office is of interest: "that the West will seek to recapture by economic means the predominance which it once held by arms" (Foreign Office memorandum, May 5, 1961, FO 371/161230). Note also the carefully constructed definition of "anti-colonialism" by Sir Robert Scott, who had served in China before becoming commissioner-

some sympathy for the Indonesian point of view in Washington, in part because turmoil in Indonesia might lead to the takeover of the American oil companies Caltex and Stanvac with some \$500 million worth of holdings in the country. On the other hand, American goodwill toward Sukarno was tempered by his dependence on the powerful Indonesian Communist Party (the PKI) for support. He now moved to forge closer ties with Beijing. In the British view, the traditional American attitude toward Indonesia could be summed up in a few words: "to keep the largest country in the area non-Communist even if quasi Fascist."⁵¹ By the summer and autumn of 1965, however, it was by no means clear that Sukarno could continue to master tempestuous economic and political challenges to his rule, whether fascist or veering toward Communism. Sukarno's aim to "smash Malaysia" had international origins as a confrontation with the British, but it was above all a domestic crisis in which his political skills in balancing the PKI against the army were being tested to the ultimate degree. The army supported Sukarno in the initial stage of the confrontation crisis but, in September 1965, turned against him. Neither the British nor the Americans, of course, could anticipate the outcome, but both eventually had good reason to be pleased with the emergence of the army as the decisively dominant force and with the ruthless destruction of the Communist Party and its followers.

Preoccupied not only with Vietnam but also other matters such as arms control and European affairs, the John F. Kennedy administration wanted as little trouble as possible in Indonesia. The creation of Malaysia threatened to destabilize the entire region by bringing the Western powers including Australia into a major war over Borneo that might end in the disintegration not only of Malaysia but of Indonesia itself. When LBJ became president after Kennedy's assassination in 1963, he took a much tougher line toward Sukarno, who, the president believed, was an expansionist, aggressive, bombastic, unstable, and dangerous dictator. He agreed with the British that Sukarno was an Asian Hitler. But Johnson, too, was preoccupied with Vietnam. He resented the British lack of support in Vietnam, and at the same time he did not want to provoke Indonesia, the largest Muslim country in the world, into open opposition to the United States. In a moment of anger, he told Harold Wilson that the United States would take care of Vietnam and the British would have to look after Malaysia. "I won't tell you how to run Malaysia and you don't tell us how to run Vietnam."⁵²

One detects a sense of British desperation in the archival records. The British earnestly warned that the Indonesian conflict could prove to be much more serious

general of Southeast Asia: "It is a frame of mind, resentment at patronage, resentment at fancied Western assumptions of superiority whether in social status or culture, reaction to the Western impact on Asia in the past centuries. This frame of mind, expressed in terms of opposition to Western control or interference, explains the paradox of 'anti-colonialism' in countries that have never been colonies, directed against countries that have never had them. Americans are sometimes baffled to find that Asian sentiment towards Britain, the greatest colonial power of all, is apt to be more cordial than towards the United States despite their remarkable record of generosity and altruism in dealings with Asia." Scott to Macmillan, Secret, November 13, 1959, FO 371/143732.

⁵¹ Minute by J. O. Wright, January 22, 1964, PREM 11/4906. Wright was private secretary to the prime minister, later ambassador in Washington from 1982 to 1986.

⁵² Record of telephone conversation, February 11, 1965, PREM 13/692. Wilson, *Labour Government*, 80.

than the war in Vietnam. They needed American support. One comment, made later in the context of Vietnam, applied just as well to Indonesia: Michael Palliser—who eventually rose to the position of permanent under-secretary in the Foreign Office—stated: “we have . . . opened our hearts” to the Americans.⁵³ Sentiment counts for little in international politics, but in this case the British used every argument available to drive home their commitment to Malaysia. They pleaded with some cogency that, in relation to national resources, the number of British troops in Borneo compared favorably to the number of U.S. military advisers in Vietnam. By late 1964, there were already 8,000 British troops in Borneo and 20,000 on the Malaysian mainland. Borneo, or Malaysia itself, had the potential of becoming to Britain what Vietnam was to the United States.

After the beginning of the confrontation, Indonesian mobs in September 1963 had sacked the British embassy in Djakarta.⁵⁴ On a note of defiant contempt, the Scottish military attaché marched up and down during the assault playing bagpipes—to the Indonesians, an intolerable act of British colonial arrogance. In Kuala Lumpur, the Tunku urged the British to counterattack Indonesia in the outer islands, thereby sparking anti-Sukarno sentiment throughout the country and breaking up Indonesia itself.⁵⁵ In this early part of the conflict, the British were of two minds. They could not commit themselves to full-scale or even formal war without running the risk of bankrupting their own economy, not to mention the problem of explaining to a skeptical British public the need for all-out war over Borneo. In 1964, things began to turn in favor of the British. LBJ swung increasingly against Sukarno. Sukarno himself denounced the United States as well as Britain with shrill and extravagant rhetoric. In August, Indonesian raids reached islands off the Malaysian peninsula. According to a British assessment in October 1964, “Events and Sukarno’s own actions have moved the Americans a long way in the last few months without much assistance from us.”⁵⁶

In March 1965, a month after the United States began bombing North Vietnamese military and industrial targets in the operation called “Rolling Thunder,” LBJ committed himself—so the former British foreign secretary, Patrick Gordon Walker, believed—to the British position against Indonesia. Gordon Walker wrote: “at the end of the day, should it become necessary, he [Johnson] would be ready for major war against Indonesia if she raises the stakes too high. *This is most confidential.*”⁵⁷ Gordon Walker got the gist of Johnson’s views indirectly through Dean Rusk, and probably the account became exaggerated in the

⁵³ Minute by Palliser, March 18, 1966, FO 371/185917.

⁵⁴ The British ambassador commented on the destruction of his automobile, a Leyland “Princess”: “The charred corpse of my poor old Princess is causing an elegant traffic-jam.” The prime minister minuted: “I hope the historian will not misunderstand this . . .” Minute by Macmillan on Djakarta to Foreign Office, September 17, 1963, PREM 11/4310.

⁵⁵ The Tunku had expansionist aims of his own. Malay ties of kinship extended to Indonesia. He believed that the Sumatran and other Malay rulers in Indonesia would welcome intervention and that they would spontaneously join their “Malayan cousins” to bring about “an all-embracing Federation of all the Malaysian countries.” Jones, *Conflict and Confrontation*, 214.

⁵⁶ O. G. Forster to Foreign Office, October 21, 1964, FO 371/176454.

⁵⁷ Record of conversation, Secret, March 6, 1965, PREM 13/693. Robert Pearce, ed., *Patrick Gordon Walker: Political Diaries 1932–1971* (London, 1991), 303–04. Gordon Walker had been foreign secretary for two months (November–December 1964) before resigning after the loss of his parliamentary seat in a by-election the following January.

telling.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, this was an explosive conflict that has largely been lost sight of in the overall context of Vietnam. It bears emphasizing that the United States might have lent support to Britain in a catastrophic war against Indonesia if Sukarno had not followed a path of self-destruction.

Sukarno was a romantic revolutionary. He held a heroic place in the history of Indonesia's struggle against European imperialism. He had ruled the vast archipelago country since 1949. He was authoritarian, but to Indonesians he represented not only the liberation of their country but a national renaissance. By the early 1960s, however, his powers were waning for various reasons, including the deterioration of his health. He confronted Malaysia when Indonesia itself labored under severe inflation, suffered from food shortages, and hovered on the verge of economic collapse. His crusade against British neo-colonialism and his rhetoric about the class struggle in Indonesia served to rally the Indonesian Communist Party, which was the largest non-ruling communist party in the world and one of the main sources of his strength.⁵⁹ More and more, however, he alienated the Americans, who feared revolutionary Communism in Indonesia, and those in Indonesia itself who believed that the country stood at a crossroads of domestic economic reform and foreign confrontation. Above all, Sukarno faced a showdown with the Indonesian army, which in the autumn of 1965 intervened decisively in the internal struggle for control.⁶⁰ The army's coup d'état released deep cultural as well as political enmities and led to the killing of hundreds of thousands of Communists and Communist sympathizers—"one of the bloodiest massacres in modern history."⁶¹ After the virtual destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party, Sukarno gradually yielded political control to General Suharto. Indonesia emerged with an anticommunist military government. The era of confrontation came to an end in 1966, to the immense relief of the Americans as well as the British.

For the British, there was a crisis within the crisis. In the midst of confrontation with Indonesia, Malaysia had expelled Singapore from the federation. Since the time of the creation of the new state in 1963, communal tension had risen both on the mainland and in Singapore. The great historian Arnold Toynbee commented at one point that the real danger in all of Asia lay in "the Malay peninsula where the Malays and the Chinese could fall into a race war."⁶² Lee Kuan Yew's own rhetoric contributed to a tense and troubled atmosphere. He undoubtedly thought that Singapore's future lay with the federation, which offered economic opportunity in

⁵⁸ He admitted later that he was "not very good at taking records," but the point must have stood out in Gordon Walker's mind because he wrote that Rusk had made it "with great emphasis." See Wright to Henderson, Secret, March 11, 1965, FO 371/180540. I have not had any luck on the American side in tracing the conversation.

⁵⁹ See Rex Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism under Sukarno: Ideology and Politics, 1959-1965* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974).

⁶⁰ See Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978). For the destruction of the myth that the CIA engineered the coup in a major way, see H. W. Brands, "The Limits of Manipulation: How the United States Didn't Topple Sukarno," *Journal of American History* 76 (December 1989). The article by Brands was written before the publication of *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968*, vol. 26, which deals with Indonesia. The documentary record largely confirms his account. The CIA part in the coup was minimal, with little money or advice, but afterwards the CIA helped to provide equipment to the army as well as information about Communist leaders. The question remains open about the extent of CIA involvement in Indonesian affairs after October 1965.

⁶¹ Legge, *Sukarno*, 399.

⁶² As paraphrased by George, *Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore*, 157.

a common market for goods and services. He continued to hope that a Malaysian society could eventually be created on the basis of mutual respect and equality. Nevertheless, he adopted, perhaps in spite of himself, a belligerent and condescending attitude toward the Malays. He attempted to consolidate Chinese political support on the mainland. In April 1964, he backed candidates on the mainland from the People's Action Party—his own party in Singapore—in a federal election, despite his pledge not to do so for at least five years after the merger. Lee's decision to participate in the federal election—on the peninsula proper—was a catalyst in the eventual separation, not least because of the accompanying rise of Chinese ethnic chauvinism. In July 1964, there were communal riots in Singapore in which more than twenty people were killed and 450 injured. From this point on, Lee and the Tunku were on a collision course. Lee calculated in round figures of "40–40–20." In other words, there was a roughly equal number of Malays and Chinese, with 20 percent Indians, indigenous peoples, and others on the peninsula and in the Borneo territories. He believed that he could gain enough support to become prime minister of Malaysia. The Tunku took the stand that communal politicking would lead to further bloodshed. He had no doubt that Lee aimed to replace him as prime minister. In August 1965, the Tunku made the decision to expel Singapore from the federation.

Lee Kuan Yew was dismayed. During his explanation to the public in Singapore, he broke into tears and said in a famous line that it was his "moment of anguish." The Tunku was much more down to earth. In identifying Lee's participation in mainland politics as one of the basic reasons for the decision to sever the tie, the Tunku later used a vivid if brutal physical metaphor. With political gangrene spreading to the main part of the body politic, he explained, Singapore had to be excised: "If you have a bad leg, the best thing is to amputate it."⁶³

The British played no part in the separation of Singapore from Malaysia. The decision had been made in secrecy. Even Lee Kuan Yew's acquiescence was kept secret from the British, although the high commissioner, Lord Head, learned of the impending rupture at the last minute. Both the Tunku and Lee had their reasons. The Tunku wanted to avoid British pressure to keep the union intact. Lee feared, quite erroneously, that the British would seize the opportunity to reassert imperial control over Singapore.⁶⁴ At this stage in his career, he still had the reputation of a fiery, coruscating left-wing politician who passionately denounced Western imperialism, above all American imperialism.⁶⁵ No one could predict in August 1965 whether or not Lee might turn to Communist China. In fact, he rapidly adjusted his political orientation when he learned that the British would move immediately to secure Singapore's membership in the Commonwealth as an independent state.

As the decade progressed, Lee Kuan Yew proved to be an adept politician and a staunch enemy of Communist China as well as Indonesia. He quickly espoused the principle that Singapore would prosper only under the protective umbrella of

⁶³ Quoted in Lee, *Singapore Story*, 662.

⁶⁴ See, for example, George, *Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore*, 90–91.

⁶⁵ For Lee's denunciation of the Americans for, among other reasons, "their lack of civilisation," see James Minchin, *No Man Is an Island: A Study of Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew* (London, 1986), 158.

Britain, the Commonwealth, and the United States. According to a typical comment, Lee wanted a continuing British military presence. This remark is also of interest because it reveals Lee's developing outlook that the American presence in Southeast Asia had prevented a takeover of the region by Communist China:

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew . . . said that he hoped the British would remain in Singapore for a considerable time . . . He did not seem upset at his own forecast that the United States would be fighting a bloody and losing battle in Viet Nam for many years. His point was that only the presence of Western forces could provide a screen against Chinese expansion, whether by aggression or subversion, behind which the indigenous forces of Asia might be mobilised.⁶⁶

At an early stage, Lee articulated the argument that the United States was losing the battle in Vietnam but winning the war in Southeast Asia.⁶⁷

He was appalled in 1967 to learn of the British decision to dismantle the vast naval and military complex in Singapore. Although the British did mostly withdraw in 1971, Lee Kuan Yew succeeded in arranging a protracted disengagement that enabled a few British military detachments to stay on and thus to contribute to both Singapore's security and the local economy. The British maintained a military and naval presence but at negligible risk and expense. The final withdrawal did not occur until 1976.⁶⁸ In the meantime, British-Malaysian defense arrangements had been replaced by the five-power security treaty between Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore.⁶⁹

Singapore's independence in 1965 had coincided with a sea change in British strategic and technological calculation. The Royal Navy and the other branches of the armed services now viewed bases on or near the Asian mainland as liabilities—at best as “filling stations” to service aircraft carriers and other vessels that no longer needed traditional facilities.⁷⁰ The Singapore base had become an anachronism. It was also the largest defense expenditure east of Suez. Confronted with economic emergency at home and mounting defense expenditures abroad, the British decided to withdraw despite American protests.⁷¹ It was clear that LBJ felt that it would be “little short of treachery for us [the British] to sound a retreat . . .

⁶⁶ Minute by J. A. Thomson, April 22, 1966, FO 371/185920.

⁶⁷ The champion of the view of having lost the battle but having won the war in the region is W. W. Rostow, for example, “The Case for the War: How American Resistance in Vietnam Helped Southeast Asia to Prosper in Independence,” *Times Literary Supplement*, June 9, 1995.

⁶⁸ For the extended British withdrawal, see Hack, *Defence and Decolonisation in Southeast Asia*, chap. 9.

⁶⁹ In 1971, the Five Power Defence Arrangement provided for a joint British-Australian-New Zealand fleet to be stationed in Singapore and for an integrated air defense system for Malaysia. See Chin Kin Wah, *The Defence of Malaysia and Singapore: The Transformation of a Security System, 1957–1971* (Cambridge, 1983), chaps. 8 and 9. For a succinct discussion of these issues in relation to the British Indian Ocean Territory (Diego Garcia) and the British “abracadabra” strategy, see W. David McIntyre, *British Decolonization, 1946–1997: When, Why and How Did the British Empire Fall?* (London, 1998), chap. 5.

⁷⁰ “The Chiefs of Staff [believed] . . . that by the exercise of strategic mobility—and with the nuclear deterrent discreetly in the wings—Britain could continue to play a starring part on the international stage.” Anthony Verrier, *Through the Looking Glass: British Foreign Policy in an Age of Illusions* (London, 1983), 173. See also Ian Clark, *Nuclear Diplomacy and the Special Relationship: Britain's Deterrent and America, 1957–1962* (Oxford, 1994).

⁷¹ For the connection of these issues, see John Dumbrell, “The Johnson Administration and the British Labour Government: Vietnam, the Pound and East of Suez,” *Journal of American Studies* 30, no.

by abandoning our existing position before we are forced to do so.”⁷² The British detected a certain American bitterness.⁷³ They were abandoning Singapore, and they sent no troops to Vietnam. According to the British ambassador in South Vietnam, the Americans regarded their behavior as “negative, defeatist and hypocritical.”⁷⁴ Still, in retrospect, the British could claim that the war in Vietnam paled in comparison to what might have happened in Indonesia: “the East Asia watershed is not ahead of us in Vietnam but lies behind us in Indonesia.” The end of confrontation in 1966 was Britain’s “greatest success” of the decade.⁷⁵

The expulsion of Singapore from Malaysia was an event of comparable significance. In the 1960s, peoples throughout the world demanded the right to determine their own future, and since then the pattern has been toward ever-greater fragmentation. Malaysia is a partial exception. Since 1965, the federation has survived, minus Singapore. In the case of Singapore itself, independence came unwillingly—to repeat the phrase, in a moment of anguish—but the people of Singapore were among the first to demonstrate that a micro-state can survive and prosper.

It is doubtful that this would have happened if there had been all-out war with Indonesia. One piece of archival evidence struck me immediately when I saw it, although I mention it hesitantly because I have done what a historian should never do: I have lost my citation. But I mention it because it is burned into my memory. It was short and to the point, almost inadvertent. It revealed a chilling prospect. It said simply that the British would follow closely the American bombing of North Vietnam because similar action might be necessary against Indonesia.⁷⁶

AS FOR MY COMMENT ON VIETNAM, it will be brief. I limit my thoughts to the essential points of the British involvement and the contemporary British analysis of the significance of the struggle.⁷⁷ First and foremost, the war had the same divisive

2 (1996); and Alan Dobson, “The Years of Transition: Anglo-American Relations, 1961–1967,” *Review of International Studies* 16 (1990).

⁷² Memorandum on “Indo-Pacific Policy,” May 10, 1966, CAB 148/28.

⁷³ For example, in a conversation between Dean Rusk and Louis Heren of *The Times* of London: “We had all had enough to drink, and he [Rusk] came over and asked me why Britain had not sent troops to Vietnam. He knew well enough, but rather lamely I began to repeat the obvious. He cut me short and said, ‘All we needed was one regiment. The Black Watch would have done. Just one regiment, but you wouldn’t. Well, don’t expect us to save you again. They can invade Sussex, and we wouldn’t do a damned thing about it.’” Louis Heren, *No Hail, No Farewell* (New York, 1970), 230.

⁷⁴ Gordon Etherington-Smith to Foreign Office, July 15, 1966, FO 371/186331.

⁷⁵ Foreign Commonwealth Office memorandum, no date but March 1967, FCO 15/4.

⁷⁶ As events transpired, the British were able to keep the Borneo campaign a “low intensity conflict” despite its fierceness. According to Denis Healey, the defense secretary: “At a time when the United States was plastering Vietnam with bombs, napalm, and defoliant, no British aircraft ever dropped a bomb in Borneo.” Healey, *The Time of My Life* (London, 1989), 289. For quite a different perspective, see Verrier, *Through the Looking Glass*, 254: “The war was fought by British, Gurkha, and Malay troops with obsolescent weapons and inadequate equipment, and it was no comfort to these men on the spot to know that V bombers from Singapore (armed with ‘conventional’ bombs) could easily reach Indonesian targets. This subaltern’s and platoon sergeant’s war was won by troops whose units were under strength, made up to the order of battle by cross posting on a scale which revealed the strain on Britain’s most valuable strategic resource: trained men.”

⁷⁷ On the United States and Vietnam, I have found it useful to re-read or in some cases read for

effect in Britain as in the United States, though of course to a much lesser degree. Both within the British government and in the public debate, there was no agreement on the fundamental premise of self-determination. Those who protested against the war usually believed that the catchword "Communism" distracted attention from aggressive American aims, and in any event that the Vietnamese themselves should be allowed to determine their own fate. Those within the government tended to think that the principle of self-determination would be subverted by the expansionist ambitions of Communist China. "It is this we ourselves are really frightened of," commented a member of the Labour government: "Chinese domination of the Saigon Government."⁷⁸

Even within official circles, no consensus existed on the fundamental point of whether the fall of South Vietnam would lead to the loss of Southeast Asia or, to put it on a grander scale—as did Sir Robert Thompson, Britain's protagonist in the Vietnam struggle—that "Vietnam is one of the vital issues to the latter half of the twentieth century."⁷⁹ In attempting to reconcile contradictory assessments into a coherent policy, the South-East Asia Department of the Foreign Office doubted whether the countries of Southeast Asia resembled dominoes that might topple, and even questioned whether Vietnam itself was particularly significant. The strongest exponent of this skepticism was James Cable, an official of longstanding experience with the region. Cable had participated in the 1954 Geneva Conference, which established a temporary truce at the seventeenth parallel after the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu.⁸⁰ "If we had our way in 1954," Cable wrote, "it [South

the first time the following works: David L. Anderson, *Trapped by Success: The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam, 1953–1961* (New York, 1991); Larry Berman, *Lyndon Johnson's War: The Road to Stalemate in Vietnam* (New York, 1989); Lloyd Gardner, *Pay Any Price: Lyndon Johnson and the Wars for Vietnam* (Chicago, 1995); William C. Gibbons, *The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War*, 4 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1985–95); George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975*, 3d edn. (New York, 1996); Gabriel Kolko, *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience* (New York, 1985); Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945–1996*, 8th edn. (New York, 1997); George McT. Kahin, *Intervention: How America Became Involved in Vietnam* (New York, 1986); John Prados, *The Blood Road: The Ho Chi Minh Trail and the Vietnam War* (New York, 1999); Andrew J. Rotter, *The Path to Vietnam: Origins of the American Commitment to Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987); and Marilyn B. Young, *The Vietnam Wars, 1945–1990* (New York, 1991). In my education about Vietnam, I have benefited especially from Robert D. Schulzinger, *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam, 1941–1975* (New York, 1997), both because it is a state-of-the-art study of the Vietnam conflict and because of its pursuit of certain literary themes, for example, Graham Greene's portrayal of a CIA operative in Vietnam in *The Quiet American* (London, 1955), and William Lederer and Eugene Burdick's prototype of committed American pacification officers (as they were later known in the 1960s) in *The Ugly American* (New York, 1957). "As political propaganda setting the stage for a war, *The Ugly American* had an impact similar to that of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the years before the American Civil War." Schulzinger, *Time for War*, 98.

⁷⁸ Minute by Lord Walston, July 27, 1966, FO 371/186331. Walston was parliamentary under-secretary.

⁷⁹ Thompson to Peck, Secret and Guard, April 22, 1964, FO 371/175496. For Thompson, see especially his memoirs, which are written with subtlety, humor, and extraordinary comparisons. For example, he wrote of one of the great British soldiers of the twentieth century—and also one of the last viceroys in India—Sir Archibald (Lord) Wavell, in comparison with one of the leading American military figures in Vietnam, General Creighton Abrams: "I found him [Abrams] . . . to be a quiet, thoughtful, kind but rather dour person, not unlike Lord Wavell . . . Classical music was his solace, as poetry had been Wavell's . . . I came to regard him as one of the greatest American Generals of this century." Sir Robert Thompson, *Make for the Hills: Memories of Far Eastern Wars* (London, 1989), 159.

⁸⁰ See his own historical account, James Cable, *The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*

Vietnam] would have been written off as politically untenable by being exposed to elections under international supervision.”⁸¹ Britain’s status as co-chairman of the Geneva Conference (along with the Soviet Union) led to the hope in the mid-1960s that Harold Wilson might be able to act as a broker. But British failure to influence either the United States or the Soviet Union at the level of international politics only deepened British despair. The British ambassador in South Vietnam wrote: “It is only too clear that over all our efforts hangs the black cloud of our own military and economic weaknesses.”⁸²

As part of a pattern of analysis that may be taken as representative of mainstream British official thought, James Cable took issue with the theory that the fall of Vietnam would send a fatal shock wave through to Malaysia. Here is a point that deserves clarification. How did the British see the connection between the fate of Vietnam and the future of Malaysia? Cable wrote: “What is at stake is not South Viet Nam, but American prestige in South East Asia.” He believed that “Saigon is emphatically not worth a world war.”⁸³ The principal reason that Britain endorsed American aims in Vietnam was the need for American support in Malaysia. (Although he did not say so explicitly, the British could also provide an excuse for not sending troops to Vietnam by playing up their commitment to Malaysia.) As for the Vietnam War itself, Cable wrote in June 1965, it “cannot be won at all.”⁸⁴ He took a severe view of American prospects, but there were others who at least believed that the American presence in Southeast Asia had permitted the region to develop economically and had provided an element of stability. Michael Palliser wrote that “the Americans have succeeded for the past ten years in preventing Indo-China from going communist—as I take it would have happened if the Americans had not propped up South Vietnam. This represents ten years gained.”⁸⁵

The unrivaled British authority on Vietnam was Sir Robert Thompson, who had served in Malaya during the insurgency in the 1950s as the civilian in charge of Malayan defense. From 1961 to 1965, he headed the British Advisory Mission to Vietnam, which was created in 1961 and consisted of four British officers, all with Malayan experience.⁸⁶ Thompson eventually had the ear of three American presidents—Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon—and won friends in the CIA, the Department of Defense, and the State Department. He came into contact with

(London, 1986); see also especially R. B. Smith, *An International History of the Vietnam War: Revolution versus Containment, 1955–61* (London, 1983), chap. 2. For a contemporary, sustained attack on successive British governments for supporting the United States, see William Warbey, *Vietnam: The Truth* (London, 1965).

⁸¹ Minute by Cable, April 25, 1964, FO 371/175496.

⁸² Etherington-Smith to Foreign Office, Confidential, January 14, 1964, FO 371/175065.

⁸³ Minute by Cable, April 25, 1964, FO 371/175496.

⁸⁴ Minute by Cable, June 2, 1965, FO 371/180595.

⁸⁵ Minute by Palliser, June 29, 1964, FO 371/175092. Palliser’s thought flowed in the same direction as that of Walt Rostow, who believed, then as later, that the presence of the United States in Southeast Asia provided the necessary security for the region to develop economically. See Rostow, “Case for the War”: “The pain, loss and controversy resulting from Vietnam were accepted for ten years by the American people. That acceptance held the line so that a free Asia could survive and grow.”

⁸⁶ See Ian F. W. Beckett, “Robert Thompson and the British Advisory Mission to South Vietnam, 1961–1965,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 8 (Winter 1997). See also especially Alastair Parker, “International Aspects of the Vietnam War,” in Peter Lowe, ed., *The Vietnam War* (London, 1998).

numerous American journalists and academics.⁸⁷ His acquaintances in Washington were interested in the lessons of counterinsurgency in Malaya and how the idea of the reconstructed rural villages, now known as “strategic hamlets,” might be adapted to Vietnam.⁸⁸ In Vietnam itself, Thompson met with mixed success both with the American military advisers and with the South Vietnamese Army, even though his influence was widely acknowledged and to some he represented a sort of evil genius guiding American efforts. Noam Chomsky, one of the most prominent critics of the war in Vietnam, referred to him with inimitable irony as “one of Britain’s gifts to the Vietnamese people.”⁸⁹

Thompson’s fundamental idea, based on his experience in Malaya, was that the police were just as important as the army, and that the preeminent function of the police was to protect the public, rural and urban. In Malaya, one of the keys to British success in the insurgency had been the gradual assertion of state control over all parts of the country. Regardless of whether people stayed where they were or were relocated, officials continued to record births, marriages, and deaths.⁹⁰ The villagers came to believe that they were being protected in all vital respects. No less important were Thompson’s doctrines and techniques of counterinsurgency for which he became famous, but he always returned to the underlying premise of civilian control exercised by one supreme authority. In Malaya, there had been “one plan and one man.” In Vietnam, the Pentagon, CIA, and State Department formed, in his view, an unholy trinity. The rivalry between them often prevented effective action. There was an acute deficiency of institutional memory. There was no American equivalent to Gerald Templer. Nor could there be, since South Vietnam was an independent country and not, like Malaya, a colony.⁹¹

Thompson’s thought reflected gradual disillusionment and despondency. At first, he genuinely believed that the war in Vietnam could be won, but he began to think that the Americans were too warm-hearted, impatient, and impulsive to be sufficiently single-minded and pitiless. “Fighting communist terrorism is a tough, dirty, ruthless business,” he once wrote.⁹² The heart of the problem, however, did not lie with the Americans but with the South Vietnamese. “We are stuck with the legally constituted Government,” he lamented.⁹³ The aims of the South Vietnamese

⁸⁷ For an example of his exchange with American intellectuals, see Richard M. Pfeffer, *No More Vietnams? The War and the Future of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1968). Thompson regarded Bernard Fall as his most formidable intellectual adversary. See Bernard B. Fall, *The Two Viet-Nams: A Political and Military Analysis* (New York, 1963).

⁸⁸ See especially Roger Hilsman, *To Move a Nation: The Politics of Foreign Policy in the Administration of John F. Kennedy* (Garden City, N.Y., 1967), 429–39, 461–63, and 522–25.

⁸⁹ Noam Chomsky, *The Backroom Boys* (London, 1973), 116.

⁹⁰ On this point, see Short, *Communist Insurrection in Malaya*, 500: “para-normality . . . created at least the impression of stability and this both encouraged and was reinforced by the fact that, for the most part, District Officers, police, planters, tappers, peasants and miners remained where they were in spite of often continuous danger.”

⁹¹ “We discussed turning Vietnam into a theater of operations, as we had done for World War II, and concentrating all authority in the theater commander, with the ambassador as the political adviser. We decided against that because such an arrangement might have downgraded the Vietnamese role and Americanized the war even further. Also, the Koreans, Australians, South Vietnamese, and other allies might not have liked an ‘American warlord’ running the war.” Dean Rusk as told to Richard Rusk, *As I Saw It*, Daniel S. Papp, ed. (New York, 1990), 453–54.

⁹² Thompson to Foreign Office, Secret, October 30, 1963, FO 371/170102.

⁹³ Thompson to Foreign Office, Secret, October 9, 1963, FO 371/170102.

were incompatible with those of the United States because the South Vietnamese government intended solely, in his view, not to reform but to perpetuate itself. By 1965, the principal element of public safety—police protection—still did not exist. When the American bombing of North Vietnam began in the same year, Thompson despaired.⁹⁴ He did not think that the bombing raids would have any positive effect at all. As in the United States, there were many views on the prospect of American defeat, or victory, but among those who gave serious thought to the subject in Britain, Thompson's ideas probably expressed a consensus as far as one existed. His thought fluctuated, but from 1965 onward Thompson essentially believed that the United States had lost the war.⁹⁵ The arrival of American ground troops, and therewith the Americanization of the war, deflected the incentive to reform the South Vietnamese government.

As a historian of the British Empire, I see a connection between the ethical code of conduct of the British district officers in Malaya and the idealism of the Americans in the civilian and military pacification programs in Vietnam. The job of the district officer was not only to collect taxes and administer justice but to help with purification of water, to improve crop production, and to build schools and hospitals. These were also the duties of the American pacification officers, who assumed, whether implicitly or explicitly, that the American presence would be the equivalent of a benevolent colonial power. This was Thompson's point: after 1965, pacification programs were eclipsed by the intensification of the war.⁹⁶ Even if the Americans might emerge militarily victorious, which he privately doubted, they had forfeited the chance to win the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese peasantry through an American-sponsored social revolution. But there is a paradox. If there were ever any chance of Americans functioning as district officers, it disappeared in the mid-1960s with the escalation of the war. Nevertheless, the largest U.S. investment in quasi-district officer programs came after 1965, with Robert "Blow-

⁹⁴ Thompson's "gloomy," "depressing," and "deeply pessimistic" outlook (words used by others to describe his views) can be traced mainly in records of conversations with him after his departure from Vietnam. See, for example, Minute by James Cable, March 21, 1966, FO 371/186351; Trench to Murray, Secret and Guard, March 25, 1966, FO 371/186350; and Minute by D. F. Murray, April 21, 1966, FO 371/186351.

⁹⁵ For the fluctuation of Thompson's views, see Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (New York, 1988), 734. Thompson later believed that 1968 was the critical year, and his views evolved in a certain manner parallel, at least until the late 1960s, to those of John Paul Vann, the subject of Sheehan's book. In conversations with American officials as well as in his essays and books, Thompson tempered his pessimism. See especially Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: The Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (New York, 1966); and *No Exit from Vietnam* (New York, 1969). To the Americans, Thompson must have seemed eternally optimistic. He wrote to Henry Kissinger as late as 1975, on the eve of the fall of Saigon: "South Vietnam has played its part in a manner unsurpassed in history . . . It is ready to continue fighting and, given the minimum of support . . . [can] hold out successfully." See the report submitted by Thompson to Kissinger, February 23, 1975, White House Operations File, National Security Adviser, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library. I am indebted to John Prados for this quotation.

⁹⁶ This was also the view of Robert Komer, the chief U.S. pacification officer in Vietnam. See Robert W. Komer, *Bureaucracy at War: U.S. Performance in the Vietnam Conflict* (Boulder, Colo., 1986), 140–41: "Pacification Takes a Back Seat—1965 to 1966" and 152: "it seems clear that a *predominantly counterinsurgency-oriented strategy would have had its best chance for success prior to 1964–1965*, before insurgency escalated into a quasiconventional war" (emphasis in the original). On the dark side of Komer and pacification, see Young, *Vietnam Wars*, 212–13. Young's work has a penetrating originality in demonstrating the brutality of the war and thereby the senseless violence of all wars.

torch Bob” Komer driving them.⁹⁷ The commitment to pacification manifested itself in initiatives of the U.S. Administration for International Development, the CIA, and not least the Marine Corps. The attempt to win hearts and minds continued to the end of the war.⁹⁸ And the idealistic commitment manifested itself in another way, which forever left its mark on the consciousness of the American public. According to the British embassy in Washington, the young American journalists—including David Halberstam of the *New York Times*—had “made it their sacred duty to reveal the truth” about the conduct of the war.⁹⁹

I NOW COME FULL CIRCLE to the issues raised in my introductory comments about the passions of the 1960s in our collective memory. LBJ’s decision to escalate the war in 1965 summoned memories in Britain of the Suez crisis of 1956, when the British government had found itself denounced by the United States as well as by many countries throughout the world as an aggressive, imperialistic power flouting the United Nations. In the British collective memory, which exists to the present, Britain was condemned for attacking Egypt. The British public was acutely aware that their country was regarded as an international pariah. Harold Wilson in 1965 now warned that there was “a real danger of the moral authority of the United States diminishing very sharply.” He himself believed that all-out war against North Vietnam would also place the British government in an intolerable situation. Although the British had committed no troops, they had lent moral support. Britain would now be denounced as an American satellite, indeed as “the 51st State.” On the American side, the United States would become “morally isolated” like the British at Suez.¹⁰⁰

Memory, time, and place. We now remember the 1960s not only because of the war in Vietnam but also of course because of the Civil Rights movement and student protest. The student takeover of Columbia University had its British equivalent in the student occupation of the London School of Economics.¹⁰¹ In Britain, the debate about the Vietnam War confirmed Harold Wilson’s prophecy that many people in Britain as well as the student generation, on the whole, believed that the United States had betrayed its own principles. The debate spilled

⁹⁷ The classic work is Douglas S. Blaufarb, *The Counterinsurgency Era: U.S. Doctrine and Performance* (New York, 1977). See also especially Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam’s Hearts and Minds* (Boulder, Colo., 1995); and Jefferson P. Marquis, “The Other Warriors: American Social Science and Nation Building in Vietnam,” *Diplomatic History* 24 (Winter 2000), which is a comprehensive review emphasizing social science and political change. In view of this theme, it seems worth mentioning that Robert Thompson, in his own words, “would not touch political reform in these territories [Southeast Asia] with a barge pole—and I certainly would not touch it with an American political scientist.” Pfeffer, *No More Vietnams?* 244.

⁹⁸ From the British perspective, see Thompson, *Make for the Hills*, chap. 16. Thompson believed that in the Nixon era “the emphasis in Vietnam had at last been placed on pacification, that is regaining Government control over the populated areas of the countryside, and Vietnamization, that is the handing of the war back to the Vietnamese”; 160. But by then it was too late.

⁹⁹ Trench to Foreign Office, August 13, 1965, FO 371/180543. See David Halberstam, *The Making of a Quagmire* (New York, 1964); and Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York, 1969).

¹⁰⁰ Record of conversation, March 12, 1965, FO 371/180540.

¹⁰¹ But at the other extreme: “Neither the Cultural Revolution nor undergraduates succeeded in penetrating All Souls.” David Caute, *The Year of the Barricades: A Journey through 1968* (New York, 1988), 354.

over into issues of decolonization. By the 1960s, the reputation of the British Empire had reached its nadir. With the exception of Rhodesia, which continued to hold the public's attention because of the kith and kin of the white settlers, the dismantling of the empire took place in Aden, Sarawak, and North Borneo with hardly a flicker of attention by the British public, as if the general sentiment conveyed good riddance. Nostalgia for the British Raj in India lay in future decades. In the 1960s, it was the issue of apartheid in South Africa that cast a long shadow. Those who protested against South Africa saw themselves as comrades-in-arms with those who fought for civil rights in the United States, although there was not much immediate contact. The interaction between the American Civil Rights movement and British decolonization is only now being measured on the basis of archival research.¹⁰² But the comparison is fundamental for an understanding of the era. Even though the currents were parallel and not directly connected, the rivers of decolonization and civil rights flowed in the same direction.¹⁰³

¹⁰² For example: Monica Belmonte, "Reigning in Revolution: The United States Response to British Decolonization in Nigeria, 1953–1960" (PhD dissertation in progress, Georgetown University). For background on the American side, see Penny M. von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997).

¹⁰³ I owe the metaphor to Brian Urquhart (former under-secretary at the United Nations), with whom I had the extraordinary experience of teaching a course on the Middle East at the University of Texas LBJ School of Public Affairs in 1988. Since then, I have found it a useful concept to explore in both teaching and writing. See Brian Urquhart, *Decolonization and World Peace* (Austin, Tex., 1989); and *Ralph Bunche: An American Life* (New York, 1993). Bunche's life was devoted in about equal measure to civil rights and decolonization. In an earlier work, John Hope Franklin wrote: "Negroes were heartened . . . when Ralph Bunche . . . joined the United Nations to work with the Trusteeship Council [in 1946]. They hoped that this Negro specialist would, somehow, be able to advance substantially the welfare and interests of those people who would be unable to promote their own interests." Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York, 1947), 585.

On the British side, see Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918–1964* (Oxford, 1993), 308, which stresses "betrayed hopes." This interpretation should be compared with that of Kenneth O. Morgan, "Imperialists at Bay: British Labour and Decolonization," in Robert D. King and Robin W. Kilson, eds., *The Statecraft of British Imperialism: Essays in Honour of Wm. Roger Louis* (London, 1999), 253. "To adapt Alan [A. J. P.] Taylor's controversial phrase (originally applied to Munich) it [decolonization] was a triumph for all that was best in British life."

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Seeing Double: John Gerson, the Discernment of Spirits, and Joan of Arc

DYAN ELLIOTT

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UPHEAVALS frequently clear the way for the entrance of some of the most unlikely actors into public life. So it was that a series of crises facilitated the emergence of a cadre of prominent female mystics in late medieval Europe.¹ Not surprisingly, the visibility achieved by these women directly conflicted with the avowed aims of patriarchal institutions of the period. Over the course of the high and later Middle Ages, canon and civil law had acted in concert to restrict female initiative, even as the growth of official bureaucracies had gradually forced women out of the political arena.² This trend was dramatically demonstrated in France, where in 1316 a Parisian assembly under Philip V sought to bar women from acceding to the crown altogether.³ And yet, the triune disasters of the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and the papal schism created a vacuum in institutional authority into which female mystics and prophets would move. These women not only captured the imagination of the public but even won the confidence of popes and princes. Adversity does indeed make strange bedfellows.

The authority of these women depended on Christendom's conviction that they

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¹ For background, see particularly André Vauchez, "Les pouvoirs informels dans l'Eglise aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age: Visionnaires, prophètes et mystiques," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Moyen Age* (hereafter, *MEFRM*) 96 (1984): 281–93; Vauchez, "Sainte Brigitte de Suède et Sainte Catherine de Sienne: Le mystique et l'Eglise aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age," in *Temi e problemi nella mistica femminile Trecento*, 14–17 ottobre Convegno del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale, Università degli Studi di Perugia (Todi, 1983), 229–48; Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, Margery Schneider, trans. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1993), 219–36.

² In Italy, for example, civil lawyers looked to canon lawyer Gratian in order to justify the husband's control of his wife's dowry. See Susan Stuard, "From Women to Woman: New Thinking about Gender c. 1140," *Thought* 64 (1989): 208–19.

³ See *Continuatio Chronici Guillelmi de Nangiaco* ann. 1316, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 20, MM. Danou and Nandet, eds. (Paris, 1840), 617. Note, however, that other chronicles date this meeting as 1315. The decision was confirmed in 1322 and 1328. See André Poulet, "Capetian Women and Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation," in *Medieval Queenship*, John Carmi Parsons, ed. (New York, 1993), 112. This exclusionary legislation would become implicated in the genesis of the Hundred Years' War when the question of woman's ability to transfer, if not wear, the crown arose. If it were conceded that women could transfer the crown, then Edward III of England would be the true king of France by his mother, Isabelle.

were not merely speaking in their own voices but that it was the voice of God which spoke through them.⁴ Yet, as female mystical interventions gained in frequency, concern over the authenticity of these women's inspiration also grew. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this concern eventuated in the flourishing of treatises devoted to distinguishing whether an individual was a genuine prophet inspired by God or an instrument of Satan—an ability generally referred to as the discernment of spirits in accordance with 1 Corinthians 12.10. Spiritual discernment had been a fervent area of inquiry in patristic times, when the individual souls of various Desert Fathers were menaced by the devil's multifarious traps. Although an individual's spirituality and his or her private revelations would continue to be the object of spiritual discernment, the reappearance of the fourteenth-century treatises was in response to Christendom's more public malaise.⁵

The present study traces the evolution of spiritual discernment in the thought of one of its chief theorists and practitioners—John Gerson (d. 1429), chancellor of the University of Paris—and his efforts to develop a procedural/juridical response to the challenge of female prophecy. It then turns to Gerson's celebrated effort to apply the art of discernment in defense of Joan of Arc (d. 1431). Since Joan's personal revelations compelled her pivotal intervention in the Hundred Years' War, she in many ways epitomizes the potential of female mysticism for political mobilization. Finally, Gerson's defense of Joan, and the responses it provoked, represents the unpredictable and undesired results that arise from the practice of discernment. Far from providing a mechanism for distinguishing counterfeit from genuine spirituality, spiritual discernment emerges as an inadvertent abettor of confusion in categories.

Thus, in addition to chronicling the development of a central discourse in the later Middle Ages, this study also addresses a theoretical need by providing a concrete and historicized instance that illustrates how this specific discourse functioned. Spiritual discernment as envisaged by Gerson and his cohort seems to promise an enhancement of clerical control. Yet Gerson's inability to mobilize adequately the mechanisms of discernment in defense of Joan provides a striking demonstration of the ultimate impossibility for discourse to control or contain its own effects. The particularly volatile combination of intractability and unpredictable motility that characterizes the discourse of discernment is exacerbated by the nature of scholastic reasoning itself, in which every positive proposition is advanced on the back of its negative counterpart. This antiphonal structure to scholastic argument imbued it with a tacit potential for reversal. Indeed, as we shall see, an

⁴ See Barbara Newman, "Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation," *Church History* 54 (1985): 163–75; Dyan Elliott, "Dominae or Dominatae? Female Mystics and the Trauma of Textuality," in *Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Michael M. Sheehan*, C.S.B., Constance Rousseau and Joel Rosenthal, eds. (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1998), 47–77. Newman has recently shown that even a female demoniac, who similarly ventriloquizes on behalf of a supernatural authority, can command a credible audience: "Possessed by the Spirit: Devout Women, Demoniacs, and the Apostolic Life in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 737–38, 753–58.

⁵ For a brief introduction to this genre, see François Vandenbroucke, "Discernement des esprits III: Au Moyen Age," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, Charles Baumgartner, et al., eds. (Paris, 1957), vol. 3, cols. 1254–66. Also see Rosalynn Voaden, *God's Words, Women's Voices: The Discernment of Spirits in the Writing of Late-Medieval Women Visionaries* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), which particularly focuses on Bridget of Sweden and Margery Kempe. For the earlier period, see n. 54, below.

argument's rejected truths might coalesce into a shadow text or, more vividly, seem to leap off the page as a flesh and blood "double."

Finally, the discourse of spiritual discernment provides a particularly sympathetic lens for approaching a period during which the realm of the "authentic" was never more elusive. Evil doubles kept cropping up everywhere to jolt, confuse, and test the piety and fidelity of Christendom.⁶ This was painfully obvious on an international level. The papal schism, which had paralyzed Europe for almost forty years, was only resolved in 1417—although there were still two supernumerary popes some ten years later in Joan of Arc's time. Similarly, the Hundred Years' War was waged because there were two contenders for the French throne. Resurfacing within this time of ambivalence, the discourse of discernment sought a remedy for the disease of spiritual uncertainty. Yet the remedy proved worse than the illness it was intended to cure, precisely because the remedy acted as a carrier for the illness. Ultimately, the discourse of discernment, with its concomitant dissemination of the phenomena of reversal and doubling, would insinuate itself into the very core of medieval understandings of female spirituality.

THE FLOURISHING OF TREATISES on spiritual discernment in the fifteenth century is generally and, with some justice, associated with a "top-down" initiative to contain female spirituality—an orientation particularly associated with John Gerson.⁷ One of the main motives behind the most famous of his several treatises on this subject, *On the Proving of Spirits*, was to challenge the recent canonization of Bridget of Sweden (d. 1373) before the fathers of the Council of Constance in 1415.⁸ Still, his apprehension about female spirituality far antedated his challenge to Bridget, springing fully armed from his head in his very first treatise on discernment. *On Distinguishing True from False Revelations*, written in 1401, for example, already associates women with a dangerous immoderacy in asceticism. In particular, he evokes a nameless woman in Arras who, having rejected proper pastoral counsel,

⁶ This situation was eerily anticipated in Arthurian literature. Thus in the *Prose Lancelot*, King Arthur mistakes the False Guenevere for his true queen and almost consigns the latter to the stake. See *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, 3.74, 3.77–80, Samuel Rosenberg, trans. (New York, 1993), 2: 245–48, 261–79.

⁷ See Jo Ann McNamara, "The Rhetoric of Orthodoxy: Clerical Authority and Female Innovation in the Struggle with Heresy," in *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1993), 24–27; André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1981), 473–74. For general background on Gerson, see James Connolly, *Jean Gerson: Reformer and Mystic* (Louvain, 1928). Also see Palémon Glorieux, "La vie et les oeuvres de Gerson: Essai chronologique," in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 25–26 (1950–51): 149–92.

⁸ See *Res Constantienses*, Hermann von der Hardt, ed. (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1698), vol. 3, fols. 15, 28–38. Henry of Langenstein's objections to Bridget's canonization, which appear in his *Consilium pacis de unione ecclesiae* of 1381, are likewise included in the materials for Constance. His basic objection was that the calendar of saints was fast becoming over-populated (*Res Constantienses* c. 18, vol. 2, fol. 56; also see Eric Colledge, "Epistola solitarii ad reges: Alphonse of Pecha as Organizer of Birgittine and Urbanist Propaganda," *Mediaeval Studies* 18 [1956]: 21). Bridget's canonization, originally proclaimed in 1391, was nevertheless confirmed by the council (*Res Constantienses* vol. 4, fols. 39–40). On Gerson's writings on discernment in the wider context of his views on church hierarchy and discipline, see B. J. Caiger, "Doctrine and Discipline in the Church of Jean Gerson," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990): 389–407.

was starving herself to death.⁹ His is a tonally ugly rendition of the female spirituality associated with eucharistic feasting and ascetical fasting described in the work of Caroline Walker Bynum.¹⁰ Further, when arguing against the efficacy of miracles or revelations lacking in necessity, Gerson gives the example of a woman who frequently saw Christ flying through the air: “this sign of truth has shown, unless I am mistaken, that she was out of her mind.”¹¹ The two earlier treatises depict women as dangerously inclined to confuse carnal and spiritual love. To this end, he tells of a certain Marie of Valenciennes, better known to history as Marguerite Porete (d. 1310), who wrongfully exploited Augustine’s dictum “Have charity, and do what you want.”¹² *On the Proving of Spirits*, already alluded to above, identifies women as particularly likely to be led astray by the degree of their fervor. Such women develop inappropriate relations with their confessors under the pretext of frequent confession. Finally, they are possessed by an unsavory degree of curiosity, “which leads to gazing about and talking (not to mention touching).”¹³

But in his third treatise, *On the Examination of Doctrine* (1423), Gerson works with particular zeal to disqualify women altogether as appropriate arbiters of spiritual matters. Opening with a discussion of the various ecclesiastical bodies equipped to act as judges in matters of faith, he eventually turns to the gift of spiritual discernment. Although acknowledging that Augustine’s mother, Monica, was possessed of the gift of discernment (as Augustine himself had ventured in the *Confessions*), Gerson cautions against any woman who claims this gift for herself.¹⁴ He further applies the apostolic interdict against female teaching to all forms of publication—oral or written.

Jerome blames men who, for shame, learn from women that women may teach men. What if someone of the female sex were reckoned to walk in the great and marvelous things above herself, to add daily vision upon vision, to report lesions of the brain through epilepsy, or petrification, or some kind of melancholy as a miracle, etc., to say nothing unless in the place of God without any mediation, to call priests her sons, to teach them the profession in which they were assiduously brought up . . . One woman says that she was annihilated for a little while; another says that she was united in a union with God, more marvelous than the union Christ assumed with his own humanity.¹⁵

⁹ John Gerson, *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, Palémon Glorieux, ed. (Paris, 1960–73), 3: 42–43; trans. by Brian Patrick McGuire, in *Jean Gerson: Early Works* (New York, 1998), 343–44.

¹⁰ See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987).

¹¹ Gerson, *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 51; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 356.

¹² Gerson, *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 51; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 356. On Gerson’s invectives against the so-called Free Spirit movement, believed by orthodoxy to be antinomian in nature, see Robert Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972), 164–77.

¹³ John Gerson, *De probatione spirituum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 180, 184 (twice); trans. by Paschal Boland, in *The Concept of “Discretio spirituum” in John Gerson’s “De probatione spirituum” and “De distinctione verarum visionum a falsis”* (Washington, D.C., 1959), 30, 36, 36–37.

¹⁴ John Gerson, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 463.

¹⁵ Gerson, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 467–68. When not otherwise stated, translations are mine.

Gerson trips lightly from Virgil's denunciation of woman's mutability, to apostolic warnings against young and curious women, to a denunciation of Eve, who, according to his reckoning, lied twice in her first utterance. All female verbiage should be scrutinized much more carefully than male, since both human and divine law unite in attempting to restrain women. The fact that no writing remains from the female greats of patristic lore, such as Paula or Eustochium, is but a testimony to these women's discretion.¹⁶

Given Gerson's eventual success at diagnosing a certain kind of spiritual duplicity or deception as a woman's problem, one must guard against the temptation to suppose that spiritual discernment was always directed against women. Apart from these three treatises devoted to the subject, Gerson touched frequently on spiritual discernment in his other writings without targeting either sex.¹⁷ Nor did his immediate predecessors, who wrote on this subject, stigmatize women. Their treatises remained quite abstract, refraining from the association of spiritual frailty with any particular individual, group, or gender. This remains true even for those who may have had legitimate cause to mistrust female religious fervor. Henry of Friemar, for example, writing in the early fourteenth century, was a member of the theological tribunal responsible for condemning the work of the mystic and alleged heretical leader of the so-called Free Spirit movement, Marguerite Porete (Gerson's Marie of Valenciennes). Yet in Henry of Friemar's treatise on spiritual discernment, he did not point the finger at women.¹⁸ This is equally true for Henry of Langenstein and Peter d'Ailly, two of Gerson's teachers.¹⁹ In fact, d'Ailly, Gerson's particular friend and patron, was skeptical of all prophecies, since he believed that the Lord had withheld any specific teaching

¹⁶ Gerson, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 467–68.

¹⁷ See, for example, *De passionibus animae*, written in either 1408 or 1409, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 15; *De signis bonis et malis*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 162–66. This latter treatise, written sometime between 1410 and 1415, isolates the various indications of an individual's spiritual imbalance, such as the spurning of advice of a superior or excessive fervor, but without identifying women as the primary culprits.

¹⁸ See Henry of Friemar, *Tractatus de quatuor instinctibus*, in *Insignis atque preclarus de deliciis sensibilibus paradisi liber: Cum singulari tractatu de quatuor instinctibus* (Venice, 1498), especially concerning the third inner instinct, which is diabolically inspired (fols. 59 and following). Henry does, however, warn against the Satanic transformation of spiritual into carnal love, often taking the form of a person wanting private and excessively familiar conversation with a holy person (fol. 62r). He was one of the twenty-one theologians who condemned Marguerite's book, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, in 1309. Moreover, he would be one of the six who played an important role in condemning the so-called heresy of the Free Spirit, which ostensibly drew its inspiration from Marguerite's book. See Paul Verdeyen, "Le procès d'inquisition contre Marguerite Porete," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 81 (1986): 50, 54. Also see Lerner, *Heresy of the Free Spirit*, 68–84. On Henry, see Jordan of Saxony, *Liber Vitasfratrum* 2.18, 2.22, Rudolf Arbesmann and Winfried Hümpfner, eds. (New York, 1943), 1: 204–05, 238–39; and Clemens Stroick, *Heinrich von Friemar: Leben, Werke, philosophisch-theologische Stellung in der Scholastik* (Freiburg, 1954).

¹⁹ See Henry of Langenstein, *De discretione spirituum*, which was written in 1383. It has been edited and translated into German by Thomas Hohmann in *Heinrichs von Langenstein "Unterscheidung der Geister": Lateinisch und Deutsch* (Munich, 1977). As Hohmann notes in his introduction, Henry focuses more on the theory of discernment than on pastoral practice, hence not employing many examples or stories (p. 39). The treatise was not widely used until Dionysius the Carthusian wrote his treatise on spiritual discernment in 1433. However, Henry was an early critic of Bridget's canonization, but only in the context of the several new canonizations being proposed (the other two being men; see n. 8 above). For a brief account of his life, see the entry by François Vandenbroucke, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 7, 1, cols. 215–19.

through which their validity could be assessed.²⁰ Even so, the only nonbiblical prophet whom he consistently (and approvingly) punctuates his treatise with is Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179).²¹ Indeed, elsewhere, d'Ailly posits that Hildegard foresaw and prophesied the papal schism.²²

If one were attempting to build a case against Gerson as hostile to women, his regulatory efforts in the area of discernment could, perhaps, be put on a continuum with some of his other interventions on a symbolic level. For instance, Gerson's promotion of the cult of St. Joseph was described by David Herlihy as providing a proper head of the household to whom the Virgin Mary could submit.²³ And yet, such a portrayal of Gerson as hostile to women is rather simplistic. Indeed, there is evidence that could just as easily align him with the pro-woman camp. For instance, he was on the right side of the debate over the *Romance of the Rose* (that is, Christine de Pizan's side), even though he did not assume a pro-woman position.²⁴ He also knew from experience that women had no monopoly over error, as his censorious response to the writings of the Flemish mystic John Ruusbroec (d. 1381) suggests.²⁵ Nor did he exhibit an *a priori* hostility to unregulated female spirituality,

²⁰ Peter d'Ailly, *De falsis prophetis*, in L. E. du Pin's edition of Gerson's works, *Opera omnia* (Antwerp, 1706), vol. 1, col. 523. Francis Oakley reviews the question of Gerson's discipleship, instead suggesting that Gerson both anticipated and directed d'Ailly's concerns over mysticism—which reverses the traditional understanding of their relationship. Likewise, d'Ailly's *On False Prophets* is now understood to have been written between 1410 and 1415 rather than between 1372 and 1395 ("Gerson and D'Ailly: An Admonition," *Speculum* 40 [1965]: 74–75, 78–79). This would then mean that d'Ailly deliberately shied away from Gerson's tendency to target women, already apparent in the latter's *Distinguishing True from False Revelations*.

²¹ Hildegard is particularly invoked for her prophetic anticipations of false prophets (see, for example, d'Ailly, *De falsis prophetis*, cols. 500, 505, 519). D'Ailly does, however, note, that false prophets make considerable headway in the home of silly women or effeminate men ("frequentant domos muliercularum, aut virorum effeminatorum"), following the lead of 2 Timothy 3. He also cites a prophecy of Hildegard's that further predicts the appearance of certain false doctors who will lead women into error (cols. 496–97).

²² Peter d'Ailly, *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis* (between 1402 and 1403), in Francis Oakley, ed., *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition* (New Haven, Conn., 1964), app. 3, 315–16. Hildegard shares this distinction alongside her near contemporary, Joachim of Fiore. See Laura Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 96–97. According to Oakley, this treatise outlines a program of reform that would eventually be revised and presented at Constance as *Tractatus super reformatione ecclesiae*. Thus when André Vauchez says, in partial exculpation of Gerson, that he is much less severe on contemporary prophecy than his contemporaries Henry of Langenstein and Peter d'Ailly, he is not sufficiently taking the question of gender into account ("Saint Brigitte," 246). Vauchez plays the apologist for Gerson elsewhere as well, only this time John Nider is added to the mix—a comparison that has an implicit acknowledgement of the gender problem, since Nider's misogyny makes Gerson look tame (Vauchez, "Jeanne d'Arc et le prophétisme féminin des XIV^e et XV^e siècles," in *Jeanne d'Arc: Une époque, un rayonnement*, Colloque d'histoire médiéval, Orléans—Octobre 1979 [Paris, 1982], 167).

²³ See David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 128–30. On the extent of these writings, see Palémon Glorieux, "Saint Joseph dans l'oeuvre de Gerson," *Cahiers de josphologie* 19 (1971): 414–28.

²⁴ See especially John Gerson, *Contre le Roman de la Rose*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 7, 1: 301–16; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 378–98. For Gerson's other interventions in this debate, see the introduction to Eric Hicks's edition, Christine de Pizan, *Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1977), xlviii–lii.

²⁵ See his two letters to the Carthusian, Barthélemy Clantier, written in 1402 and 1408, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 55–62, 97–104; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 202–10, 249–55. For an exhaustive analysis, see André Combes, *Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Gerson*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1948). See particularly Combes's discussion of Gerson's apprehension of demonic inspiration, which conveniently mixes the true with the false; 2: 337–39. Note, however, that Gerson nevertheless associates Ruusbroec's error

encouraging his sisters in their pursuit of an uncloistered Beguine lifestyle.²⁶ More tellingly, he had written in support of two female mystic/visionaries: Ermine of Reims and Joan of Arc, occasions to which I will later return.

Gerson's *ad feminam* approach to spiritual discernment was multiply determined. What follows is an attempt to address these different levels of causality in order to understand the factors informing his efforts to contain female spirituality and the methods he used to achieve his ends.

First, one should look to the political arena. As intonated at the outset, turmoil and structural instability open the way to female speech. Indeed, when male mechanisms of power are at an impasse, it is even expected that women step forward. Medieval society had various tacit and expressed ways of acknowledging this phenomenon. Hildegard of Bingen had justified her prophetic mission by articulating how God, no longer able to rely on corrupt men, had actually turned to frail women as vessels for the divine word—a strategy that came to be widely used by later female mystics such as Catherine of Siena (d. 1380).²⁷ The female voice, traditionally disparaged as one of woman's most sensually manipulative and dangerous tools, was gradually rehabilitated in the high Middle Ages by the pastoral clergy precisely so that wives would subtly persuade their otherwise intractable husbands to good works.²⁸ The wildly popular tale of Melibee, best known to English audiences through Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, again demonstrates how, in the wake of male violence, Melibee's wife Prudence intervenes to interrupt the endless cycle of revenge.²⁹ As Paul Strohm and others have shown, the increased importance of the queen as mediator in the later Middle Ages was often a way out of the gridlock of high politics.³⁰ Women's mystical intervention in the papal schism and the Hundred Years' War is a case in point.³¹ Gerson himself was very much preoccupied with the confusion of the times and quick to point to the failure in masculine leadership. He initially blamed the University of Paris for the prolonga-

with the mystical heresy of the Free Spirit, hence covertly implicating female mystical impulses (Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 60; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 208). See Robert Lerner, "The Image of Mixed Liquid in Late Medieval Mystical Thought," *Church History* 40 (1971): 407–09.

²⁶ The *Mountain of Contemplation*, written for Gerson's sisters in 1400, is discussed below. Compare his letter of 1399–1400 outlining daily devotions in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 14–17; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 156–60. See Brian Patrick McGuire, "Late Medieval Care and the Control of Women: Jean Gerson and His Sisters," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 92 (1997): 5–36.

²⁷ See particularly Barbara Newman, "Divine Power Made Perfect in Weakness: St. Hildegard on the Frail Sex," in *Medieval Religious Women*, Vol. 2: *Peaceweavers*, John Nichols and Lillian Shank, eds. (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1987), 103–22. See Raymond of Capua's *vita* of Catherine of Siena in *Acta sanctorum*, April, vol. 3 (Paris and Rome, 1866), 884, as cited by Caroline Walker Bynum, "Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), 39.

²⁸ See Sharon Farmer, "Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives," *Speculum* 61 (1986): 517–43.

²⁹ On the origins of this tale as a response to the violence of Italian cities, see James Powell, *Albertanus of Brescia: The Pursuit of Happiness in the Early Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1992), esp. 77–86. For Albertanus's views on woman's role, see 5, 116–17.

³⁰ See Paul Strohm, "Queens as Intercessors," in Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 95–115. Also see Lois Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," and John Carmi Parsons, "The Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England," in Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean, eds., *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Urbana, Ill., 1995), 126–46; 147–77.

³¹ On the increase in prophecy with the papal schism, see Vauchez, "Les pouvoirs informels," 283.

tion of the schism, which he considered to be second in degree of culpability only to the papacy and the prelates.³² He likewise averred that the devastation wrought by the Hundred Years' War was exacerbated by the sinful irresponsibility of the ruling class.³³

But far from resulting in peace, female interventions often prolonged old or generated new difficulties. For instance, in 1384, Constance de Rabastens, hailing from the dangerous region of Albi, that former bastion of the Cathar heresy, posited that France might, in fact, be mistaken in its allegiance to the Avignon papacy. Convinced that the Roman contender was the true pontiff, Constance appealed to the count of Foix to put in the correct pope and lead King Charles VI in a conquest of the Holy Land.³⁴ Bridget of Sweden fits into this bothersome profile—indeed, she surpasses her predecessors by siding with the English in the Hundred Years' War in two celebrated revelations.³⁵

Secondly, Gerson's *ad feminam* approach to discernment was also linked to his institutional aspirations for the university. Gerson had periodically acknowledged that illiterates, particularly women, often outstripped the learned cleric in contemplative gifts. Though prepared to grant this apparent advantage among the unlearned, it was nevertheless an ongoing source of consternation and even chagrin to him. Thus in his first letter attacking John Ruusbroec, Gerson acknowledges, "For even uneducated women and ignorant people who cannot read or write [*etiam mulierculae et idiotae sine litteris*] have the capacity of ascending to and obtaining this type of contemplation, assuming a simple faith. It is much easier for them than for men of great intelligence who are learned in theology."³⁶ In a second letter on the same subject, however, Gerson recoiled from the thought that the intricacies of what he referred to as "mystical theology" should be vetted in popular forums. "Are [these matters] to be made public, now in writings, now in talk in the vernacular language among servants, uneducated youths, slow-witted old people, the uneducated crowd, broken-down old women, at one time in the marketplace, at another in the back streets? Are men who are quite learned, both in ability and training, to be kept from speaking about such matters because they are schoolmen?"³⁷ His

³² See, for example, John Gerson, *Pro unione ecclesiae*, written in 1391, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 6: 11–12, 14–15. Note that by the time Gerson was made chancellor in 1395, the university had become more actively involved in initiatives to end the schism. See John Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism* (Manchester, 1960), 58–59; Connolly, *Jean Gerson*, 58–59, 169 and following.

³³ See John Gerson, *Cédule de la commission*—a report either redacted or transmitted by Gerson, tentatively dated to 1411, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 10: 399–405 (in the supplement).

³⁴ See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Constance de Rabastens: Politics and Visionary Experience in the Time of the Great Schism," *Mystics Quarterly* 25 (1999): 147–68; Vauchez, "Jeanne d'Arc," 161–62. See Noël Valois, ed., "Les révélations de Constance de Rabastens et le schisme d'occident (1384–1386)," *Annales du Midi* 8 (1896): 241–78.

³⁵ See Colledge, "Epistola solitarii," 31–33.

³⁶ Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 61; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 208–09. He goes on to argue, however, that experience of God is insufficient to assess the merits of mystical writings. One additionally requires theological training. Also see his acknowledgment of women's special ability in Gerson, *De mystica theologia practica*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 8: 22–23; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 294; compare *La Montaigne de contemplation*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 7, 1: 16; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 75. Elsewhere, he relates reading about a woman whose veins were said to burst, expanding like newly fermenting wine without an outlet, when she heard a preacher speak of the soul's union with God (*De mystica theologia speculativa*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 286–87). Gerson was probably reading Thomas of Cantimpré's *Bonum universale de apibus* 2.49.2 (Douai, 1627), 442–43.

³⁷ Gerson's second letter against Ruusbroec, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 98–99; McGuire,

defensiveness on behalf of the scholastic prerogative was additionally colored by his desire to reform the university by promoting mysticism.³⁸ To this end, he had begun lecturing on mysticism already in 1402 and writing scholarly treatises on the subject.³⁹ Moreover, at the end of the Council of Constance, when his efforts to destabilize Bridget's reputation for sanctity proved unsuccessful, Gerson composed several treatises discrediting the sensory visions that were the cornerstone of female mysticism.⁴⁰

Thus Gerson was proposing something like a hostile male "takeover" of an area of considerable female accomplishment—comparable to the way in which male artisans crowded women out of female-dominated crafts, once they became lucrative.⁴¹ In this context, it is worth reiterating that his guidelines require an assessor of mystical phenomena to have the advantage of both practical experience and theological training. This set of requirements would, by necessity, exclude women, who were barred from the universities. Interestingly, the experiential criterion may very well have excluded Gerson, who never claims that he himself was the recipient of mystical experiences.⁴² But the fact that he did not disqualify himself as a judge suggests that theological training is really what counted—even though this flies in the face of the apostolic designation of spiritual discernment as a gift of the spirit (1 Corinthians 12.10). Indeed, Gerson even posited that those entirely lacking in experience in mystical phenomena might make the best judges—a situation he likens to the superiority of the medical theorist over the practitioner or to the lot of a blind man whose enhanced powers of cognitive

Jean Gerson, 251. Gerson does, however, grant that the cleric is partially to blame: "Why is there, alas, such a paucity of contemplatives, even among learned and religious churchmen, indeed even among theologians, unless because scarcely anyone is able to bear being alone with himself long enough so that he can come to meditate?" *De mystica theologia practica*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 8: 41; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 323.

³⁸ See Palémon Glorieux, "Le Chancelier Gerson et la réforme de l'enseignement," in *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson* (Toronto, 1959), 285–98; Steven Ozment, "The University and the Church: Patterns of Reform in Jean Gerson," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 1 (1970): 112–16; and Ozment, *Homo Spiritualis: A Comparative Study of the Anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson, and Martin Luther in the Context of Their Theological Thought* (Leiden, 1969), 49–54. Also see Connolly, *John Gerson*, 207–10. Connolly notes that there is very little that is personal or original in Gerson's discussion, which is carefully written in line with Augustine, Bernard, and the Victorines.

³⁹ See John Gerson, *De theologia mystica lectiones sex*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 250–92. Excerpts from this treatise are translated by McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 262–87, and Steven Ozment, *Jean Gerson: Selections from A deo exivit, Contra curiositatem studentium and De mystica theologia speculativa, Textus minores*, 38 (Leiden, 1969), 46–73.

⁴⁰ See particularly John Gerson, *De meditatione cordis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 8: 77–84, esp. 83; and *De simplificatione cordis*, 8: 85–99, esp. 94. Both of these treatises were written at Constance in July 1417. By discrediting revelations that depended on images, Gerson was adhering to the traditional Augustinian hierarchy that ranked corporeal, imaginative, and intellectual vision in ascending order of excellence. Intellectual vision, that apprehended God directly, dispensed with images altogether. See Jeffrey Hamburger's analysis of the relation between images, the imagination, and female spirituality in *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). Also see Chiara Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions, and Iconography," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, eds. (Chicago, 1996), 130–64.

⁴¹ Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith Bennett analyze this oft-repeated pattern. See "Crafts, Gilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale," in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, Judith Bennett, et al., eds. (Chicago, 1989), 11–25.

⁴² D. Catherine Brown thinks it unlikely that Gerson was himself a mystic. See *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge, 1987), 205; compare McGuire's introduction, *Jean Gerson*, 21.

reasoning exist in inverse proportion to his visual impairment.⁴³ That no parallel claims were to be allowed for the purely experiential side is clear from Gerson's account of a woman—"a prophetess and a maker of miracles"—whom he met. In response to his question about how she knew that her spirit was annihilated and entirely recreated in the course of contemplation, she answered that she had experienced it—an answer that Gerson clearly regarded as so ludicrous as to not require further comment.⁴⁴ In short, Gerson was training what Michel Foucault might describe as a "fellowship of discourse" animated by the "prodigious machinery of the will to truth with its vocation of exclusion."⁴⁵ This team of professionals would be equipped to pronounce on the validity of female religious experience, with a view toward containment.

This position contradicts the more benign view articulated by D. Catherine Brown and others, who have argued that the fact that Gerson also wrote vernacular treatises on mysticism should be seen as a move toward democratization.⁴⁶ Such a perspective respectfully echoes some of Gerson's own more reasoned assurances but at the cost of overlooking the harried denunciations of the forces of popularization afoot "among servants, uneducated youths, slow-witted old people, the uneducated crowd, [and] broken-down old women" quoted earlier.⁴⁷ To construe Gerson's initiative primarily as a democratizing force for mysticism is to mistake the "inside" for the "outside." Mysticism was already democratized, already "out," as Gerson himself knew too well. Writing practical manuals for a laity that was rife with mystical impulses was parallel to the church's sacramentalization of marriage in the twelfth century—a power move that did not so much promote marriage as bring the laity more securely under ecclesiastical control. Gerson's strategy is already apparent in his *Mountain of Contemplation* of 1400, a vernacular treatise written for his sisters, in which he defends his decision to write such a treatise—almost as if the illiterate (that is, non-Latinate) female mystic was something rare that he was facilitating or even inventing.⁴⁸ But it is certainly significant that this same treatise entirely omits the highest stage in the mystical journey, namely ecstasy or rapture, through which the soul is united with God, in contrast with his parallel Latin treatments.⁴⁹ In short, Gerson's solicitude for the laity is at one with his suspicion and surveillance.

Thus far, I have attempted to identify the possible motives informing Gerson's prejudice against female mystical expression. The next four points focus on the methodological and ideological constructs that shaped the way in which this bias manifested itself. Of paramount importance are the mechanisms behind the

⁴³ Gerson, *De theologia mystica lectiones sex*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 255; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 270–71.

⁴⁴ This occurs in Gerson's second letter against Ruusbroec, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 102; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 255. See Lerner, *Heresy of the Free Spirit*, 166.

⁴⁵ Michel Foucault, "Discourse on Language," appendix in Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, A. M. Sheridan Smith, trans. (New York, 1972), 225, 220.

⁴⁶ Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 183–94; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 24; Connolly, *Jean Gerson*, 259–60.

⁴⁷ Compare Gerson's later *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 469.

⁴⁸ Gerson, *La Montaigne de contemplation*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 7, 1: 16; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 75.

⁴⁹ Compare Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 183. See Gerson's description of rapture in *De theologia mystica lectiones sex*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 282–83; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 282–84.

scholastic methodology. Abelard's decision to "withdraw from the court of Mars to kneel at the feet of Minerva" was hardly a pacific one: "I preferred the weapons of dialectic . . . and armed with these I chose the conflicts of disputation instead of the trophies of war." In fact, there was an inescapable violence to scholastic discourse, based, as it is, on disputation and domination of any given subject.⁵⁰ Gerson was well aware of the aggression and attendant abuses that such methods fostered. His treatise *One Hundred Utterances Concerning Impulses* condemns the urge toward deception rife among preachers or writers, which Gerson associates with a "shameless fantasy that . . . seeks machinations for conquest." Satan himself is portrayed as an adept theologian (witness his riddling of Eve or his temptation of Christ), whose presence is frequently concealed within "the snares of the sophists."⁵¹

This apprehension of the dangers of scholasticism did not interfere with Gerson's own deployment of incisive rhetorical weaponry. Scholars, trained in dialectic, were equally adept at subverting any positive "case" by arguing to the opposite purpose. Indeed, the *ad feminam* twist to Gerson's discourse on discernment is a case in point: *On the Proving of Spirits* is basically a reworking of a treatise defending the inspiration of Bridget's revelations by her confessor and literary executor, Alphonse of Pecha.⁵² In essence, scholastic argumentation leaves a shadow text of discarded or disproved tenets that invite ingenious appropriation. Gerson's subversion was skilled but routine. A shadow text can, as we shall see, coalesce and take shape in much more alarming and unpredictable ways.

In tandem with the scholarly apparatus associated with Gerson's theological training, one must consider the slow penetration of the inquisitional process into many different areas of Christian life. An import of Roman law, the *inquisitio*, with its pattern of interrogation—a different, though related, use of the *quaestio* than is present in scholasticism—became the preferred mechanism for arriving at the truth. Over the course of the thirteenth century, it left its mark, linking areas as seemingly disparate as sacramental confession, the canonization of saints, and the prosecution of heretics.⁵³

⁵⁰ Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, in Betty Radice, trans., *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 58. See Jody Enders, "The Theater of Scholastic Erudition," *Comparative Drama* 27 (1993): 352–53; and Helen Solterer, *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Chicago, 1995), 32–33. This tenor of violence is sustained by modern usage, as is apparent in George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's discussion of argument as war in *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980), 4–5.

⁵¹ Gerson also points to the female prophet in Acts 16.16, the source of considerable revenue to her masters, as an instance of Satan's theological mastery. Nor does he omit this opportunity to warn clerics against being taken in by the false marvels and revelations of women (*De centilogium de impulsibus*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 8: 141–43). His treatise *Contra curiositatem studentium* (1402) also upbraids scholars for their sterile, and frequently dangerous, appetite for novelties at the expense of Scripture and the Church Fathers (3: 224–49). This treatise has been partially translated by Ozment, *Jean Gerson: Selections*, 26–45.

⁵² See Colledge, "Epistola solitarii," 45. Arne Jönsson has edited Alphonse's treatise in *Alfonso of Jaén: His Life and Works* (Lund, 1989), 115–67. On the collaborative work between Bridget and Alphonse, see Hans Torben Gylkær, *The Political Ideas of St. Birgitta and Her Spanish Confessor, Alfonso Pecha*, Michael Cain, trans. (Odense, 1993).

⁵³ On the spread of the inquisitional procedure in the high Middle Ages, see A. Esmein, *A History of Continental Criminal Procedure with Special Reference to France*, John Simpson, trans. (Boston, 1913), 9–11, 79–89. Regarding the introduction of inquisitional procedure into processes of canonization, see Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 42–60. For the parallels between the inquisition against heresy and the private

Gerson's attitude to female spirituality was further informed by his perception of the clergy's pastoral duties. His treatises on discernment differ remarkably from those of his predecessors in his reliance on concrete cases and *exempla*, in this way emulating some of the earliest efforts to discuss spiritual discernment in the tradition of the Desert Fathers as exemplified in the works of John Cassian (d. 435) and John Climacus (d. 649).⁵⁴ The applied or even clinical nature of specific instances was in keeping with Gerson's pastoral concerns. But by constituting women as the frequent butt of his *exempla*, Gerson was making a deliberate intervention in a tradition that had been more inclined to address male error, since there were relatively few women in the eastern deserts of the early church. Moreover, since Gerson's treatises on the subject were written from a pastoral standpoint to alert other clerics to potential problems amid their flock, the implications of making his treatises pointedly *ad feminam* were potentially immense—particularly considering Gerson's unparalleled stature in Europe at this time.

Still, Gerson's use of the tradition of the Desert Fathers was selective. For instance, he periodically warned the spiritually inexperienced against a potentially dangerous imitation of their ascetical extremes.⁵⁵ Moreover, the Desert Fathers had assumed that the art of discernment was something that, at least initially, was to be practiced on oneself, though ultimately requiring that all spiritual impulses be submitted to one's spiritual director. Gerson's more immediate predecessors also seemed to envision that the individual would, as a matter of course, first practice discernment on his or her own revelations.⁵⁶ By contrast, Gerson primarily

inquisitions conducted in the course of sacramental confession, see Annie Cazenave, "Aveu et contrition: Manuels de confesseurs et interrogatoires d'inquisition en Languedoc et en Catalogne (XIII^e–XIV^e siècles)," in *La piété populaire au moyen âge*, Actes du 99^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Bescancon, 1974 (Paris, 1977), 333–52. Also see Lester Little, "Les techniques de la confession et la confession comme technique," in *Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle*, Table ronde organisée par l'Ecole Française de Rome, en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université de Padoue, Rome, 22–23 juin 1979 (Rome, 1981), 87–99. Little further presents the interrogatory nature of confession as a simplified scholastic exercise (p. 98). Despite the manifest presence of this procedure in different fora, there is a misguided tendency to associate all the abuses occasioned by the prosecution of heresy with the inquisitional procedure—a tendency Henry Ansgar Kelly refutes in "Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses," *Church History* 58 (1989): 439–51. Gerson's inquisitional strategies are discussed below.

⁵⁴ See particularly Cassian, *Conférences* 1.2, E. Pichery, ed., Sources Chrétiennes, no. 42 (Paris, 1955), 1: 109–37; trans. by Boniface Ramsey, in *John Cassian: The Conferences* (New York, 1997), 77–112; John Climacus, *Scala paradisi* step 26, *Patrologia Graeca*, J.-P. Migne, ed. (Paris, 1857–66), vol. 88, cols. 1013–96; trans. by Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell in *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (New York, 1982), 229–60. Also see Joseph Lienhard, "On 'Discernment of Spirits' in the Early Church," *Theological Studies* 41 (1980): 525–26; Regis Appel, "Cassian's *Discretio*—A Timeless Virtue," *American Benedictine Review* 17 (1966): 24–27; and Gustave Bardy, "Discernement des esprits: II. Chez les pères," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 3, cols. 1251–52. Gerson refers to both Cassian and Climacus by name with respect to discernment. See *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 44; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 345.

⁵⁵ See his first letter against Ruusbroec, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 62; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 210; compare *De non esu carniū*, in which Gerson evokes the traditional distinction between admiration versus imitation with regard to aspects of the ascetical doctrine of Climacus (*Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 87).

⁵⁶ See, for example, Henry of Friemar, who avers that Satan tricks individuals into mistrusting their own judgment (*De quatuor instinctibus*, fol. 61r). Compare Henry of Langenstein, who urges all those

represents discernment as the prerogative of the priesthood in its Janus-faced capacity of shepherd/judge.

Finally, there are certain structural and philosophical considerations to Gerson's discourse. By isolating woman per se as more prone to error, and thus particularly requiring pastoral vigilance, Gerson was following the structural logic of his own thrust toward exemplification. Thus the learned male clerical judge calls out for its counterpart: the unlearned female lay defendant. Insofar as this pairing corresponded with the contours of his prescribed hierarchy in discernment, this was a logical and controlled benefit of using women as *exempla*.

Some of the implications of casting women as negative exemplars necessarily reached beyond the compass of Gerson's work to the larger discursive terrain of misogyny. The general outlines of this discourse are familiar to us all.⁵⁷ First, there is the polarization in representations of women. Even as abstract and frequently positive concepts like philosophy, wisdom, or truth tend to seek female representation, so concrete instances of folly seek a female subject. Woman's capacity for negative exemplarity is not only conditioned by her perceived over-embodiment, as implied by her reproductive capacity, it is also buttressed by theological and medical traditions that saw woman as a "bad copy" of man—hence the familiar bent rib syndrome.⁵⁸ Moreover, the fall of humanity was, arguably, predicated on the inadequacy of Eve's faculty of discernment in the first place, a defect that rendered her an easy mark for the predatory suasions of Lucifer. In short, once Gerson moved the tradition of spiritual discernment in the direction he did, the very weight of woman's mottled representational legacy would open the way to unlimited elaboration. Momentum would make this development difficult to resist, let alone reverse. In fact, there was no mechanism for its release, since there was no alternative to substitute for women as an ideal type of a negatively valenced weak-minded carnality. As a result, the literature of spiritual discernment would become the prisoner of the misogynistic tradition: woman would come to embody the duplicity or "doubleness" that was afflicting Christendom, and thus become the target for its doubts and self-loathing.

GERSON'S EARLIER EFFORTS on discernment were not limited simply to the theoretical treatises discussed above, they also involved practical applications. In fact, Gerson's reputation as a reliable assessor seems to have been already established in

attempting to act in the spirit of God to study the various natural and supernatural forces affecting the individual (*De discretione spirituum* c. 2, p. 63). Peter d'Ailly's orientation in *De falsis prophetis* is more political. He anticipates individuals who are deliberately misleading others versus the kind of spiritual and pastoral problems that preoccupy other writers in this genre.

⁵⁷ Some of the most important misogynistic texts, as well as some notable defenses of women, have been translated by Alcuin Blamires in *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford, 1992). Also see his analysis of the ostensibly positive side of the discourse, *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture* (Oxford, 1997).

⁵⁸ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990), 31. Although Butler's idea of the bad copy is primarily mobilized to characterize the perception of gay sexuality in relation to heterosexuality, it is clearly useful for understanding medieval notions of gender. For an overview of the medical construction of woman's secondary nature, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), esp. pt. 1.

1401 or 1402, when he received an appeal from the prior of the abbey of Saint-Denys of Reims, Jean Morel, concerning the recently deceased holy woman Ermine of Reims. Ermine was a widow of humble origin who continued to live in the world after the death of her husband. Her turbulent inner life seems to have revolved around a series of celestial and demonic visitors—the latter never tiring in their attempts to pass themselves off as the former.⁵⁹ Gerson's response to this case is well worth lingering over since it establishes a strategy that will recur in his later dealings with female mystics, particularly Joan of Arc.⁶⁰ Morel was very anxious to have Gerson's reactions to the life and visions of Ermine. A model of scholarly method, Gerson's analysis is shaped into three conclusions (which, in turn, keep dividing down into triplicates), all devoted to limitation, containment, and damage control. In the first conclusion, Gerson posits that the book contains nothing contrary to Scripture, while similar occurrences are found in the lives of the fathers. Second: although the contents of her visions were not essential to an individual's salvation, "I think, nevertheless, that it is rash and crude to insist on dissenting from such things or to attack them with stubborn ill will."⁶¹ Third, the book should not be widely circulated but limited to those who would be edified by its contents. The restricted audience is called for, allegedly, out of respect for the book's contents: "so that what is holy not be cast to the dogs, as pearls are thrown before swine [Matthew 7.6]." An ideal audience would consist of "those who are stable in their way of life and concerned with their own salvation"—in other words, individuals who could easily dispense with such a model. To these select few, "this woman being poor, old, uneducated . . . provide[s] a powerful example of the apostolic truth that God has chosen what is weak in the world to overcome what is powerful [1 Corinthians 1.27]." In this context, "the powerful" indicates the many demons, continually plaguing her throughout her life, who are confounded by her humility.⁶² Against these supernatural foes, Ermine is fortified by a triplicate set of virtues. The first is her profound humility, which stimulated "a most passionate and conscientious awareness of her own weakness and imperfection." Second, her life demonstrates the ultimate safety that an unwavering faith imparts. Third, her prudent but unlearned simplicity is particularly commended: "an untaught wisdom, which does not depend on its own prudence but does all things with counsel [Proverbs 13.10]."⁶³ In the context of Gerson's subsequent treatises on discernment, this final

⁵⁹ See Gerson, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 93–96; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 244–49. Ermine's life and visions, recorded by her confessor, the Franciscan Jean Le Graveur, have recently been edited by Claude Arnaud-Gillet, *Entre Dieu et Satan: Les visions d'Ermine de Reims* (†1396) (Florence, 1997). Morel was acting on behalf of Ermine's confessor (see Arnaud-Gillet's introduction, 16–17). Glorieux had tentatively dated Gerson's letter as 1408. Arnaud-Gillet more convincingly places Gerson's initial assessment of Ermine in 1401 or 1402 (intro., 21–24). This makes sense in the context of Gerson's own statement, cited below, that his judgment on Ermine coincided with his treatise *On Distinguishing True from False Revelations*, which was written in 1401.

⁶⁰ See Françoise Bonney's comparison of Gerson's two interventions, "Jugement de Gerson sur deux expériences de la vie mystique de son époque: Les visions d'Ermine et de Jeanne d'Arc," in *Actes du 95^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims 1970* (Paris, 1974), 2: 187–95. The treatment is somewhat flawed by the implicit assumption that Gerson shared the same familiarity with Joan's visions as did the inquisitors at her trial (pp. 192–93). But see her characterization of Ermine's visions (pp. 190–92).

⁶¹ Gerson, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 94; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 245.

⁶² Gerson, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 95; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 247.

⁶³ Gerson, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 96; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 248.

characteristic may be seen as the cornerstone to his approval: truly ignorant, but she knows it! Docile and ductile, she can do no harm.

From first to last, Gerson's cautious endorsement of Ermine exemplifies scholarly prudence. Consistent with his own concern for authenticity, it concludes with the following assertion: "I have signed this letter in my own hand in testimony of both my agreement and consent. This is the hand which you know, which cannot be imitated and has no desire to deceive, and which I think could not lie with impunity."⁶⁴ As a whole, the letter is safely couched in the context of Morel's request (which was described as repeated and even importunate), while much of the "work" of the letter is to establish Gerson as an even-handed assessor versus an enthusiastic supporter. If subsequent events caused him to regret his decision, his earlier opinions had been sufficiently *sotto voce* as to make a reversal possible.

And such a reversal did eventually occur—although it is unclear how soon after Gerson's letter to Morel. In the final treatise that addresses the question of discernment directly, *On the Examination of Doctrine* (1423), Gerson cautions particularly against easily crediting those who use their purported revelations for usurping the right to teach and promoting their own claims to sanctity. Women, especially laywomen, are singled out. These usurpers can be broken down into three categories in ascending order of severity. From the point of view of intentionality, these first two categories are relatively innocuous: those suffering illusions due to brain damage (*ex fantasia capitis perturbati*) and those who are genuinely deceived but do not wish to deceive others. Ermine, however, is introduced in the lethal third category:

There are many others who do not wish themselves to be deceived, but nevertheless wish to deceive others by fashioning marvelous things and those things that they know to be false; and the number of those things is infinite, and, by me an expert who speaks often, if I wished to report or to write, a great effect that book would have and it would be a marvel amongst the curious. Blessed God preserved me many times from seduction [*a seductione*] from the mockery and contempt of such ones. I confess that earlier I was near seduction [*proximus seductioni*] over a certain Ermine of Reims through the relations of some men possessed of great reputations—if I had not, with God willing, tempered the manner of my response. Around that time, I compiled a little work or reading concerning the distinction of true revelations from false.⁶⁵

This passage is extremely revealing: God is seen as the custodian ensuring Gerson's credibility as the "expert who speaks often." Gerson is thus divinely spared various seductions—be they the derision of the curious or the more potent lure of Ermine and her puissant supporters. God's intervention is particularly manifest in the fact that Gerson "tempered the manner of [his] response." Thus his measured method of discernment receives a kind of divine ratification.

⁶⁴ Gerson, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 96; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 248–49.

⁶⁵ Gerson, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 474. Arnaud-Gillet notes that, by the time of Gerson's reversal, all of Ermine's supporters were safely dead; *Entre Dieu et Satan*, 26–27. The preface of the Latin translation of Ermine's *vita* emphasizes that the original vernacular life had been carefully examined and pronounced orthodox by many prudent men, among whom "were famous masters in sacred theology." While clearly alluding to Gerson, the translator does not mention him by name, probably aware of Gerson's later repudiation of Ermine (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Lat. 13782, fol. 2r).

We are not told what specifically led to Gerson's disillusionment with Ermine. Nor is it at all certain whether his shifting perspective directly prompted the treatise on discernment, to which he refers, or whether he was still riding the crest of his modest wave of support for Ermine.⁶⁶ But his initial caution and his ultimate reversal both appear to be motivated by the fear of being duped by a fake or "bad copy." This fear informs his attraction to the rhetoric of authentic coins versus counterfeits in *On Distinguishing True from False Revelations*. Indeed, Gerson builds his entire treatise around this metaphor: "We are to be like spiritual moneychangers or merchants. With skill and care we examine the precious and unfamiliar coin of divine revelation, in order to find out whether demons, who strive to corrupt and counterfeit any divine and good coin, smuggle in a false and base coin instead of the true and legitimate one."⁶⁷ Moreover, his leading example is, arguably, the most compelling instance of impostorship perpetrated amid the Desert Fathers: a series of incidents in which the devil disguises himself as Christ. The fathers are not deceived in answering: "'I do not wish to see Christ on earth. I will be happy to see him in heaven,'" or variations thereof.⁶⁸ The implication is not only that any credible mystic would exercise parallel skepticism with respect to supernatural visitors but that Gerson's readers should manifest similar caution with the mystic.

The image of the moneychanger perfectly adumbrates Gerson's approach to discernment, while securely anchoring it within tradition. With regard to the latter point: the link between discernment of spirits and the testing of metals did not originate with Gerson. From patristic times, the art of discernment had been likened to the task of the *numeralius* or moneychanger, whose profession required him to authenticate or "prove" (*probare*) coins by testing them in a fire. This was a frequent analogy employed by Jerome, Ambrose, Cassian, and others.⁶⁹ The image

⁶⁶ Note that, in addition to his allusion to Marguerite Porete's confusion of carnal and spiritual love mentioned above, this treatise also contains what was initially identified by Johan Huizinga as an autobiographical episode concerning a spiritual friendship with a woman that slowly reverted to its carnal counterpart (*De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 52; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 357). See Brian Patrick McGuire's discussion of this episode, and the way it might have shaped Gerson's attitude toward women, "Jean Gerson and the End of Spiritual Friendship: Dilemmas of Conscience," in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, Julian Halsedine, ed. (Thrupp, 1999), 236–38.

⁶⁷ Gerson, *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 39; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 337.

⁶⁸ Gerson, *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 39; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 339; compare *De probatione spirituum*, 9: 182; trans. Boland, *Concept of "Discretio spirituum,"* 33.

⁶⁹ Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 1.1, M. Adriaen, ed., *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (hereafter, *CCSL*) 14 (Turnhout, 1957), 6–7; Cassian, *Conférences* 1.20–22, Pichery, 1: 101–05; Ramsey, *John Cassian*, 59–63; Jerome, *Commentar. in Epist. ad Ephes.* 3.4, vol. 31, ad *Omnis amaritudo, et furor, et ira*, *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter, *PL*), J.-P. Migne, ed. (Paris, 1857–64), vol. 26, col. 549; Jerome, *Comment. in Epist. ad Philemonem* vol. 4 and following, ad *Gratias ago Deo me semper*, *PL* 26, col. 646. Compare Gregory the Great's detailed deployment of this theme with respect to the question of false prophets when commenting on the qualities of Leviathan in Job 41.10 (*Moralia in Iob* 33.35.60, *CCSL* 143b [Turnhout, 1985], 1724–26). Jerome increases the authority of this image when he claims that Christ himself ordered his followers to be good moneychangers (Epistle 119, To Minervius and Alexander, *Epistulae*, I. Hilberg, ed., *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 55, rev. and supplemented edn. [Vienna, 1996], 467–68). Alardus Gazaeus identifies this passage as the gospel according to the Hebrews—an apocryphal work that still would have been fair game at the time of Origen and earlier commentators on this theme, but that was somewhat more questionable by Jerome's time. See Gazaeus's commentary on Cassian's *Collationes* 1.20, *PL* 49, col. 511, note d. For earlier

was particularly propitious because God was frequently described as “proving” his elect like gold in a furnace through the visitation of various trials—the quintessential example being Job, who explicitly likens himself to gold being passed through the fire.⁷⁰ The apostolic injunction to “prove the spirits” (1 John 4.1) implicitly associates God’s probatory function with the assessments wrought by human ministers.

By enlisting this venerable image, Gerson would receive the weighty validation imparted by the unassailable biblical and patristic legacy. But he was doubtless attracted to the imagery surrounding this form of authentication for its affinities with the scholastic methodology itself and the potential parallels between the analogous functions of moneychanger and scholar. Both sets of professionals were fully apprised of the alarming fact that once the counterfeit coin was introduced into a particular economy—be it fiscal, intellectual, or spiritual—it would circulate like any other coin, mysteriously contaminating all that it touched.⁷¹ In order to avert this, the moneychanger “proved” (*probare*) gold in a fire, while the scholar “proved” (*probare*) a subject (or proposition) by assailing it with various objections. Gerson proceeds to establish five metallurgically informed proofs of authenticity—each of which is associated with a necessary virtue. Hence weight corresponds with and is “proved” by humility, flexibility with discretion, durability with patience, conformability with truth, color with charity.⁷²

Gerson’s caution with regard to Ermine is at one with the strategy pursued in his most celebrated treatise on discernment, *On the Proving of Spirits*—a title both invoking Paul’s biblical injunction and subtly sustaining the image of the moneychanger. In this work, his challenge of Bridget of Sweden’s recent canonization is subtly couched in a triple set of dangers: the risk that the council may approve visions that are imagined and false, the potential scandal of suppressing a cult to which many already adhere, and the danger in silence. Gerson’s response is to propose his “middle ground,” consisting of the ensuing guidelines for discernment.⁷³ Thus, assembling his ideas under twelve considerations, Gerson first focuses on who is qualified to discern spirits. While acknowledging in passing that some can discern spirits on the basis of inspiration of the Holy Spirit alone, and that an experiential knowledge of mysticism is necessary, the treatise is nevertheless focused on what he lists as the first method of discernment: “the norms from holy

instances, particularly in the eastern church, see A. Resch, *Agrapha: Ausserkanonische Evangelienfragmente* (Leipzig, 1889), 116–27.

⁷⁰ Job 23.10; compare Wisdom 3.5–6, Psalms 16.3.

⁷¹ See Jacques Derrida, *Given Time*, Vol. 1: *Counterfeit Money*, Peggy Kamuf, trans. (Chicago, 1992), 157–58. Derrida emphasizes that whatever interest accrues still has a disturbing origin “from a simulachrum, from a copy of a copy (*phantasma*),” p. 161. Thanks to Simon Gaunt for bringing this work to my attention. It is interesting to note in this context that Cassian’s spiritual counterfeit coin is identical in every way to the legitimate species—save that it was unlawfully minted (*Conférences* 1.20, 1.21, Pichery, 104, 105; Ramsey, *John Cassian*, 61, 62). The same holds true for the alleged work of the heretical Lollard counterfeiters described in Paul Strohm, *England’s Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 128–52, esp. 128–29.

⁷² Gerson, *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 39; McGuire, *Jean Gerson*, 338.

⁷³ Gerson, *De probatione spirituum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 179; Boland, *Concept of “Discretio spirituum,”* 28–29.

scripture and those proposed by good men [*viros*] well versed in it.”⁷⁴ He reduces his method to six terse principles of inquiry to be applied to the probation of mystic and revelations alike. These he summarizes in a little ditty (which in the Latin original would have rhymed): “Ask who, what, why / To whom, what kind, whence?” The following gloss is, in turn, given: “*Who* is it to whom the revelation is made? *What* does the revelation itself mean and to what does it refer? *Why* is it said to have taken place? *To whom* was it manifested for advice? *What kind of life* does the visionary lead? *Whence* does the revelation originate?”⁷⁵ In this line of questioning, we can decipher the familiar contours of interrogation associated with the inquisitional procedure and, ultimately, its diverse uses.⁷⁶ Thus later, in the same treatise, when Gerson comments on the indispensability of theologians to the processes of canonization of saints, he automatically brings to mind its inquisitionally constituted ethos.⁷⁷

Beyond the various dangers to which Gerson alludes at the outset of *On the Proving of Spirits* is the tacit or suppressed danger that Gerson’s view might ultimately be rejected by the assembly—which is, in a sense, what occurred. And since the Council of Constance did, ultimately, approve Bridget and her revelations, it is just as well that Gerson simply posed Bridget and her ilk as a *quaestio*, for which he provided the appropriate apparatus but not the solution.

The inquisitional allusions are taken up with still greater vehemence in the final treatise, *On the Examination of Doctrine*. Here, Gerson calls for a more “particular inquisition” of a confessor’s overly partial testimony at a deceased penitent’s process of canonization.⁷⁸ He also notes that if “a great inquisition” occurs over the purveyors of heretical opinion, how much more apt for the screening of new teachings, be they theological or canonical.⁷⁹ As already mentioned, it is this later treatise that denounces Ermine by name, leaving little doubt about the very high price Gerson assigned to credulity about female visions. His critique of confessors who sponsor their female penitents’ cults is followed by an admonition to clerics against ceding authority to women and idiots. This point is punctuated with the example of Gregory XI who, *in extremis* with his hand on the consecrated host, bemoaned his own adherence to certain mystics whom Gerson refrains from

⁷⁴ Gerson, *De probatione spirituum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 178; Boland, *Concept of “Discretio spirituum,”* 28.

⁷⁵ Gerson, *De probatione spirituum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 180; Boland, *Concept of “Discretio spirituum,”* 30.

⁷⁶ Raymond of Peñafort’s extremely influential *Summa de paenitentia* was instrumental in spreading this manner of interrogation. Compare the following little ditty to be adopted by the confessor: “Who, what, where, through whom, how many times, why, how, and when, / Should be observed by all when applying the medicine” (3.34.31, Xavier Ochoa and Aloisius Diez, eds., *Universa Bibliotheca Iuris*, vol. 1 [Rome, 1976], vol. B, col. 828); also see John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* 3.34.82–83 (Rome, 1518), fols. 192v–193r. For Gerson’s deployment of the inquisitional techniques in the confessional, see Brian Patrick McGuire, “Education, Confession, and Pious Fraud: Jean Gerson and a Late Medieval Change,” *American Benedictine Review* 47 (1996): 330–33; also see Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), 23.

⁷⁷ Gerson, *De probatione spirituum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 181; Boland, *Concept of “Discretio spirituum,”* 32.

⁷⁸ Gerson, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 469.

⁷⁹ Gerson, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 471–72.

naming, though clearly alluding to Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Siena, whose deluded advice precipitated the papal schism.⁸⁰

GERSON HAD THE OPPORTUNITY to refine considerably his scholarly technique of spiritual discernment over the years. But when he attempted to use this mechanism in a different way, he learned that he was less its master than he might have supposed. I am referring to his attempt to use it for purposes of vindication, perhaps even sanctification, in the case of Joan of Arc.⁸¹ Try as he might to adapt his discourse of discernment to an alternate and more vindictory purpose, he was to discover himself, like the captain of the *Titanic*, unable to change its course or to overcome its inevitable inertia. He could not “turn it around.” By the time he saw the iceberg, it was too late; a collision was inevitable.

Uniting the exacting requirements for academic proof with the uniformity of an inquisition, Gerson’s approach procedurally required the seeming disinterest of the inquisitor versus the overt ardor of a potential apologist. This would be in keeping with Gerson’s disparagement of a confessor’s bias in favor of his holy charge. From Gerson’s perspective, this disinterest not only added the sheen of credibility to the endeavor, it also provided the essential room to maneuver in the event that the judge had to revoke an earlier decision. But, ultimately, Gerson’s machine was built to generate judgments. Moreover, fueled as it was by objections, careful considerations, and doubt, it was better adapted to producing condemnations than vindications, even as it was more successful at identifying heretics than identifying saints.

Twenty-eight years after his regretted endorsement of Ermine of Reims, fourteen years after his scuttled attempt to undermine Bridget of Sweden’s

⁸⁰ Gerson, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 469–70. Note that eventually, with the publication of the Codex, an individual saint’s confessor would be excluded as a witness to his penitent’s sanctity. See Angelus Mitri, *De figura juridica postulatoris in causis beatificationis et canonizationis* (Rome, 1962), 101–02 n. 41. On Bridget and Catherine’s involvement in the schism, see Bridget Morris, *St. Birgitta of Sweden* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), 113–17; Karen Scott, “‘Io Catharina’: Ecclesiastical Politics and Oral Culture in the Letters of Catherine of Siena,” in *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*, Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus, eds. (Philadelphia, 1993), 87–121; and n. 1, above.

⁸¹ For the initial controversy surrounding Joan, see Deborah Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000). This useful book only came to my attention once this article was completed. Joan’s mission would, in fact, be helped by the contemporary climate of prophecy. See Jacques Paul, “Le prophétisme autour de Jeanne d’Arc et de sa mission,” in *Il profetismo gioachimita tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti, S. Giovanni in Fiore, 17–21 settembre 1989, Gian Luca Potestà, ed. (Genoa, 1991), 157–81; Vauchez, “Jeanne d’Arc,” 163–66. In particular, Joan’s coming was thought to have been predicted by the prophetess Marie Robine. See Noël Valois, “Jeanne d’Arc et la prophétie de Marie Robine,” in *Mélanges Paul Fabre: Etudes d’histoire du moyen âge* (Paris, 1902), 452–67. See Matthew Tobin, “Le ‘Livre de révélations’ de Marie Robine: Étude et édition,” *MEFRM* 98 (1986): 229–64. The question of Joan’s awareness of these prophecies is raised at her trial. See Pierre Tisset, ed., *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc* (Paris, 1960–), 1: 67. Also note the important role played by the popular apocalyptic preacher Brother Richard, whose impact is described in the journal of an anonymous Parisian. See *A Parisian Journal: 1405–1449*, ann. 1429, Janet Shirley, trans. (Oxford, 1968), 230–35. The only time Joan met with Brother Richard, he performed an ad hoc exorcism before approaching her, but he would eventually validate her mission. Joan is also questioned about her dealings with him at her trial (Tisset, *Procès*, 1: 98; compare 261, 100, 105, 206). See Jules de La Martinière, “Frère Richard et Jeanne d’Arc à Orléans: Mars-juillet 1430,” *Le moyen âge*, ser. 3, 5 (1934): 189–98.

canonization, Gerson, writing in exile in Lyons as an enemy of the now ascendant Anglo-Burgundian party, set about vindicating the divine source of Joan of Arc's inspiration.⁸² The tone is characteristically cautious. Even so, there is good reason to believe that his support of Joan was every bit as warm as that of Christine de Pizan, who wrote an ardent poem commemorating Joan as a model of female heroism.⁸³ But Gerson's investment is reflected inversely in the degree of reasoned detachment he affects in his treatise. (And I should say at the outset that it is these devices of detachment I am concerned with rather than the arguments Gerson mobilizes for her defense.) The opening of the treatise sets the tone:

Over the deed of the maid and the credulity fit to be extended to her, it ought to be supposed in the first place that many false things are probable—indeed according to the Philosopher it is proposed that false things are more probable than certain true ones to the extent that contradictory things are the same in degree of probability though not in truth. [Second] It ought to be further heeded that probability, if rightly founded and understood, ought not to be called an error or erroneous unless its assertion is pertinaciously extended beyond the limits of probability . . . A third consideration arises concerning faith and good morals which creates a twofold difference . . . Some things are said for the necessity of faith, and these admit of no doubt or conjecture of probability, [since] according to popular judgment, doubt in faith is infidelity . . . Different again are those things in the faith or of the faith that are called for by piety or devotion, but in no way from necessity, concerning which things it can be said in the common tongue: he who doesn't believe it isn't damned.⁸⁴

In this rather involuted opening, the mechanisms of skepticism are finely tuned in the extreme—simultaneously establishing Gerson's disinterested right to judge, while building into his defense of Joan a generous escape clause for himself. He secures this latter condition by enlisting the Aristotelian supposition that the realm of the probable invariably overshadows the actual, at the same time maintaining that (despite its extreme fallibility) a position based on probability is not an error. Gerson proceeds to underline the compulsory nature of the articles of the faith with an explicit, albeit unavowed, citation from the *Decretales* of Gregory IX.⁸⁵ The noncompulsory nature of popular devotion is, by contrast, signified by a popular adage in the vernacular. In other words, if Gerson is wrong in his subsequent support of Joan (and the laws of probability are against him, as he himself points

⁸² On Joan of Arc and the challenge that her visions presented for the discernment of spirits, see William Christian, who uses Joan as something of a test case for later Christian visionaries, in *Apparitions in Late Medieval Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 188–94. Also see Karen Sullivan, who, while acknowledging that Gerson was writing for a clerical audience of potential assessors, nevertheless argues that Gerson tacitly implied that the mystic could apply his guidelines for discernment on him or herself. She further posits that Joan did attempt something like Gersonian discernment on her own revelations (*The Interrogation of Joan of Arc* [Minneapolis, 1999], 33–35). The reasons underwriting Gerson's exile have to do with his condemnation of the murder of the duke of Orléans by the Burgundians (see Connolly, *John Gerson*, 164–67, 189–91).

⁸³ See Christine de Pizan's *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty, eds. (Oxford, 1977); trans. by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kenneth Brownlee in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan: New Translations, Criticism* (New York, 1997), 252–62.

⁸⁴ John Gerson, *De puella Aurelianensi*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 661–62. This treatise has been partially translated by H. G. Francq, "Jean Gerson's Theological Treatise and Other Memoirs in Defence of Joan of Arc," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 41 (1971): 61–64. Fraioli summarizes this treatise in *Joan of Arc*, 22–44. She remains, however, circumspect as to its authorship.

⁸⁵ X.5.7.1, in *Decretalium collectiones*, vol. 2 of *Corpus iuris canonici*, Emil Friedberg, ed. (Leipzig, 1879), col. 778. This is the authoritative canonistic work of the period.

out), he is not in error. By the same token, neither does anyone who refuses to believe in Joan err.⁸⁶

Even after weaving this elaborate safety net, Gerson still demurs, instead proceeding to outline certain conditions for establishing the merit of an object of devotion: that the cult leads to greater piety, that probability is established on the basis of reliable eyewitnesses, and that the matter is screened by a theologian.⁸⁷ In other words, his criteria for whether or not Joan's deed is worthy of veneration closely track those used for the canonization of saints.⁸⁸ At this juncture, he takes a second opportunity to point to the disagreement among experts regarding matters of piety—vexed questions such as the conception of the Virgin Mary, the validity of indulgences for certain sins, and the authenticity of various relics.

Only now is Gerson prepared to undertake his assessment of Joan's claims. In brief, he argues that belief in the deed of the Maid of Orléans can be maintained by its excellent outcome: the restitution of the kingdom and the repulsion of France's enemies. Certain attendant circumstances weigh in her favor: she does not use witchcraft and she takes risks on behalf of a worthy cause.

At this point, Gerson momentarily breaks off his defense to address the many malicious rumors circulating against Joan, answering with a line from Cato's *Distichs* to the effect that he need not concern himself with judging what everyone else says.⁸⁹ "But," Gerson continues, "we do have to judge what ought to be believed or upheld, maintaining prudence and pushing contention and sedition far away for, as the Apostle says, a servant of God does not litigate" (2 Timothy 11.24). Thus, underlining his function as disinterested judge, he posits that either these discussions must be tolerated or the matter should be referred to religious superiors, as is the case with the canonization of saints. He again takes the opportunity to note that, while veneration of particular cults is not a requirement of the faith, still they ought not to be derided. Indeed, a canonized saint warrants more respect than his or her popular but unauthorized counterpart.

The apology is again resumed: the Maid has the faith of the king and his council, creates exultation in and increases the piety of the people, and inspires fear in the

⁸⁶ Compare Gerson's similar insistence that an individual is not in error for backing the various papal contenders in the time of the schism, provided he or she is acting in good faith (John Gerson, *De modo se habendi tempore schismatis*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 6: 29–30). See Alain Boureau's discussion of the anxiety surrounding the pseudo-pope and the foil he creates for the eschatologically inflected expectation of an angelic pope in *The Myth of Pope Joan*, Lydia Cochrane, trans. (Chicago, 2001), 147–49.

⁸⁷ Gerson, *De puella Aurelianensi*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 662.

⁸⁸ The basic protocol is outlined by the canonist Hostiensis (d. 1271) in Henry of Segusio, Cardinal, *In tertium decretalium librum* (Venice, 1581), ad X.3.45, *De reliquiis, et veneratione sanctorum* c. 1, vol. 2, fols. 172r–v. See Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 484–89, 600–14; Aviad Kleinberg, "Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* 20 (1989): 183–205. Georges Peyronnet also notes the resemblance between Gerson's defense and the criteria for papal canonization: "Gerson, Charles VII et Jeanne d'Arc: La propagande au service de la guerre," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 84, no. 1 (1989): 344.

⁸⁹ Gerson, *De puella Aurelianensi*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 663. The *Distichs* was an anonymous collection of witty sayings, written sometime in the third century but attributed to Cato the Elder. The work was wildly popular in the Middle Ages, especially in university circles. The full epigraph, of which Gerson only cites the second line, is: "When you live properly, don't worry about the words of evil men; / it is not necessary that we judge what everybody else says" (*Disticha Catonis* 3.2, Marcus Boas, ed. [Amsterdam, 1952], 154).

enemy.⁹⁰ Neither she nor her followers are imprudent, willful, or stubborn. They are not tempting God; in fact, the Maid takes her directions and warnings from God. He likens her to other religious heroines such as Deborah, St. Catherine, or Judith. Even if there is no sequel to her initial miraculous success, this does not signify that her achievements were wrought by an evil spirit: it could well be that France's own sinfulness aborted God's goodness. Finally, he concludes with four "civil and theological" considerations in her favor: the king and his relatives, the French army, the clergy and the laity, and the Maid herself—the purpose of each being to live well and piously for God. The Maid, moreover, displays the grace of God in her selflessness and piety, as well as her work for peace in France. He concludes simply: "This deed was done by God."⁹¹

Appended to the treatise proper is an additional threefold defense of Joan's assumption of masculine garb, which basically argues that the Old Testament prohibition on a female assumption of male costume can be waived, given the proper circumstances.⁹² The conclusion is especially germane. Warning that France's skeptical ingratitude of Joan's victory may result in the withdrawal of divine assistance, Gerson ends with this observation: "For God changes his sentence as a result of a change in merit, even if he does not change his counsel."⁹³ Such a sentiment also leaves room for Gerson to change his sentence on Joan, yet his advice concerning spiritual discernment would have remained admirably consistent.

IN NO TIME AT ALL, Gerson's treatise—redolent of his own latent ambivalence and couched in the tacitly reversible language of scholasticism—spawned a double condemning Joan. The timing was very tight. Gerson's treatise-proper is dated May 14, 1429—that is, six days after the successful battle of Orléans and a mere two months before Gerson's own death. By the end of the summer, the Anglo-Burgundian party would create their own response to Gerson's defense.⁹⁴ Originating from the University of Paris, now solidly pro-English, this is the first piece of evidence indicating the university's interest in Joan of Arc. This institutional concern should certainly be construed as a frightening confirmation of the success of Gerson's former initiative on discernment. His various treatments of the subject,

⁹⁰ Gerson, *De puella Aurelianensi*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 663.

⁹¹ Gerson, *De puella Aurelianensi*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 664.

⁹² Gerson, *De puella Aurelianensi*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 665. In this justification, he furthers Joan's case for sanctity by comparing her visions of angels with the comparable sightings of St. Cecilia, explaining their privilege in terms of the angelic affinity for virgins. Interestingly, Gerson does not take advantage of the cross-dressing female saints in the hagiographic tradition, even though one of Joan's voices, Margaret, had availed herself of this strategy to avoid marriage—at least in one of the versions of her tale cited in James of Voragine's popular *Golden Legend*. See Marie Delcourt, "Le complexe de Diane dans l'hagiographie chrétienne," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 143 (1958): 18–28; compare Charles Wood, *Joan of Arc and Richard III: Sex, Saints, and Government in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988), 136–37.

⁹³ Gerson, *De puella Aurelianensi*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 665.

⁹⁴ The treatise is edited and translated by Noël Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage sur Jeanne d'Arc: Réponse d'un clerc parisien à l'apologie de la pucelle par Gerson (1429)," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de France* 43 (1906): 161–79. For dating, see p. 165. Also see Peyronnet's discussion in "Gerson, Charles VII et Jeanne d'Arc," 358–59; and Fraioli, *Joan of Arc*, 159–72.

in addition to his university-sponsored lectures on mysticism, had fostered a generation of protégés on discernment. The anonymous treatise's full command of its tools is reflected in the title—accordingly called *On the Good and the Evil Spirit*.⁹⁵

This tract is a veritable evil twin of Gerson's work in every sense of the word, not merely of the treatise defending Joan but of all his former endeavors on spiritual discernment. Even its most basic strategy, the simple inversion of a defense into an attack, was one that we have witnessed Gerson employing in his negative recasting of Alphonse of Pech's defense of Bridget of Sweden. The Anglo-Burgundian treatise existed in similar parasitical relation to Gerson's originary host.

With a view to exploitation, the anonymous author was also quick to comprehend where Gerson had left himself most vulnerable: the constant recourse to the cult of saints. Throughout his treatise, Gerson had relied on contemporary criteria for canonization to assess Joan's achievement, making perceptions of sanctity central to his defense of Joan. While the often-reiterated reminder of the noncompulsory nature of veneration simultaneously softened his claims on her behalf, this position was largely sustained by contrasting pious but optional devotion with compulsory adherence to church doctrine. Dissent in the latter category was inexcusable and "ought finally to be exterminated by iron and fire, according to the ecclesiastical sentences carried against heretics. This point can be made with a useful proverb: fame, faith, and the eye do not suffer tricks."⁹⁶

The appeal to contemporary criteria of sanctity and heresy, and the common set of procedures intended to separate the two poles, was on a continuum with Gerson's earlier insistence that living teachers be subjected to a "great inquisition." Even so, it was a false step. Credence in the divinely inspired nature of Joan's mission was seemingly inseparable from claims on behalf of Joan's divine inspiration. By likening belief in Joan's mission to the pious veneration of saints, Gerson was leaving her insufficiently insulated from charges that she was, or believed herself to be, worthy of veneration—a level of hubris that would immediately point to her unworthiness.

The anonymous *On the Good and the Evil Spirit* eagerly took up the gauntlet from where Gerson had unfortunately let it drop, at once beginning with an avowed citation of Gregory IX's *Decretales*, affirming the solidarity of orthodoxy and condemning superstitious novelties.⁹⁷ Those who give credence to the claims that the Maid and her mission are divinely inspired are acting without the evidence of miracles or the testimony of the Scripture, thus willfully contravening canon law, even as the Maid's claims should lay her open to suspicions of heresy.⁹⁸ Had she truly been sent by God, she would hardly wear male clothing. Indeed, by claiming

⁹⁵ There is a record for September 22, 1429, that 8 sol. was paid for a copy of the treatise *De bono et malo spiritu* [sic]. See H. Denifle, ed., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1897), no. 2370, 4: 515. Others have also recognized that, while Gerson's opinion of Joan was rejected, his methodology was used by those who tried her. See Sullivan, *Interrogation of Joan*, 33–34; Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval Spain*, 92–93.

⁹⁶ Gerson, *De puella Aurelianensi*, in Glorieux, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 662.

⁹⁷ Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage," 176. See X.1.1.1, in Friedberg, *Decretalium collectiones*, cols. 5–6; X.1.4.9, col. 41.

⁹⁸ Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage," 175. See X.5.7.12 (under the general rubric *De haereticis*), in Friedberg, *Decretalium collectiones*, cols. 784–87. As Valois notes, this canon figured prominently in

that her male clothing is dictated by her mission, her defenders are not only guilty of attempting to defend a sin but even fail in their exculpatory function, since many evil things are done under the guise of good. A woman's assumption of male dress is described as "an unrestrained opportunity for fornicating and performing manly acts."⁹⁹ Moreover, the true faith would never be party to such a scandal, even if it meant the loss of France to the English.¹⁰⁰

In turning to the alleged benefits produced by the Maid's deeds, the counter-attack quickens. The anonymous author claims that, rather than Joan being an agent of peace, hostilities had increased since her appearance, while Joan herself was bellicose and immoral. Thus God would never have incited her to undertake a battle on the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, proof that her inspiration was diabolical. More damning still is the allegation that Joan had permitted children to offer her candles on bended knee—thereby encouraging the sin of idolatry.¹⁰¹ Indeed, the anonymous cleric goes on to argue that already, in many regions, actual images of Joan were being venerated as if she were dead and canonized—an outrage against the faith since no one may be honored as a saint while still living. Nor should an individual be venerated after death unless already canonized.¹⁰² He thus argues that Joan's position is contrary to the faith, and then proceeds to invoke, by inversion, Gerson's words twice in quick succession, pointing to the dire consequences of Joan's behavior. First, the proverb "fame, faith, and the eye do not suffer tricks" is cited. In this instance, however, it is no longer intended to accentuate the distance between noncompulsory veneration and compulsory articles of the faith, thus removing all necessity from belief in Joan's mission. Rather, it is used to demonstrate that Joan, in permitting herself to be worshiped, had crossed a line and become a danger to the faith. He then reverses Gerson's contention that the deed of the Maid can be supported, as Gerson put it, "with the piety of the Catholic faith and sincere devotion," instead using the same phrase to argue that she moves the simple to disrespect of God, imperiling their souls and

Joan's process of condemnation ("Un nouveau témoignage," 175 n. 3). See the final deliberations of the doctors and masters of Rouen, in Tisset, *Procès*, 1: 320.

⁹⁹ Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage," 176. Out of the many canons cited supporting the contention against female cross-dressing, only the first is an explicit anathema on the practice from the Council of Gangra (circa 340). See Dist. 30, c. 6, *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, vol. 1 of Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, col. 108. The association between the assumption of male dress and fornication is, interestingly, supported by Innocent III's condemnation of a Spanish abbess who was performing certain sacerdotal (and hence masculine) functions, such as hearing confession (X.5.38.10, in Friedberg, *Decretalium collectiones*, cols. 886–87).

¹⁰⁰ Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage," 176–77.

¹⁰¹ Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage," 177–78. Joan was repeatedly questioned about her raid on Paris, which occurred on the Virgin's Nativity, at her trial (Tisset, *Procès*, 1: 53, 141, 267–68). For her part, Joan claimed that it was not a mortal sin, since she was confident that she would be aware if she had committed one (1: 152). The anonymous Parisian also takes note of Joan's raid on the feast of Mary's Nativity (Shirley, *Parisian Journal*, ann. 1429, p. 240). At her trial, her various interlocutors likewise tried to show that she received inappropriate reverence from various individuals (Tisset, *Procès*, 1: 100, 101).

¹⁰² Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage," 178. In support of his indictment, the anonymous critic cites X.2.20.52 (which treats the necessity of carefully examining witnesses in processes of canonization) and the entire title for *De reliquiis et veneratione sanctorum* (X.3.45), which treats papal prerogative in canonization and forbids a profligate display of relics (Friedberg, *Decretalium collectiones*, cols. 339, 650). Joan denied that she had anything to do with images being circulated of her, but she did admit to having seen one in the hands of a Scotsman (Tisset, *Procès*, 1: 98–99, 261).

subverting the faith.¹⁰³ This contention is buttressed by demonstrating a link between idolatry and witchcraft:

Likewise . . . she seems to use sorcery . . . when the aforesaid innocents offered the wax candles to her with the aforesaid veneration, she occasioned three drops of wax from that burning candle to be dropped over the heads of those making the offering, predicting to them that good would come to them from the virtue of that act, and thus the aforesaid offering is deemed idolatry and such a dropping is heresy with sorcery involved. And for that reason it concerns the inquisitor for the faith, by reason of his office, to inquire about the crime of heresy and punish.¹⁰⁴

With this blatant accusation of heresy, the author enjoins the university, bishop, and inquisitor to unite in suppressing the error. The legalistic momentum is briefly interrupted by a quotation from *The Remedies for Love*: “resist beginnings; too late is the medicine prepared.” But there is nevertheless a bizarre appropriateness to this Ovidian interlude. This violently misogynistic work, a favorite in university circles, professed to teach men how best to resist the wiles of female seduction.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Ovid’s pseudo-medicinal strain sets up the canonistic climax to the treatise, which urges that “the putrid flesh should be cut off, and the scabby beasts repelled from the sheepfold”—an explicit citation from Gratian’s *Decretum*.¹⁰⁶ This conclusion, and the authority invoked, is in keeping with a central strategy of the treatise, which was to move the entire discourse more solidly into the orbit of canon law. And indeed, every one of its harsh contentions was buttressed by recourse to canonical procedure with heretics.

WHILE GERSON’S TREATISE is now generally understood as genuine, a question mark had traditionally hung over its authenticity, attributable to the saturation of the entire discussion with anxieties about forgery and counterfeit.¹⁰⁷ His legacy in spiritual discernment definitely helped to foster these doubts. As a modern biographer of Joan writes: “Gerson was . . . a severe opponent of the many visionaries of the day and was quick to censure individual claims to divine guidance outside the rituals of the Church. It is unlikely Joan would have won such

¹⁰³ Valois, “Un nouveau témoignage,” 178. This is not the first time that the anonymous author tangles with Gerson directly. Earlier, he taunted Gerson for his use of Cato, arguing that if Gerson had read further he would have been properly warned that one should be sparing in one’s praises, quoting the first line of this anonymous couplet: “Praise sparingly, for he whom you would often test [*probaris*]; / one day will reveal whether he is a friend.” It is appropriate, moreover, that in his citation, the anonymous author uses a version that enlists the word *probare* (prove) over the more usual *laudare* (praise). Valois, “Un nouveau témoignage,” 176; see Boas, *Disticha Catonis* 4.28, 228 and 229 for this less common version.

¹⁰⁴ Valois, “Un nouveau témoignage,” 178–79. In support of bringing in an inquisitor, he cites VI.5.2.8, no. 4 (Friedberg, *Decretalium collectiones*, col. 1072). The charge that Joan dripped wax on the children’s heads in order to tell their fortunes also crops up at her trial (Tisset, *Procès*, 1: 271).

¹⁰⁵ Valois, “Un nouveau témoignage,” 179. The completion of the sentence, which the author does not cite, is “when the disease has gained strength by long delay” (Ovid, *The Remedies for Love*, 1.92, in *Ovid: The Art of Love and Other Poems*, J. H. Mozley, trans., 2d edn., Loeb Classical Library, Ovid, II [Cambridge, Mass., 1979], 185).

¹⁰⁶ Valois, “Un nouveau témoignage,” 179. Gratian is invoking Jerome (C.24 q.3 c.16, Friedberg, *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, col. 995).

¹⁰⁷ On doubts over authenticity, see Peyronnet, “Gerson, Charles VII et Jeanne d’Arc,” 343–47.

partisanship from him.”¹⁰⁸ Indeed, the cautious tenor of Gerson’s defense (though, as I have implied, one of the signs of its authenticity) was sufficiently disappointing that Dorothy Wayman posited that the treatise in question was not the work of Gerson at all but a literal “bad copy” written from memory by an Anglo-Burgundian spy so that his side could refute Gerson’s original.¹⁰⁹ It is further discredited, in her eyes, by the fact that it “picks out for mention and argument the very points on which the Paris theologians at the Rouen Trial would find her guilty of heresy and witchcraft.”¹¹⁰ Ironically, it was the twentieth-century discovery of its anonymous evil twin—*On the Good and the Evil Spirit*—and its antiphonal nature with Gerson’s work that did much to vindicate the authenticity of Gerson’s treatise.¹¹¹

The antiphonal nature of the two treatises is indicative of Gerson’s mixed legacy in spiritual discernment generally and female spirituality in particular. Not only was Gerson’s approach a methodological triumph, but his additional recourse to the misogynistic tradition had sufficiently undermined the validity of female spirituality that “authentic” female spirituality could no longer exist without being subjected to this procedure. Living women were, hence, judged by the inquisitional standard hitherto reserved for church criminals, heretics, or dead candidates for sainthood. In other words, there was no stepping outside the discourse, whether to launch an attack or a defense. Indeed, there was no longer an “outside” to the discourse. The anonymous cleric thus capitalized on Gerson’s earlier spade work, including Gerson’s inevitable self-entrapment. While Gerson’s self-interested efforts to maintain an overly disinterested separation from his subject may have had a hobbling effect, it was the evocation of the noncompulsory nature of the cult of the saints that sprang the trap, giving the anonymous cleric an undeniable advantage. For while Gerson was inhibited by the fact that Joan was still alive from making a full-fledged argument for her sanctity, his partial efforts raised a presumption against her. And there was nothing to prevent the unknown cleric from fleshing out the implicit scholastic *objectiones* and recasting Joan as a heretic.

According to an anonymous summary of Joan’s trial of condemnation, produced around 1500, Gerson’s assessment of Joan was registered at the proceedings as an authoritative and dissenting voice that contradicted the other theologians from Paris, who are described as condemning her “to flatter and please the king of England.” But this account was penned with all the obstinate blindness of wishful hindsight, recasting history in light of Joan’s recent trial of rehabilitation, under-

¹⁰⁸ Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (London, 1981), 146.

¹⁰⁹ See Dorothy G. Wayman, “The Chancellor and Jeanne d’Arc, February–July, A.D. 1429,” *Franciscan Studies* 18 (1957): 273–305. Wayman instead posits that a more overtly positive defense, with the incipit *De quadam puella*, was the work of Gerson. The two treatises are appended to the end of her article. Francq, who believes that both treatises were composed by Gerson, translates *De quadam puella* in “Jean Gerson’s Theological Treatise,” 74–89. *De quadam puella* has frequently been attributed to Henry of Gorkheim, a master of arts who was born in England and received his license in theology around 1419. (He is listed as one of the masters deliberating over an intellectual heresy in Paris on November 30, 1413. See Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, no. 1908, 4: 2000.) For critiques of Wayman’s theory, see Peyronnet, “Gerson, Charles VII et Jeanne d’Arc,” 347–48; Francq, “Jean Gerson’s Theological Treatise,” 70–72. Some scholars have accepted Wayman’s theory, however. See, for example, Deborah Fraioli, “The Literary Image of Joan of Arc: Prior Influences,” *Speculum* 56 (1981): 813–14.

¹¹⁰ Wayman, “Chancellor and Jeanne d’Arc,” 282.

¹¹¹ See Valois’s introduction to the treatise, in “Un nouveau témoignage,” 162 and following.

taken in 1450, at which Gerson's treatise was produced.¹¹² In fact, Gerson's treatise, which could more securely argue the claims of a dead as opposed to a living defendant, had finally found its rightful posthumous audience.

The antagonistic relation between Gerson and his anonymous critic reenacts the forces of bifurcation at work in Christendom in general and in the realm of female spirituality in particular. The conflict itself sketched out the possibility of two Joans: the one pious, good, and inspired by God, the other evil, depraved, and demonically inspired. This possibility was ultimately realized by a flesh and blood double. In 1436, five years after Joan's execution at the hands of a pro-English heretical inquisitional tribunal, the celebrated "false Joan" emerged. A female warrior, initially calling herself Claude, but eventually appropriating Joan's name and even her identity, managed to convince a number of people that she had miraculously evaded death, including Joan's (one can only believe) craven brothers.¹¹³

The false Joan was active between 1436 and 1440. But already around 1437, well before her drama had played itself out, John Nider's extremely influential *Formicarium* attempted to absorb and resecure the anomaly that she represented within the literature of spiritual discernment. Nider's *Formicarium* (literally, "the ant colony"), written in the familiar dialogue form between Theologus and Piger (literally, "dull-witted"), was intended to alert the clerical community to the many kinds of spiritual and moral depravity on the loose in contemporary Christendom. The rubric introducing the category under which Joan was to be discussed suggests how her example would be mobilized in the context of the work's pastoral aims: "How venereal delectation ought to be fled. Concerning women under the virile shape saying publicly that they have been sent by God. And concerning the three things that rarely hold the middle: the tongue, an ecclesiastic, and a woman, who in good things are best but in bad things become the worst."¹¹⁴ Beginning with a disquisition on how certain ants feed on cadavers, a predilection he likens to those who enjoy perverse lusts, Nider further associates such practices with those who are attracted to the female sinner. Woman is then represented as an exemplar of the two interrelated sins of idolatry and fornication; biblical texts liken her to excrement and cadavers trampled in the street. At this point, the disciple interrupts

¹¹² The anonymous summary is edited by Jules Quicherat in *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1847), 4: 260. Gerson's treatise is reissued on 3: 298–306.

¹¹³ Much of our information about the false Joan comes from the journal of the anonymous Parisian, which reports on how she was brought to trial by the University of Paris and the Parlement, although we do not learn the outcome (Shirley, *Parisian Journal*, ann. 1440, 337–38). The documents on the false Joan have been gathered in Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation*, 5: 321–36. According to Pierre Sala, writing in the early sixteenth century, the false Joan eventually achieved an audience with Charles VII, in the course of which she broke into tears and confessed her ruse (4: 281). For further discussion, see A. Lecoy de la Marche, "Une fausse Jeanne d'Arc," *Revue des questions historiques* 10 (1871): 562–82; Vauchez, "Jeanne d'Arc," 166–67; Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages*, 262–63. Also see Boureau's discussion of the possibility of a good and evil Joan of Arc in *Myth of Pope Joan*, 177 and following. The false Joan's status as "real" sustains an interesting double-entendre: sufficient contemporaneous sources assure us that she did, in fact, exist. And yet, the false Joan could be construed as a discursive remainder—confected from language's inability to exhaust the recesses of the Lacanian "Real." For a discussion of this concept, see Lacanian interpreter Slavoj Žižek, *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 29–47; Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out* (New York, 1992), 20–22. Note the extent to which the horrifying "double" is accommodated within this discourse.

¹¹⁴ John Nider, *Formicarium* 5.8 (Douai, 1602), 383.

Theologus's remarkable flow of thoughts with the question: "Are there in our time any good men deceived by magicians or witches, according to your judgment?" This question directly prompts Theologus to respond with an anecdote he had heard recently from his confrère, the inquisitor Henry Kalteisen, about "Claude," the false Joan. First appearing in Cologne, this cross-dressed woman conducted herself as a man in revelry and in arms. Interestingly, she offered to intervene in a contemporary episcopal case of doubling: "at that time the church see of Trier had two men contending for it, and was gravely troubled, and she boasted that she was willing and able to enthrone one of the parties; just as the virgin Joan . . . did with the French King Charles a little earlier, confirming him in his own kingdom. Indeed, the woman affirmed she was that same Joan, revived by God."¹¹⁵ Our female warrior's general demeanor, compounded by certain magical tricks she liked to play, attracted the attention of the aforementioned inquisitor. She very soon beat a hasty retreat, first into France, where she married a knight, but then moving on to Metz, where she became a priest's concubine: "which clearly showed by which spirit she was led." With no further ado, Nider enters into his summary of Joan of Arc's career. The "original" Joan is thus presented as a sequel to the "false" Joan. Nider, however, characteristically recuses himself from passing explicit judgment on the "original" Joan. Instead, he foregrounds Joan as a question under discussion, in need of resolution: "Laypeople, clerics, and monks all were in doubt as to what spirit ruled her, diabolical or divine."¹¹⁶ Joan has literally and metaphorically been "framed" in such a way that the reader almost has to pronounce against her. In a certain sense, the rhetorically constrained reader has been "framed" as well, forced to do the work of the inquisitor.

As representative of the genre of spiritual discernment, Nider's *Formicarium* prolongs many Gersonian initiatives.¹¹⁷ Peopled with Nider's acquaintances, their reminiscences, as well as his own, *Formicarium* is a veritable comic book of contemporary spiritual events. But, as with comic books, one has to remember that what is more accessible is not necessarily uncomplicated in its affiliations and final effects. Nider's engagement with the contemporary instance of these popularly celebrated doubles draws on some of the most sophisticated discursive practices of his day. He relies on the convention of scholarly detachment, which was so important to Gerson, by refusing to choose between the two Joans. Indeed, his bifurcated representation is generated by those forms of scholastic argument that encourage the production of a monstrous opposite as the double of any positive representation.

This bifurcation—explored in Gerson's defense of Joan and its anonymous opposite—may be glimpsed in Nider just as it once again disappears from view. For

¹¹⁵ Nider, *Formicarium* 5.8, 385–86. Note that the count of Armagnac had written to the real Joan of Arc to ask which of the three men currently claiming to be the pope should be obeyed—a question that she left unanswered as she was just mounting her horse when the letter arrived. See Tisset, *Procès*, 1: 81–82; also see Tisset's historical commentary, 3: 114–17.

¹¹⁶ Nider, *Formicarium* 5.8, 387. For Nider's similar refusal to pass sentence on female spirituality, also with deleterious consequences, see Dyan Elliott, "The Physiology of Rapture and Female Spirituality," in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, Peter Biller and Alastair Minnis, eds. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), 170–72.

¹¹⁷ He probably did not know Gerson's treatise, but he seemed to be familiar with the anonymous *On the Good and the Evil Spirit* (see Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, no. 2370, 4: 515).

the interdependence of the positive and negative Joans raises the likelihood of their ultimate reconvergence. In Nider's rendition, the distance between the false Joan and the "authentic" Joan of Arc finally disappears, as these inherently unstable positive and negative binaries collapse back into a single flawed entity. The lost possibility of Joan's authentic and uncorrupted spirituality coincides with the first stages of a more pervasive effacement of Europe's faith in positive female spirituality.

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Cosmopolitan Domesticity: Importing the American Dream, 1865–1920

KRISTIN HOGANSON

CONFRONTED BY THE GLOBALIZING DEVELOPMENTS of our time, historians of the United States have become increasingly aware that the self-centered, exceptionalist scholarship all too common in their field has provided an inadequate framework for understanding the historical roots of contemporary transnationalism. Just as significantly, historians of the United States—particularly cultural and social historians—have been waking up to the ways in which the nation-centered historiographical tradition has obscured the importance of empire in shaping U.S. history. Although Americanists, true to their exceptionalist heritage, have held themselves particularly accountable for nationally bounded histories, their internationalizing project has relevance for all historians who have framed their research projects in national terms, and indeed, historians with other geographical specialties have raised similar doubts about the historiographical dominance of the nation state.¹

The efforts of U.S. and other historians to shed their provincialism for a more international perspective have coincided with another significant historiographical trend, this one among historians of international relations. Influenced by the methods, findings, and underlying assumptions of social and cultural history, international relations historians also have started to rethink their domain. Tired of being dismissed as the methodological troglodytes of the historical profession and conscious of cultural and social historians' encroachments on their field, they have

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¹ Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *AHR* 96 (October 1991): 1031–72; Amy Kaplan, "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds. (Durham, N.C., 1993), 3–21; Jane C. Desmond and Virginia R. Domínguez, "Resituating American Studies in a Critical Internationalism," *American Quarterly* 48 (September 1996): 475–90; Gesa Mackenthun, "Adding Empire to the Study of American Culture," *Journal of American Studies* 30 (August 1996): 263–69; John Carlos Rowe, "Post-Nationalism, Globalism, and the New American Studies," *Cultural Critique* 40 (Fall 1998): 11–28; the special issue of the *Journal of American History* 86 (December 1999); Thomas Bender, *The La Pietra Report: A Report to the Profession* (Bloomington, Ind., 2000); Akira Iriye, "The Internationalizing of History," *AHR* 94 (February 1989): 1–10. The December 1999 issue of the *Journal of American History* (vol. 86) contains examples of recent scholarship on the internationalizing impulse.

started to add new topics, including human migration, transnational non-governmental organizations, tourism, cultural expansion, borderlands contacts, and intellectual and imaginative engagement with other peoples and nations, to their traditional interest in diplomacy, war, and trade. Along with bringing a new cast of characters to center stage, this more expansive interpretation of the field has enlivened the foreign relations plot, making it, at times, indistinguishable from the narratives of social and cultural historians.²

What, then, are the implications of the reconfiguration and convergence of social, cultural, and international relations history? The greatest impact of this historiographical development can be seen in recent writings on imperialism and colonialism that analyze local experiences and struggles over power without losing sight of international economic, political, and military frameworks.³ But imperialism and colonialism are not the only significant topics that stand to gain from the blurring of conceptual boundaries. The new historiographical currents have equal—though less realized—potential to illuminate one of the outgrowths of imperialism: globalization. Though not an easy term to pin down, globalization can be understood broadly as the economic, cultural, technological, political, social, environmental, and other developments that have connected people, nations, and regions in distant parts of the world. All too often, the story of globalization is told as an almost contemporary tale, as a late twentieth-century event closely intertwined with Americanization.⁴ Yet well before late twentieth-century commentators labeled and popularized the phenomenon, empires, commerce, and population flows had laid the groundwork for globalizing conjunctures. Indeed, European intellectuals had started to comment on world integration in the eighteenth century.⁵ The converging efforts to internationalize formerly national histories and

² On the defensiveness of diplomatic historians, see Michael J. Hogan, "State of the Art: An Introduction," *America in the World: The Historiography of American Foreign Relations since 1941* (Cambridge, 1995), 1–19, 12. Diplomatic historians' receptiveness to new approaches can be seen in recent issues of *Diplomatic History*, including "Roundtable: Cultural Transfer or Cultural Imperialism?" *Diplomatic History* 24 (Summer 2000): 465–528; "The American Century: A Roundtable," *Diplomatic History* 23 (Summer 1999): 391–537; "Symposium: Imperial Discourses: Power and Perception," *Diplomatic History* 22 (Fall 1998): 533–615. See also Emily Rosenberg, "Turning to Culture," in *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo Salvatore, eds. (Durham, N.C., 1998), 497–514; Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, 1997); Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994).

³ A few examples of this scholarship involving the United States include Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*; Joseph, et al., *Close Encounters of Empire*; Paul Kramer, "Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901–1905," *Radical History Review* 73 (Winter 1999): 74–114; Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001). The non-U.S. literature on imperialism and colonialism is much vaster.

⁴ See Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York, 1997); Rob Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: Europeans and Mass Culture* (Urbana, Ill., 1996); Jessica E. E. Gienow-Hecht, "Shame on US? Academics, Cultural Transfer, and the Cold War: A Critical Review," *Diplomatic History* 24 (Summer 2000): 465–94. On recent manifestations of globalization, see Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds., *The Cultures of Globalization* (Durham, N.C., 1998); Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson, eds., *Global Modernities* (London, 1995).

⁵ On eighteenth-century European intellectuals, see Emma Rothschild, "Globalization and the Return of History," *Foreign Policy* 115 (Summer 1999): 106–16. For a periodization of globalization

to broaden the scope of foreign relations history promise to add historical depth to the globalization issue by bringing greater scholarly attention to bear on international connections prior to World War II. Furthermore, the converging interests of foreign relations and other historians have the potential to lead to a fuller, more multi-dimensional investigation of the concept. To the issue of globalization, cultural and social historians are bringing their longstanding interest in geographical knowledge, cross-cultural contacts, and consumption, while international relations historians are bringing their traditional sensitivity to power politics, military conflict, and commercial expansion. And in the uncharted area where these fields are now blending, historians are telling new stories that mix the local and the global.⁶

One surprising yet fruitful place to look at the juncture between the local and the global is bourgeois American homes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Amy Kaplan has pointed out, women's historians have highlighted the juxtaposition between the "domestic" (that is, having to do with the household) and the "public" but overlooked the opposition between the "domestic" and the "foreign." Kaplan emphasizes how, in some contexts, the domestic and the foreign have stood in sharp contrast to each other.⁷ But in other contexts, the line between them blurred. This was particularly true in the late nineteenth century, a time noteworthy for its cosmopolitan domesticity—that is, for bourgeois householders' enthusiasm for imported goods and styles perceived to be foreign, in large part because of their very foreignness. The international linkages of the age lay the material and ideological groundwork for this trend. But cosmopolitan domesticity was more than a reflection of globalizing developments. Globalization narratives often emphasize capital and production, but as Arjun Appadurai has shown, consumption is just as crucial to the globalization story.⁸ In stressing the centrality of consumption to globalization, Appadurai addresses not only the gaps in the globalization literature but also those in the literature of consumption. Scholars of consumption insist that material culture should be connected to social and political systems, but their sociopolitical analyses only infrequently cross national borders.⁹ Beyond revealing how the international context profoundly shaped even the innermost sanctums of domestic space, considering consumption reveals how

stretching back to the fifteenth century, see Roland Robertson, "Mapping the Global Condition: Globalization as the Central Concept," *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, Mike Featherstone, ed. (London, 1990), 15–30. See also Kevin H. O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Globalization and History: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁶ See, for example, Catherine C. LeGrand, "Living in Macondo: Economy and Culture in a United Fruit Company Banana Enclave in Colombia," in Joseph, *Close Encounters of Empire*, 333–68; Donald R. Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa* (New York, 1997).

⁷ Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70 (September 1998): 581–606.

⁸ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, 1996).

⁹ On considering consumers as agents of transatlantic economic developments, see T. H. Breen, "The Meanings of Things: Interpreting the Consumer Economy in the Eighteenth Century," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds. (New York, 1993), 249–60, 250; on the need for a more international understanding of consumption, see Craig Clunas, "Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1497–1511.

bourgeois American women, in their capacity as homemakers, participated in international relations.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, bourgeois Americans commonly regarded household interiors as expressions of the women who inhabited them. As the author of a 1913 decorating manual put it: "We are sure to judge a woman in whose house we find ourselves for the first time, by her surroundings. We judge her temperament, her habits, her inclinations, by the interior of her home."¹⁰ Motivated by that logic, American women with money to spend turned to their homes to define themselves. One such woman, more typical in her taste than her extraordinary wealth, was Bertha Honoré Palmer. Her Chicago mansion, built on landfill fronting Lake Michigan in 1882, had a Spanish music room, English dining room, Moorish ballroom, Flemish library, and French and Chinese drawing rooms. (See Figure 1.) Upstairs, Bertha Palmer slept in a bedroom copied from a Cairo palace.¹¹ The so-called Castle, no longer standing, was a Gilded Age spectacle, but a curious one in light of the principle of self-revelation. Given the tendency to regard domestic interiors as an expression of their occupants, what explains Bertha Palmer's efforts to stage the world in her household?

The story of Palmer's mansion, rising from a former swamp, dripping with tapestries and heavy chandeliers, is in part a story about class. Acquiring the mellowed trappings of aristocracy was a means to compensate for the rawness of post-Civil War fortunes (the Palmers' included), to distance one's dwelling from the vulgar commercialism that had enabled it to be built in the first place. Bertha Palmer no doubt regarded ornate display as useful in establishing her social position and the display of European objects, situated in European theme rooms, particularly useful because of the assumed European superiority in design, craftsmanship, and value.¹² But Palmer's story is about more than just class. As her heterogeneous ensemble of rooms suggests, it is also about nationality and the effort to transcend nationality through adventures in the international marketplace. And even though Bertha Palmer was very rich, her eclectic preferences were shared by a number of native-born, middle-class women.

Though millions of dollars away from Bertha Palmer's unattainable luxuries, these women nonetheless exhibited a relatively modest version of Palmer's far-reaching appetites. The housewife who draped a packing box with gaudy fabric in hopes of making an Oriental "cozy corner" was, as one decorating article pointed out, part of a trend that had at its extreme, the "sumptuous and elegant affair found in the mansions of the wealthy."¹³ No less significantly, she was part of a design

¹⁰ Elsie de Wolfe, *The House in Good Taste* (New York, 1913), 18–21.

¹¹ Ishbel Ross, *Silhouette in Diamonds: The Life of Mrs. Potter Palmer* (New York, 1975), 1, 32, 53–56.

¹² On household consumption and class relations, see Whitney Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900* (Cambridge, 1989), chap. 5. On the importance of tradition—if only invented—in nineteenth-century Western decoration, see Witold Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York, 1986), 9, 102, 175. On the assumed superiority of European furnishings, see Jane C. Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760–1860* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 54, 57; Peter Thornton, *Authentic Decor: The Domestic Interior, 1620–1920* (New York, 1984), 88, 140.

¹³ "The Cosy Corner," *Decorator and Furnisher* 27 (March 1896): 182.

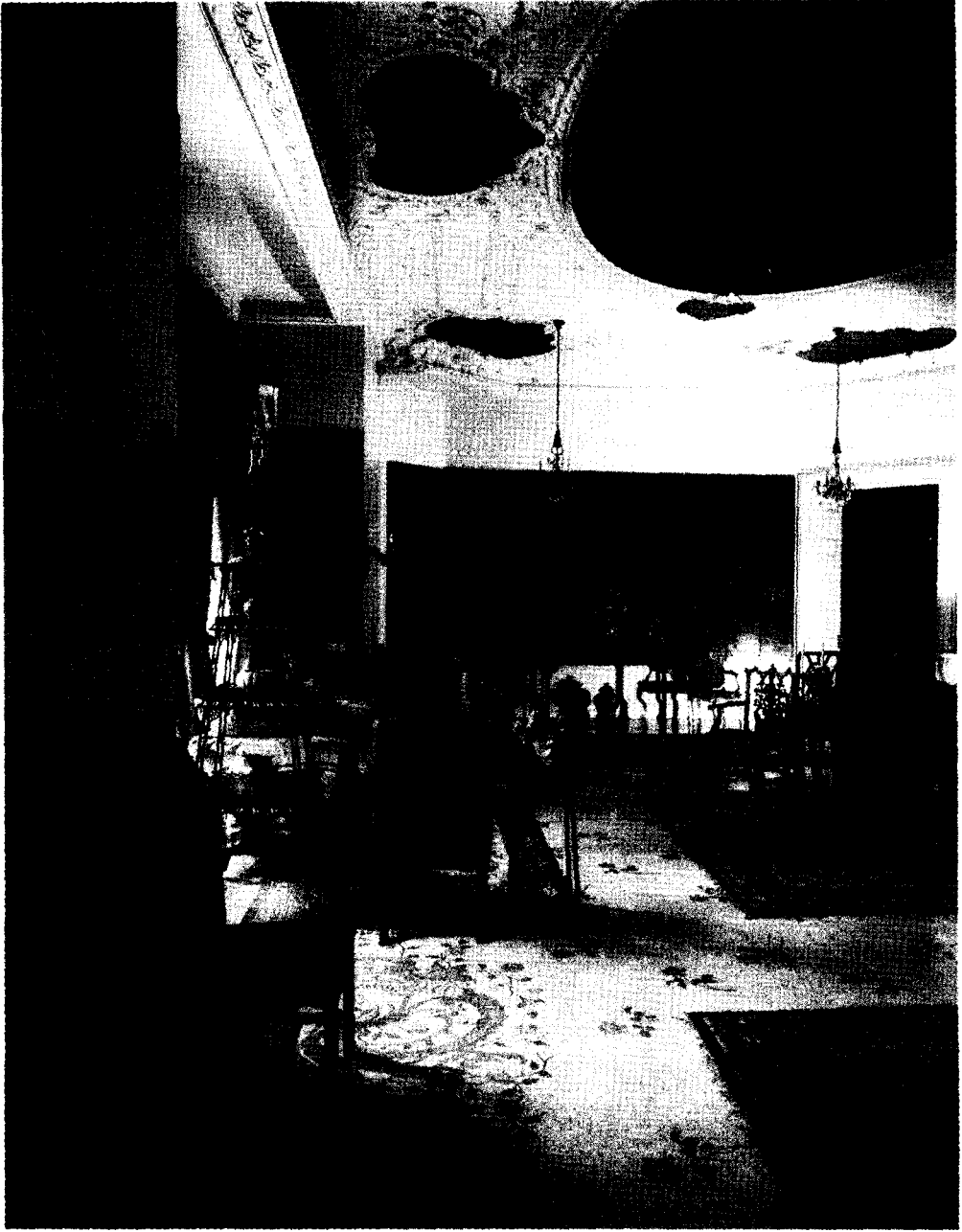


FIGURE 1: Drawing room of the Palmer residence, Chicago, circa 1882–1885. Photographer, Frederick O. Bemm, photograph number G1985.0524.102, Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

trend that encompassed Europe and that purportedly looked to the Near and Far East for its original inspiration. Palmer and like-minded women undoubtedly wished to convey their economic standing through household displays, but their decision to do so through exhibiting imported objects and replicating distant styles illuminates something beyond local jostling. Through their households, these women strove to convey a cosmopolitan—meaning nationally unbounded—ethos,

something that functioned in tandem with their class aspirations but that should not be conflated with them. Their cosmopolitanism implied an appreciation of other peoples'—particularly but not exclusively Europeans'—artistic production and cultural attainments, a valorization of ethnographic and other geographic knowledge, and varying degrees of identification with people outside the United States.¹⁴ Less benignly, it also emerged from and promoted U.S. commercial expansion and empire.

Cosmopolitan domesticity, seemingly paradoxical by definition, was at odds with some core nineteenth-century ideas about households. Tract writers commonly presented the home as a haven from the outside world. As John F. W. Ware, author of an 1866 treatise on home life declared: "A home is an enclosure, a secret, separate place, a place shut in from, guarded against, the whole world outside." Suburban homes in particular appeared as safe havens from the immigrants who swelled the cities and entered the most private sanctums of urban households in their capacities as servants. Besides shutting the wider world out, homes were expected to shut middle-class women in. Ware, in full accord with many of his contemporaries, went on to pronounce the home "the peculiar sphere of woman. With the world at large she has little to do. Her influence begins, centres, and ends in her home."¹⁵ Even those who found this vision of the home too restrictive, and instead argued that middle-class women should reach out from their homes to reform the wider society, joined with moralists such as Ware in presenting homes as fonts of local, national, and ethnic identity. This assumption has obscured the extent to which homes were not so sheltered after all, the extent to which they were firmly embedded in an international market economy.¹⁶

Interior decorators, then the pathbreaking members of a new profession that catered to the wealthy, took the lead in promoting the cosmopolitan decoration

¹⁴ The literature on cosmopolitanism is expanding rapidly. Some recent works include Pheng Chea and Bruce Robbins, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis, 1998); Thomas Peyser, *Utopia and Cosmopolis: Globalization in the Era of American Literary Realism* (Durham, N.C., 1998); Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge, 1997); Ned C. Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture, 1680–1760* (New York, 1997), 62; David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York, 1995); Robert M. Crunden, *American Salons: Encounters with European Modernism, 1885–1917* (New York, 1993), 33–61; Ulf Hannerz, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture," *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, Mike Featherstone, ed. (London, 1990), 237–51. On the historical significance of cultural fusion, see Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London, 1995), 5.

¹⁵ John F. W. Ware, *Home Life: What It Is, and What it Needs* (Boston, 1866), 23, 85. Margaret Marsh, *Suburban Lives* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 147; Maxine Van de Wetering, "The Popular Concept of 'Home' in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American Studies* 18 (April 1984): 5–28.

¹⁶ On women's influence, see Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850–1930* (Washington, D.C., 1997), 4; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn., 1973), 137, 158. On the association between the consumption of domestically produced goods and national standing, see Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France," in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, Victoria de Grazia, ed., with Ellen Furlough (Berkeley, Calif., 1996). On commercial incursions into Victorian homes, see Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York, 1994), 129; on cosmopolitan interiors, see Richard Guy Wilson, "Cultural Conditions," in *The American Renaissance, 1876–1917* (New York, 1979), 28–32; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London, 1996); W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market, 1850–1914* (Hamden, Conn., 1981), x.

trends of the post–Civil War period. The most sought-after professional decorators had traveled as part of their education and stayed current with European fads. Recognizing the value of international sophistication, one New York City decorator, Virginia Brush, touted her preference for salons in the French method and libraries in the English style. She also advertised her facility in Japanese designs and her yearly travels in Europe, where she visited London, Paris, and Vienna, collecting the “newest of materials—the fashions that prevail in furniture.”¹⁷ Familiarity with foreign trends helped decorators such as Brush promote both themselves and their craft.

Those who lacked the wherewithal to hire a decorator but not the wherewithal to decorate could still find plenty of professional advice. There was an explosion of writing about interior decoration in the postwar period, in keeping with the expansion of the popular press. The *Decorator and Furnisher* (aimed at both trade readers and householders) depicted exquisite interiors starting in 1882, *The House Beautiful* and *House and Garden* followed on its heels. Women’s magazines that did not specialize in decoration, including *The Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping*, offered decorating advice on occasion, as did family magazines such as *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* and art magazines such as *The Art Amateur*, *The Art Interchange*, and *Arts and Decoration*. Daily newspapers addressed the subject, too, especially on their women’s pages, and publishers turned out handsome decorating treatises and straightforward handbooks. In contrast to decorating guides from the mid-nineteenth century, which tended to advocate the creation of distinctly American homes, those of the postwar period had wider outlooks. Purveyors of decorating advice reprinted stories from European design magazines, reported on products from around the world, and advocated foreign styles for American households.¹⁸

French and British design had the greatest following in the postwar period. Contemporaries regarded many of the rococo creations of the Victorian era as fundamentally French, and they snatched up empire and Louis XIV, XV, and XVI furniture, done in varying degrees of accuracy. The press paid considerable attention to French design, and imported French goods could be counted on to seem chic. “The French have the flavor and the delicate discrimination that, as a nation, young America still lacks,” wrote one Francophile in the *Art Interchange*.¹⁹ British styles had an equally dedicated following, especially after the English art expert Charles L. Eastlake published his *Hints on Household Taste* in 1868. By 1881, the book had come out in its sixth American edition, and U.S. shops were stocked

¹⁷ Mrs. Oliver Bell Bunce, “Virginia Brush, The Able Decorator,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 28 (September 1896): 168–69. On the desirability of foreign travel, see Alice and Bettina Jackson, *The Study of Interior Decoration* (New York, 1928), 450. On interior decorating, see William Seale, *The Tasteful Interlude: American Interiors through the Camera’s Eye, 1860–1917*. 2d edn. (Nashville, Tenn., 1981), 22.

¹⁸ On earlier nationalism, see Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873–1913* (Chicago, 1980), 11. On the importance of printed media in disseminating fashions, see Daniel L. Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance: Consumer Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Goethe* (Baltimore, 1998), ix; Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (Minneapolis, 1992), 124.

¹⁹ F.O.H., “The French Note,” *Art Interchange* 23 (July 6, 1889): 3. On French influence, see Seale, *Tasteful Interlude*, 201.

with furniture passed off as “Eastlake style.” Further testimony to the popularity of British styles can be seen in decorating magazines’ glowing descriptions of English country homes.²⁰

Besides promoting French and British designs, decorating articles gave rave reviews to Italian, Dutch, German, Russian, Norwegian, and other European styles. Many of the “foreign” interiors they profiled were actually American, at least in terms of their location, for they had been produced in the United States as part of a mania for internationally inspired theme rooms.²¹ Although design writers paid the most attention to European currents, not all the theme rooms they glowingly described followed European models. The interest evinced in other parts of the globe differentiates the post-Civil War period from earlier eras. This is not to overlook the China trade and interest in chinoiserie stretching back well before the eighteenth century, nor to overlook the scattered experimentation with other Oriental styles before the Civil War. But Chinese imports and chinoiserie of Western manufacture had been available to a comparatively narrow segment of the population, and other non-European design traditions failed to attract more than a modicum of interest.²² In the last decades of the nineteenth century, by contrast, a wider section of the American public had access to non-European imports, and taste makers touted products and styles from a wider expanse of the globe. These included folk art and objects from the Americas, as seen in an “American Indian room” profiled in the *Decorator and Furnisher* that featured curios from Mexico and Guatemala. “Many women of fashion have developed of late a fad for odd Oriental, South American, and Mexican belongings,” noted the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1896. “Today no woman with a charming home considers it complete without some bits of Mexican ornament.”²³ Bourgeois consumers’ interest in seemingly traditional Central and South American objects intersected with their better-known enthusiasm for Native American rugs, pottery, and baskets.

More common than Latin American ornaments were Oriental ones, especially during the Orientalist craze that swept the nation from the 1870s to the turn of the century. This caught Bertha Palmer, with her Moorish ballroom and Egyptian bedroom, in its wake, but it was not for everyone. Harriet Prescott Spofford made that clear in her 1877 book on home decoration. Oriental designs would always seem fantastic in American homes, she claimed, and were best suited for “the very young and gay, and for those cosmopolitan people who are able to feel at home

²⁰ Charles L. Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste*, John Gloag, intro. (New York, 1964), vi–ix; “Eastlake and His Ideas,” *Art Amateur* 2 (May 1880): 126–27; Edwin L. Lutyens, “Berrydown Court,” *House and Garden* 6 (October 1904): 157.

²¹ “An Italian Renaissance Dining-Room,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 29 (December 1896): 69; Jonathan A. Rawson, Jr., “A Consistent Dutch Dining-Room,” *Country Life in America* 22 (October 1, 1912): 48. On German influences, see Margaret Greenleaf, “Decorating and Furnishing the Bedroom,” in *A Book of Distinctive Interiors*, William A. Vollmer, ed. (New York, 1912), 68–86; on a Russian room, see *Decorator and Furnisher* 30 (June 1897): 87; on a Norwegian room, see Elizabeth Walling, “The House of Mrs. Ole Bull,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 28 (May 1896): 43–44.

²² Ellen Paul Denker, *After the Chinese Taste: China's Influence in America, 1730–1930* (Salem, Mass., 1985); Christina H. Nelson, *Directly from China: Export Goods for the American Market, 1784–1930* (Salem, 1985); Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (London, 1961); Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* (New York, 1977).

²³ Laura B. Starr, “An Indian Room,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 14 (May 1889): 38; “The Closing Days of the Exposition,” *Atlanta Constitution*, January 5, 1896.

anywhere.”²⁴ Despite—or what seems more likely, because—of its cosmopolitan associations, Oriental design attracted a following among fashionable householders. Domestic Orientalism generally entailed fanciful creations passed off as Moorish, Turkish, Chinese, Japanese, or a combination thereof.²⁵

Although some home furnishers favored a particular style, the popularity of theme rooms did not necessarily mean loyalty to a particular nation. To the contrary, wealthy homeowners such as Bertha Palmer often mixed and matched their theme rooms. The passion for multiple theme rooms among the very rich posed a considerable challenge to the middle-class housewives who tried to keep up with the latest notions. They could struggle to produce a theme room or two but only with great difficulty, and an entire ensemble of them lay far beyond their grasp. Design writers came to the rescue. Besides profiling rooms done in a specific national style, they touted the virtues of rooms that mixed goods and styles from around the globe. Women who could not afford separate theme rooms could stuff the entire world into their parlors, confident that this was *au courant*. Late nineteenth-century design writings favorably profiled dwellings that mixed German tankards with French chairs and Persian embroideries and Moorish grille work with Swiss clocks. “All nations are represented,” enthused a *Good Housekeeping* article on a Philadelphia dining room. That such mixing was not limited to the fabulously wealthy can be seen in a profile of a small city apartment that combined Turkish brass, Japanese tables, a Chinese cabinet, carved gourds from Central America, a Mexican fan, a Breton vase, a Bohemian chalice, and posters from Paris and London.²⁶

Householders who mixed goods from around the globe had grounds to regard their interiors as daringly artistic, for profiles of avant-garde studios often highlighted their mismatched contents. An expatriate American painter in Rome lived up to the stereotype of the cosmopolitan artist: the walls of his studio were “covered with many and many a thing of beauty, every part of the earth from Norway to Japan having contributed something.”²⁷ Across the Atlantic, Mabel Dodge Luhan demonstrated a comparable catholicism in her tastes. After keeping a palazzo in Florence, she became a prominent member of the Greenwich Village

²⁴ Harriet Prescott Spofford, *Art Decoration Applied to Furniture* (New York, 1877), 162.

²⁵ On Orientalism in U.S. decoration, see note 22 above; Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York, 1963), esp. 51–52, 62; William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America* (Hartford, Conn., 1990); Julia Meech and Gabriel Weisberg, *Japonisme Comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876–1925* (New York, 1990); Jane Converse Brown, “‘Fine Arts and Fine People’: The Japanese Taste in the American Home, 1876–1916,” in *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Material Culture, 1840–1940*, Marilyn Ferris Motz and Pat Browne, eds. (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1988), 121–39; Margaret Greenleaf, “Chinese Spirit in Furnishing,” *House Beautiful* 36 (June 1914): 32; William R. Bradshaw, “The Villa Zorayda at St. Augustine, Florida,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 17 (March 1891): 209–12; “An Oriental Apartment,” *Art Amateur* 19 (August 1888): 65–67; Harry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly, *Stately Homes in America: From Colonial Times to the Present Day* (New York, 1903), plates after 102, 294, 506; *The Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age: All 203 Photographs from “Artistic Houses,”* with new text by Arnold Lewis, James Turner, and Steven McQuillin (New York, 1987), 43, 53, 84, 97, 101.

²⁶ Harriet Monroe, “A Successful House,” *House Beautiful* 6 (November 1899): 266–75, 271–74; “A Typical American Interior,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 20 (July 1892): 140–43; Hester M. Poole, “Elegance, Taste and Art in the Home,” *Good Housekeeping* 3 (May 15, 1886): 1–5, 3; Helen M. Chamberlin, “A Small City Apartment,” *House Beautiful* 4 (June 1898): 18–21.

²⁷ “A Roman Studio,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 5 (December 1884): 87.

avant-garde. But at the end of World War I, she left New York for the Southwest. In Taos, she built a house that mixed French sofas and Mexican chairs, Navajo rugs and Italian tables, Buddhas and Virgins. The striking mix identified her as a woman not beholden to narrow conventions, as a woman open to the artistry of the world. Artistic studios may have resembled department stores—the paramount monuments of the marketplace—in their eclectic display, but rather than striking observers as quintessentially commercial, they tended to be interpreted as protests against conventionality, as expressions of a sometimes shocking open-mindedness, ease, sensuality, individuality, and even decadence, values that could threaten class solidarity and authority.²⁸

An eclectic mixture was easier to pull off than a series of theme rooms, but it still took money to gather the Buddhas and the Virgins. The housewife who found even an eclectic ensemble beyond her grasp might have been tempted to toss the decorating advice aside and give up in despair. But there was hope even for the housewife with a modest discretionary income. Individual items, including small decorative pieces—ceramics, fans, pillows—could give a humdrum household a hint of glamour. Or so said the decorators. In writing about the items that could redeem an otherwise unremarkable interior, these decorators made a point of identifying origins, and many of the products they advocated were foreign. Agnes Bailey Ormsbee, author of *The House Comfortable*, provided the kind of purchasing advice typical of late nineteenth-century domestic writing. She counseled her discriminating readers to buy Irish and French damask, Scottish linen, English porcelain, Japanese china (she warned against the imitations from New Jersey), Turkish towels, Indian fabrics, Chinese rattan, and Turkistani, Daghestani, Smyrnes, and other Oriental rugs.²⁹ Shopping columns and decoration essays devoted so much attention to provenance that it seems likely that a large part of middle-class consumers' awareness of the wider world was associated with the goods they purchased for their households. By paying so much attention to provenance, decoration experts did more than broaden their readers' imaginative horizons, they heightened the appeal of products manufactured outside the United States.

Merchants, too, were quick to trumpet foreign provenance, seeing it as an enticement to purchase. "The Cairo rug which has only lately been imported to any extent, is coarse and heavy, but it conveys an unmistakable sense of the orient," counseled a shopping guide that assumed readers would want a "sense of the orient" to emanate from their floors.³⁰ Likewise, a catalog company that sold Mexican handicrafts assumed that consumers appreciated foreignness, for it maintained that its "zerapes" had "a distinctly foreign air."³¹ By drawing attention

²⁸ Lois Palken Rudnick, *Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luhan House and the American Counterculture* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1996), 39–41; Sarah Burns, "The Price of Beauty: Art, Commerce, and the Late Nineteenth-Century Studio Interior," in *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, David C. Miller, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 209–38, 210–12. Many outlandish interiors emerged from the aesthetic movement. See Mary Warner Blanchard, *Oscar Wilde's America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age* (New Haven, 1998), 107, 118. On Bohemians' "ambivalence toward their own social identities," see Jerrol Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830–1930* (New York, 1986), 11.

²⁹ Agnes Bailey Ormsbee, *The House Comfortable* (New York, 1892).

³⁰ Hester M. Poole, "Household Decoration," *The Home-Maker* 2 (July 1889): 288.

³¹ Francis E. Lester Co., *Catalogue* (Mesilla Park, N.Mex., 1904), 17.

to the “large number of Wanamaker buyers who crossed the ocean looking for goods to stock,” John Wanamaker’s catalogs also reflected the assumption that American buyers appreciated imports.³² Even goods manufactured in the United States—such as a suite of bedroom furniture advertised as made of Cuban mahogany, following English ideas, with Egyptian cloth—lured consumers with the cachet of cosmopolitanism.³³ Though manufactured domestically, the bedroom suite brought to mind connections with distant parts of the world.

As decorators’ and advertisers’ emphasis on foreign provenance suggests, foreignness seemed desirable to fashionable Americans in the late nineteenth century—so desirable that design writers stressed the virtues of authentically foreign appearance. The aim was not just to acquire an abundance of beautiful and costly products but to collect artifacts that expressed genuine foreign taste. Almost as important as design authenticity (or, at the least, the assumption of authenticity) was seemingly authentic display. Hence one decorating manual counseled readers to place their Oriental rugs about “in true Eastern style.”³⁴ The point went well beyond taking advantage of foreign productive capacities to entail crafting a house that was not really domestic, in the national sense, at all. Imports had so much cachet that decorating magazines reported on high-end retailers who duped purchasers as to the provenance of their goods, “representing them as from England, France, almost any country excepting our own.”³⁵ In an age of machine-made products, many imports seemed appealingly handmade. But if consumers only wanted handmade items, they could have surrounded themselves with cross stitch and Shaker boxes. That many chose, instead, to cast their lot with international commerce owes much to the rise of foreignness itself as a decorating objective.

THE AMOUNT OF ATTENTION PAID TO THE WIDER WORLD in writings on domestic decoration was more than just a freak of fashion. It was a reflection of the nation’s position in a globalizing world. The late nineteenth century was not only the heyday of the European empires, it also was a period of growing U.S. engagement overseas, as manifested most notably through its commercial expansion, commitment to empire, and missionary impulses. This engagement resulted in expanding geographic knowledge conveyed to the middle-class public through paintings, photographs, museums, missionary exhibits, immigrant enclaves, manufacturing displays, ethnographic and travel writings, and less obvious sources, including the household and decoration magazines mentioned earlier. World’s fairs showcased foreign goods to such an extent that a visitor to the 1876 Philadelphia exposition reported feeling that he had “landed in some large Chinese bazaar.” (See Figure 2.) (The Chinese exhibit was just one of many foreign displays at the Centennial Exposition and later fairs.)³⁶

³² *Wanamaker’s Catalog* (Philadelphia, 1908), inside cover.

³³ Frank T. Robinson, “Bedroom Furniture,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 5 (December 1884): 90.

³⁴ Spofford, *Art Decoration*, 162; on rugs, see Henry T. Williams and Mrs. C. S. Jones, *Beautiful Homes* (New York, 1878), 9.

³⁵ *Decorator and Furnisher* 7 (December 1885): 69.

³⁶ John M. MacKenzie finds that Victorians and Edwardians were “massively eclectic” because “theirs was the first age in which almost all the cultures of the world had been made available”;



FIGURE 2: The Chinese Court at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Historical Register of the Columbia Exposition* (New York, 1876). Courtesy of the Rare Book and Special Collections Library, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Overseas travel also played an important role in disseminating decorating knowledge. Tourists saw novelties in hotels and homes alike, and their sightseeing expeditions took them to upscale manufacturing establishments where they perused domestic wares. Decorating articles assumed that travel would inevitably lead to greater variety in domestic furnishings. "Travel broadens the mind and makes it more hospitable to new ideas," claimed one article, "hence the furnishing accessories of foreign countries, with their unexpected designs and colorings, become more and more appreciated."³⁷ Although foreign travel as an end in itself remained a hallmark of wealth, ever greater numbers of Americans ventured abroad. Along

Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts (Manchester, 1995), xii. On museums, see Virginia Robie, "Spanish and Moorish Furniture," *House Beautiful* 27 (March 1910): 89–90, 112; William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York, 1993), 169–70, 172. On missionary exhibits, see "Many Industries," *New York Tribune*, February 11, 1900; on manufacturing displays, see "Come and See," *New York Times*, September 8, 1912; on writing, see Edward S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (1886; rpt. edn., New York, 1961). On landing in a bazaar, see James D. McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia, 1876), 449.

³⁷ "A Visit to the Sevres Porcelain Manufactory," *Hearth and Home* 4 (December 7, 1872): 900; on broadening the mind, see "Interiors in the Oriental Style," *Decorator and Furnisher* 27 (January 1896): 103.

with pleasure-seeking tourists, the missionaries, professionals, businessmen, servicemen, and other government agents who made overseas trips brought back furniture and smaller decorative items.³⁸ Globe-trotting travelers provided first-hand reports of foreign interiors, often published in newspapers and magazines, thus exposing an even wider circle of Americans to disparate styles. The more that Americans ventured beyond their borders, the more they learned of the world, and the more they coveted what they saw.

The interest in foreign wares went hand in hand with availability. The mass market took off in the post-Civil War period. Although domestic manufacturers supplied the majority of household products, an unprecedented number of imports entered the country. Ocean shipping had fallen by more than half during the Civil War, but after the war it rebounded. In the postwar period, middle-class and wealthy American consumers could buy goods ranging from Argentine lamp shade covers to Zulu baskets in shops, from catalogs, and in the new department stores that were gaining a prominent role in American retailing.³⁹

Consumers uncertain of where to find novelty wares could turn to the decorators who had fostered their desire for such things in the first place. The *Ladies' Home Journal*, for example, counseled readers to find their Turkish curtains at "Vantines [an Oriental import store with branches in New York and Chicago and a catalog trade] and stores of that kind."⁴⁰ The intrepid urban purchaser, acting on the advice of decorating experts, might visit Chinatown for the best selection of Oriental shops or the East Side of New York City to pick up household goods from cash-strapped immigrants who peddled family heirlooms on the street. World's fairs did more than expose tourists to design trends, they also offered shopping opportunities. The closing days of expositions offered bonanzas to bargain seekers, who snatched up samples that had once been on display. Outside of large cities, shoppers had fewer choices, but they nonetheless had access to a wide variety of imported and foreign-seeming household products. According to the testimonial letters in a catalog of a New Mexico firm that sold Mexican and American Indian handicrafts, buyers came from over twenty different states, including ones as far away as Alaska, New Hampshire, Alabama, and Wisconsin. Besides obtaining curios from catalogs, rural and small-town buyers could turn to the thousands of pack peddlers—Syrian

³⁸ On travelers' possessions, see Mary Rutherford Jay, "A Bungalow in Japanese Spirit," *House Beautiful* 32 (July 1912): 72–73; Lillie Hamilton French, *Homes and Their Decoration* (New York, 1903), 191; on diplomats' goods, see Hester M. Poole, "House Decoration Rich and Rare," *Good Housekeeping* 1 (September 19, 1885): 2.

³⁹ Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America* (New York, 1942), 111. On domestic pottery, see Regina Lee Blaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning* (Baltimore, 2000), 118. "Imported Argentine Lampshade Covers," *Chicago Tribune*, August 1, 1920. On baskets, see "The Shopping Guide," *House Beautiful* 28 (August 1910): v; also see in general Robert Hendrickson, *The Grand Emporiums: The Illustrated History of America's Great Department Stores* (New York, 1979).

⁴⁰ A. R. Ramsey, "Interior Decoration," *Ladies' Home Journal* 5 (October 1888): 9. On Vantine's and other importers of Oriental goods, see Mari Yoshihara, "Women's Asia: American Women and the Gendering of American Orientalism, 1870s–World War II" (PhD dissertation, Brown University, 1997), 71–81, 87; Hosley, *Japan Idea*, 43; on the Vantine's inventory, see *Entrance to Vantine's, The House of the Orient* (New York, n.d.), 5–11, 76–77. On Vantine's Chicago branch, see "Vantine's," *Chicago Tribune*, June 2, 1908.

immigrants prominent among them—who crisscrossed the country, hawking exotic bric-a-brac as well as practical supplies.⁴¹

A woman shopper who offered advice in *The House Beautiful* attested to the boggling assortment of available wares: “The chief thought in the mind of the woman who goes out to buy curtains and draperies . . . must be one of thankfulness that she lives in this particular age of the world, for never before were there so many interesting things from which to choose.” She went on to mention Japanese, Persian, Scottish, and Madagascan fabrics. Shifting her attention to dishes and cutlery, she continued in awe: “From the four corners of the earth come marching long processions of tableware.” The mistress of the house could “make of her dining-table, spread with appropriate wares, a part of a Dutch room, or a Spanish room, or a German room, or a Japanese or a Chinese room.” Or, if she wanted merely “a bit of *bizarre* flavor that seems always to add just the necessary tang to bungalow furnishing, she can pick and choose from the offerings of half the nations of the earth.”⁴² Such articles implied that middle-class and wealthy Americans were in a position to take full advantage of the world’s marketplaces.

The assumption that American shoppers could buy whatever they wanted exaggerated the strength of all but the fattest pocketbooks. Nevertheless, the abundance of the U.S. marketplace did represent financial power. Only the rich could fill their houses with imported decorative items, and the United States, in aggregate, was rich. After a long history of trade deficits that extended back past the origins of the republic, the United States became a net exporter in 1874. Protected by high tariffs, U.S. industry established a significantly greater overseas presence in this period. Yet imports continued to rise as well, and, as part of this development, ever more household goods entered the United States. According to U.S. government trade figures, U.S. imports of wool carpets rose from under \$900,000 in 1865 to over \$2.7 million in 1900 and \$13.6 million in 1920. As for earthen, stone, and china ware, the United States imported roughly \$2 million worth in 1865, \$8.6 million in 1900, and \$11.6 million in 1920. And these are just two of the categories of imported goods: baskets, cutlery, brass, silver, laces, glassware, towels, linens, clocks, and other domestic items also entered the United States.⁴³

The nation’s relative wealth put U.S. buyers in a position of power in the international marketplace. News of low foreign wages, as little as three cents a day

⁴¹ On Chinatown, see “The Shopping Guide,” *House Beautiful* 31 (January 1912): vii; “Gathered Here and There,” *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1908. On bargains, see Mary Alden Hopkins, *House Beautiful* 46 (December 1919): 388–89. “Closing Days of the Exposition,” *Atlanta Constitution*, January 5, 1896; Francis E. Lester Co., *Catalogue*; see also *Wanamaker’s Catalog* (Philadelphia, 1908), 8; on peddlers, see Alixa Naff, *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience* (Carbondale, Ill., 1985), 130, 170, 172, 173, 180.

⁴² Florence Finch Kelly, “Bungalow Furnishings and Fitments,” *House Beautiful* 36 (June 1914): 24–28, 27.

⁴³ U.S. imports rose from \$354 million in 1860 to \$1.9 billion in 1914. In the same period, exports rose from \$316 million to \$2.4 billion. Stuart Weems Bruchey, *Enterprise: The Dynamic Economy of a Free People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 296–300; Mira Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 142; Department of the Treasury, *The Commerce and Navigation of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1865), 243, 350–51; (1900), 69, 77; (1920), 40–41, 101. I do not provide a total figure for household imports because the treasury reports do not, in many cases, distinguish between goods imported for industrial and household use. Furthermore, their categories of analysis—including “household and personal effects, and wearing apparel in use, etc. of persons arriving from foreign countries”—can be very broad.

for a Chinese laborer, might have worried American manufacturers and workers, but they provided grounds for American consumers to see themselves as privileged. That international exchanges were not always regarded as equal can be inferred from the words used to describe them. Contemporaries referred to foreign goods as “plunder” and “trophies of travel.”⁴⁴ Even accounts that presented American consumption in more benign terms, as a charitable transfer of wealth to needy foreign workers, conveyed a sense of unequal power relations between U.S. consumers and foreign producers.⁴⁵ Guided by such accounts, shoppers could understand their forays into the marketplace as an act of national mastery, as an assertion of American as well as class privilege.

The United States might seem particularly privileged, but shoppers could also regard their purchases as a manifestation of something larger: civilizational and racial privilege. Imperial rule played a crucial role in bringing non-European goods to Western attention. It also brought the manufacture of numerous products under Western, especially British, control, thus making them more readily available. In 1877, decorator Harriet Prescott Spofford acknowledged the imperial connections that brought foreign products to American households. She claimed that American consumers could obtain finer goods than ever before, due to “our better acquaintance with the Eastern countries, the farther depth to which we have penetrated them.”⁴⁶ If the exotic objects that filled American households could speak, the rooms would reverberate with stories of empire.

Some of these stories—especially those on compelled labor—should have made conscientious decorators blanch. A *Decorator and Furnisher* article on Oriental rugs noted that in Mirzapur, India, “the [British] Government has, by engaging as many of its convicts in the jail as soon as it could find space for at carpet weaving, set the fashion for the whole neighborhood.” Convicts reportedly made carpets in Bangalore and Vellore, too, including ones on order for Americans. Yet rather than condemn such prison labor, those who reported on it were more likely to cast it as an efficient means of enforcing discipline.⁴⁷ The acceptance of coercive labor practices—indeed, the tendency to regard them as evidence of superior British managerial skills rather than as shocking evidence of exploitation—underscores the idea of consumption as marching hand in hand with Western imperial rule.

But before we conclude that consumers regarded the marketplace as more coercive than consensual, it is important to note that a number of essays on provenance romanticized the conditions of manufacture. “Here are no sweat-shop methods!” exclaimed a catalog of Mexican handicrafts that touted the pleasant

⁴⁴ John Kimberly Mumford, chapter on Oriental rugs, *Book of Home Building and Decoration*, Henry Collins Brown and Clara Brown Lyman, eds. (Garden City, N.Y., 1912), 63. On plunder, see Laura B. Starr, “An Indian Room,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 14 (May 1889): 38; on trophies, see Hester M. Poole, “The City Residence of Geo. W. Childs, Esq.,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 14 (June 1889): 69.

⁴⁵ Mrs. S. A. Brock-Putnam, “Mexican Drawn Work,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 26 (August 1895): 178.

⁴⁶ Spofford, *Art Decoration*, 161. See also John E. Wills, Jr., “European Consumption and Asian Production in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 133–47.

⁴⁷ W. L. D. O’Grady, “Oriental Rugs and Carpets,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 3 (December 1883): 95. See also “Rugs of Antique Make,” *New York Tribune*, February 5, 1900; J. H. Elder Duncan, *The House Beautiful and Useful* (New York, 1911), 194.

home-based manufacturing conditions of its workers.⁴⁸ Shoppers could actually watch ostensibly contented Irish lace makers, Persian rug weavers, and other foreign craftspeople ply their trades at worlds' fairs and manufacturing exhibits.⁴⁹ The result of such rosy accounts and appealing displays of manufacture was to make the U.S. position within the world marketplace seem benign. By ignoring conflict and obscuring unsavory working conditions, such accounts made the inequitable distribution of international power seem unexceptionable. They thus helped forestall critiques of imperialism based on evidence of exploitation. The abundance of goods in the American marketplace resulted from varying degrees of coercion as well as consent. And in buying the Baghdad curtains, the Turkish rugs, and the Indian brasswork, American shoppers positioned themselves with the grasping Western powers. This can be most clearly seen in the appeal of Oriental rooms during the 1870s and 1880s.

Decorators touted Oriental and especially Turkish schemes as particularly suitable for men's smoking rooms and bachelor's apartments. The apartment of a New York banker illuminates why. An awestruck reporter admiringly compared its Turkish room to the harem of the Pasha. Its walls were bedecked in tapestries "representing Eastern dancing girls in the most luxurious attitudes." Beside the door stood a life-size nude statue of an odalisque.⁵⁰ It was a sensuous room in which men could enjoy eroticized Eastern women. Like other Turkish rooms, it gratified male fantasies through conveying the luxuriousness and ease associated with the harem. Yet exotic reveries were not the only escapes offered by Turkish dens. The men who retreated to their confines also surrounded themselves with the thrill of violence: many such rooms had weapons prominently displayed on the walls.⁵¹

It was no coincidence that Turkish and other Orientalist rooms became popular in the apogee of European imperialism. Oriental smoking rooms were a cultural manifestation of imperial politics. They resulted from Western knowledge of Eastern conventions (however jumbled and perverted) and Westerners' ability to obtain Eastern products. More specifically, they provided the Western bachelor with access, if only in his imagination, to the prohibited harem. If in its inaccessibility, the harem symbolized the limits of Western men's power to fully grasp the Orient, its duplication suggested that nothing was beyond Western men's reach. The weapons might convey masculinity, but as far as Oriental men were concerned, it was a cowed masculinity, for these daggers, swords, and spears had been unable to prevent the European seizure of power. The most potent masculinity inhered in their current possessors—the men who could hang them on their walls along with college banners and hunting trophies.

Although high-end Oriental rooms were often pitched as luxurious places for male pleasure, there were also low-cost orientalist niches, commonly referred to as "cozy corners," which, decorators insisted, middle-class women could make for

⁴⁸ Francis E. Lester Co., *Catalogue*, 3.

⁴⁹ "Come and See," *New York Times*, September 8, 1912.

⁵⁰ Frank Chaffee, "Bachelor Bits," *The Home-Maker* 1 (February 1899): 354; William R. Bradshaw, "Mr. George A. Kessler's Bachelor Apartments," *Decorator and Furnisher* 25 (March 1895): 207. On the banker's apartment, see "A Typical American Interior," *Decorator and Furnisher* 20 (July 1892): 140–43.

⁵¹ *Decorator and Furnisher* 30 (May 1897): 37; Seale, *Tasteful Interlude*, 233.



FIGURE 3: A New York cozy corner, from William Martin Johnson, *Inside of One Hundred Homes* (Philadelphia, 1897), 44. Courtesy of the Winterthur Library, Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur, Delaware.

their own enjoyment. These typically consisted of an upholstered divan, a profusion of cushions, a rug, a Turkish coffee table, some Orientalist touches such as screens, fans, lanterns, and pottery, and lush draperies to frame the entire ensemble. (See Figure 3.) The *Ladies' Home Journal* described one that could be made for ten dollars. And there were even cheaper versions. One decorator counseled the cost-conscious to stuff their pillows with milkweed if possible, new-mown hay and pine shavings if necessary.⁵²

⁵² William Martin Johnson, *Inside of One Hundred Homes* (Philadelphia, 1897), 44; Carrie May

Some featured cozy corners were so outlandish that they might have struck a cynic as a decorator's joke, but many readers did not regard them in that light. It is difficult to gauge the exact extent of their appeal, but they did spring up across the country. One New York apartment clustered tropical plants and Eastern textiles around a corner divan. A Chicago householder added a large parasol, spears, and fans to the basic arrangement. Artistic decorators from Texas to Colorado and Montana came up with their own variations. Cozy corners did more than provide a feminine counterpoint to male smoking dens—their popularity helped make exotic interiors seem particularly feminine.⁵³ What, then, explains their popularity? Did all these householders regard their niches as shrines to national and imperial privilege?

However much they might seem that way in retrospect, it is important to note that contemporaries generally did not portray them in that light. Julia Cowles, the writer who envisioned hay-filled pillows bedecking rural divans, attributed their sudden popularity to the seemingly benign phenomenon of geographic awareness: "only within the last decade have we become sufficiently well acquainted with these same neighbors to feel at liberty to borrow from them."⁵⁴ Ignoring how it was that American women had managed to become acquainted with their Eastern "neighbors" and what forms this acquaintance took, Cowles tried to remove cozy corners from international relations and relocate them in the realm of the sentimental. But there was nonetheless something to her claims of feeling well acquainted. The American women who constructed Oriental cozy corners had, in all likelihood, been exposed to information on Oriental products and their manufacture and, beyond that, to ethnographic writing on the harem, whether in missionary bulletins, daily newspapers, or women's magazines. That exposure only intensifies the mystery of the cozy corners' appeal, however, for evangelical and secular ethnological literature presented Oriental harems as virtual prisons, as symbols of women's degradation in male-dominated societies. A decorating article that praised the "exquisite workmanship" of the embroidery pinned to the wall of an Iranian harem but then went on to mention opium smoking, a sickly looking baby, child marriage, superstition, jealousy between wives, and the sheltered women's utter ignorance of

Ashton, "Home Workshop: Cosey Corners," *Decorator and Furnisher* 19 (October 1891): 29; Charlotte Robinson, "A Moorish Recess," *Decorator and Furnisher* 20 (August 1892): 189–90; Edgar de N. Mayhew and Minor Myers, Jr., *A Documentary History of American Interiors: From the Colonial Era to 1915* (New York, 1980), 252; Beverly Gordon, "Cozy, Charming, and Artistic: Stitching Together the American Home," in *The Arts and the American Home, 1890–1930*, Jessica H. Foy and Karal Ann Marling, eds. (Knoxville, Tenn., 1994), 124–48, 127; Joseph T. Butler, "The Decorative Arts," in *The Arts in America: The Nineteenth Century*, Wendell D. Garrett, Paul F. Norton, Alan Gowans, and Joseph T. Butler (New York, 1969), 285–384, 323; Karen Halttunen, "From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration, and the Culture of Personality," in *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880–1920*, Simon J. Bronner, ed. (New York, 1989), 157–90, 164. "Cozy Corners for Parlors," *Ladies' Home Journal* 7 (July 1890): ii; on milkweed, see Julia Darrow Cowles, *Artistic Home Furnishing for People of Moderate Means* (New York, 1898), 155, 161, 163.

⁵³ On New York and Chicago corners, see Johnson, *Inside of One Hundred Homes*, 44, 54; on a Houston corner, see Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, Barrie M. Scardino, Sadie Gwin Blackburn, and Katherine S. Howe, *Houston's Forgotten Heritage: Landscape, Houses, Interiors, 1824–1914* (Houston, Tex., 1991), 212; on Denver and Montana corners, see Seale, *Tasteful Interlude*, 173, 210; on femininity, see Burns, "Price of Beauty," 227.

⁵⁴ Cowles, *Artistic Home Furnishing*, 155.

the world captures the tension between the admiration for Eastern products and the abhorrence of the East.⁵⁵ If U.S. men were likely to regard the harem as a symbol of unattainable pleasures, a bastion of resistance to Western imperial surveillance and control, U.S. women were more likely to see it as a symbol of oppression.

The female bondage associated with the harem complicates the theory that imperial assertiveness, or, for the naïve, mere acquaintance, motivated Moorish and other exotic niches. Given the tendency to regard the harem as a locus of male pleasure at the cost of female oppression, why did Euro-American women tolerate any hint of the Orient in their parlors? One possibility is that they disregarded the vast majority of harem writings and latched onto the idea of the harem as a protective space for women. Another is that they draped Turkish fabrics in their doorways to manifest a sense of sympathetic identification with oppressed harem denizens. In either case, their efforts to add Oriental touches to their households can be interpreted as an expression of their own dissatisfactions, whether with male-dominated social spaces or their own domestic captivity. Despite admonitions to be thankful for their privileges, these women may have felt that they still had all too much in common with women of the East. Even confident, capable, socially powerful women such as Bertha Palmer had reason to identify with women of the harem: Palmer's husband reportedly locked her in her room from time to time.⁵⁶

But just because the harem served as a symbol of women's oppression, it does not follow that its reconstruction in Western households necessarily did, too. For U.S. women as well as men, domestic Orientalism bespoke an affinity with Western imperial rule. Orientalist niches represented European as well as Oriental design, for imperial endeavors had given rise to an Orientalist craze in Britain and on the continent. Maude Andrews, author of a series of travel articles published in the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1896, was struck by a Turkish room in London: "sumptuous, restful, exquisite—nothing in it, I assure you, like the cozy oriental corners we see copied out of newspapers and fashion books."⁵⁷ She may have disdained cozy corners as low-brow, but even these had European connections—the 1892 Exhibition of Rooms at London's Crystal Palace had one on display. Constructing a cozy corner meant more than mimicking the wealthy within the United States: like the rich who hired decorators to compose lavish Oriental retreats, the middle-class American women who draped their corners in fabric and piled cushions on the divan demonstrated a sense of European sophistication through their exhibitions of Oriental exoticism. Rather than aiming to produce an unmediated Eastern decor, many of the householders who experimented with Orientalism strove to produce a

⁵⁵ Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870–1910," *Journal of American History* 69 (September 1982): 347–71; Mervat Hatem, "Through Each Other's Eyes: Egyptian, Levantine-Egyptian, and European Women's Images of Themselves and of Each Other (1862–1920)," *Women's Studies International Forum* 12, no. 2 (1989): 183–98; Reina Lewis and, to a lesser extent, Janaki Nair, find that Western women depicted the harem more positively, but I have found this to be rare in U.S. newspapers and magazines; Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (New York, 1996), 152; Nair, "Uncovering the Zenana: Visions of Indian Womanhood in Englishwomen's Writings, 1813–1940," *Journal of Women's History* 2 (Spring 1990): 8–34; on the Iranian harem, see Fannie S. Benjamin, "Home Life in Iran," *The Home-Maker* 4 (June 1890): 199–202.

⁵⁶ Ross, *Silhouette in Diamonds*, 41.

⁵⁷ Maude Andrews, "Maude Andrews in London," *Atlanta Constitution*, July 12, 1896.

colonial decor, one that emerged from the crucible of empire and was as much European as Oriental. Just as the spreading reach of Western ships had contributed to the rage for chinoiserie in the eighteenth century, a sense of affinity with Western imperialism contributed to the Orientalism of the nineteenth. Like the public exhibitions that broadcast messages about Western imperial power, fin-de-siècle households made manifest the benefits of U.S. commercial expansion in a Western-dominated political economy.⁵⁸

To the extent that Orientalist cozy corners did evoke an unmediated East to their creators, they still did not necessarily imply a sense of identification with sequestered women. If Western women regarded the harem as a locus of oppression for its denizens, they saw it as a tourist destination for themselves. The ability to travel, if only imaginatively through their household interiors, marked them as privileged. Like the wealthy bachelors in their Turkish smoking rooms, middle-class women could appreciate the power dynamics implicit in their cozy corners. Though members of the subordinate sex at home, they could claim affiliation with a dominant nation (and for white women, with a dominant race) in an international context. Those who read about white women in the Orient read stories about empowerment: memsahibs reported on a level of authority and luxury unavailable to them in the metropole. In the context of empire, middle-class Western women could become upper-class. Indeed, American women were often told to regard consumption as a sign of national strength, to thank their lucky stars that they had been born into a country where women were “spenders,” not “earners.”⁵⁹ In buying foreign goods and creating foreign interiors, American women no less than American men accepted, sometimes knowingly, sometimes tacitly, the relations of power that brought these products to their doorsteps. Middle-class American women might never be as rich as Bertha Palmer, but they nonetheless had something in common: they could demonstrate national and civilizational standing in their household acquisitions. As fellow citizens in a wealthy nation, as fellow wielders of the dollar, they, too, were privileged in the international marketplace. And what was the point of the nation, the point of empire, if not to preserve that privilege? Cosmopolitan interiors produced as well as reflected international relations, in the sense that wide-ranging tastes added impetus to commercial expansion and empire.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ “The Exhibition of Rooms at the Crystal Palace, London,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 20 (June 1892): 97; on public expositions, see Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” in *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner, eds. (Princeton, 1994), 123–54.

⁵⁹ Rosemary Marangoly George, “Homes in the Empire, Empires in the Home,” *Cultural Critique* (Winter 1993–94): 95–127, 97; Nair, “Uncovering the Zenana,” 10; “What She Does in India,” *New York Tribune*, June 14, 1896; on the privilege enjoyed even by missionaries, see Harold R. Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India* (New York, 1957), 153; on poor whites in European colonies, see Ann Laura Stoler, “Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (January 1989): 134–61; on spenders, see Laura Jean Libbey, “Praying for a Husband,” *Atlanta Constitution*, November 17, 1912.

⁶⁰ On abundance appearing contingent on empire, see Robert W. Rydell, “The Culture of Imperial Abundance: World’s Fairs in the Making of American Culture,” in Bronner, *Consuming Visions*, 191–216, 192.

THE COMMERCIAL POWER OF THE UNITED STATES and its association with empire in the years after the Civil War make it tempting to interpret the appeal of foreign goods and styles strictly as an expression of national and Western power. It seems reasonable to conclude that the nation as a whole (or at least the middle and upper-class Americans who purchased the bulk of household imports) was doing something akin to Bertha Palmer: demonstrating status through consumption. However, more provincial Americans refused to see the incorporation of foreign objects into American households in this light. The eagerness with which late nineteenth-century shoppers filled their households with imported objects troubled the economic nationalists who supported high tariffs. Nor did the passion for foreign products make sense to cultural nationalists, foremost among them the colonial revivalists, who thought that American women should surround themselves with American objects to better foster patriotism and good citizenship in their children.⁶¹

The penchant for the foreign also countered the nationalistic programs of those who wanted to spread a more narrow-minded vision of American domesticity. This group includes the missionaries who shipped household goods to China, the American colonizers in the Philippines who likewise strove to reproduce the conditions of home, and the reformers who attempted to “Americanize” Native Americans and immigrants by persuading them to embrace appropriately national domestic influences.⁶² The expectation that middle-class American women would contribute to Christianizing, civilizing, and Americanizing projects by modeling and enforcing domesticity complicates the idea of cosmopolitan consumption as a quintessentially imperialist practice. Cosmopolitan interiors could be just as imperialistic as nationalistic ones, but in different ways—the former were more appropriative and the latter more homogenizing. In contrast to more explicitly nationalist and culturally bounded interiors, cosmopolitan interiors evinced relatively greater receptivity to difference. Unlike economic and cultural nationalists and their “Americanizing” allies, cosmopolitan consumers positioned themselves as enthusiastic contributors to and beneficiaries of the globalizing developments of their day.

Cosmopolitan interiors seem strange enough in light of domestic ideology, but they seem stranger still in the light of late nineteenth-century Americans’ (at least white, native-born Americans’) reputation for provincialism beyond the confines of their households. Historians have characterized the 1870s as a decade in which native-born Americans had faith in assimilation, but rising xenophobia in the 1880s and 1890s led to calls for immigration restriction. In keeping with this anti-immigrant backlash, nativistic “purity” campaigns took off in the late nineteenth

⁶¹ Dana Frank, *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism* (Boston, 1999), chap. 2; Helen Kinne and Anna M. Cooley, *Shelter and Clothing* (New York, 1915), 1, 5.

⁶² Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Woman Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 129; Vicente L. Rafael, “Colonial Domesticity: White Women and United States Rule in the Philippines,” *American Literature* 67 (December 1995): 639–66; William B. Rhoads, “The Colonial Revival and the Americanization of Immigrants,” in *The Colonial Revival in America*, Alan Axelrod, ed. (New York, 1985), 341–61, 361; Nayan Shah, “Cleansing Motherhood: Hygiene and the Culture of Domesticity in San Francisco’s Chinatown, 1875–1900,” in *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Antoinette Burton, ed. (London, 1999), 19–34, 25; Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 107.

century. Purity reformers often blamed foreigners and immigrants for indecency and obscenity. Their obsession with purity stemmed, in part, from unease. In the last decades of the century, railroads, concentrated capital, and industrial production knit small island communities into a tighter national network.⁶³ National integration challenged the face-to-face security of small-town life, as did another phenomenon: the rise of cities. Even though the United States was still a predominantly rural and small-town nation at the turn of the century, big cities were catching up, on the verge of matching the hinterlands in population in the 1920 census. The narrative of national consolidation and urbanization is a familiar one to historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, but it is only part of a larger story, less familiar to cultural historians. This was also a period in which the nation became increasingly incorporated into the world. Just as the big city came to be seen with some ambivalence—as a site of corruption and danger as well as culture and pleasure—the wider world seemed simultaneously threatening and exciting, a place of risk and of opportunity, degenerate and yet novel.

If foreign interiors seem incongruous in the domestic refuges of a people with a strong provincial streak, the non-European motifs seem doubly incongruous given what we know about racial and ethnic assumptions of the time. This was a period of rampant white supremacist ideas and practices, of lynchings, the disfranchisement of African-American voters, and the entrenchment of Jim Crow. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited practically all Chinese from immigrating to the United States, and in the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement, President Theodore Roosevelt arranged with Japan to limit working-class immigrants from that country. Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans faced hostility and discrimination; they were ineligible for naturalized citizenship and in many cases isolated from European Americans in Chinatowns and Japantowns. Immigration from the Middle East was not a pressing political issue during the late nineteenth century, but white Americans still tended to disparage this part of the world. In the 1880s, the Ottoman Empire was the largest foreign mission site for the United States. Rather than resenting European aggression against the sultan's dominions, Americans increasingly saw Turks as oppressors of subject Christian minorities.⁶⁴ Yet all the while, middle-class housewives were sewing cushions for sensuous Oriental niches. Keeping in mind that Oriental touches were only part of a broader enthusiasm for foreign design, why did foreignness have such cachet in the late nineteenth century? If the leading logic of domesticity was national, racial, and civilizational self-assertion, why did householders not stick to American goods and what they

⁶³ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (1955; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 20, 39, 43, 64, 98; Nicola Beisel, *Imperiled Innocents: Anthony Comstock and Family Reproduction in Victorian America* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 105; Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873–1933* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), 115, 129; Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York, 1967), xiii, 2, 44, 11, 24–25, 47; Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1982), 22–23, 59.

⁶⁴ Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York, 1989), chaps. 5–6; Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Gloucester, 1966), 11, 15, 44, 68; Naff, *Becoming American*, 2, 111–12; James A. Field, Jr., *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776–1882* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), 307, 339, 347, 445.

regarded as specifically “American” interiors? What kind of self did the homemakers who embraced what they saw as foreign objects and motifs strive to convey?

It is difficult to determine what household imports meant to consumers because shopping, at once so commonplace and so ephemeral, did not result in routine record keeping of what attracted buyers to their purchases. Nor did most householders keep notes on why they decorated as they did or what effect they were trying to achieve. The intentions and resonances of household interiors no doubt varied as much as the individuals who crafted them. But even without the help of voluminous shopping and decorating diaries, descriptions of interiors can help us deduce much about their logic and meaning. And even if we assume a multiplicity of motives behind them, we can still draw conclusions about the range of possibilities. If the eager acquisition of foreign products can be interpreted as an expression of imperialist sensibilities, or at least a toleration of imperial practices, it also can be interpreted in very different terms, as a form of cultural insecurity and receptivity to outside influences. This was especially true for the rooms done after European tastes, but it was likewise true for Orientalist touches. Rather than seeing themselves as the stalwart defenders of local manufacture, or as the guardians of local or national decorative traditions, and rather than being bent on imposing U.S. culture on the wider world, the American women who sought foreign objects for their households demonstrated an eagerness to be at the receiving end of cultural transmission. Their decorating efforts can be read as an effort to transcend the nation, in an effort to claim the cultural capital that they believed their nation lacked.⁶⁵ Although cosmopolitan U.S. consumers assumed that Europe had the greatest hoard of cultural capital, they regarded such capital as potentially global in its origins and range of circulation.

That consumers looked to their household goods as links to the wider world can be inferred from writings on home furnishings. A *House Beautiful* contributor who counseled setting the dining room table with items from around the world characterized the arrangement as a kind of geography lesson: “Each item upon a table thus spread from so many different sources has its own story to tell of the country whence it comes, the way it was made, and the uses to which it would have been put in the homes of peasant or artisan had it not journeyed to America instead.”⁶⁶ Another decorating account maintained that the attraction of outlandish belongings was the “change they impart to the mind . . . The effect is somewhat similar to that of travel, in which the strangest things have the greatest charm.”⁶⁷ Through purchasing foreign goods, consumers could attain the outlook of globe-trotters, something that implied a certain open-mindedness along with wealth, cultivation, and an adventuresome spirit. As for those who actually had traveled, stuffing their households with foreign goods was a way to reify their rambling. The knickknack acquired in a foreign bazaar served as evidence that one had the means to travel and, even more important, the inclination to do so.

Paradoxically, fashionable Americans’ receptivity to foreign influences had a

⁶⁵ On cultural capital, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1984).

⁶⁶ Florence Finch Kelly, “Bungalow Furnishings and Fitments,” *House Beautiful* 36 (June 1914): 24–28, 27–28.

⁶⁷ “An Interior in the Turkish Style,” *Decorator and Furnisher* 25 (October 1894): 16.

nationalistic dimension—at least in writings that suggested Americans were *exceptionally* cosmopolitan. But this was countered by writings that indicated that other nations and peoples mixed household goods and styles. The *Art Amateur*, for example, reported on a French writer who advocated mixing “the most incongruous objects—a cabinet of the Italian Renaissance, surmounted by a trophy of Oriental arms and a group of grimacing Japanese masks; a Spanish console leaning against a portière of point d’Hongrie; a Persian carpet on the floor.”⁶⁸ Although Europeans’ eclectic preferences received particular attention in the U.S. press, hybridity meant being more than just European, it meant being modern. *House and Garden*, for example, published an article on Japanese houses with Occidental rooms for the reception of Westerners. Although it suggested that it would be better to create a composite style, “in which the practical features of European furniture are combined with Japanese design characteristics,” it applauded the effort to bridge East and West within the profiled dwellings.⁶⁹ Such articles made it clear that international mixing characterized the age, not just the nation.

That cosmopolitan interiors were a mark of the time seemed clear to those who contrasted late nineteenth-century interiors to ones from earlier periods. One decorating pamphlet claimed that the interiors of “our forefathers” were relatively simple, both from poverty and “from the fact that they were not a much traveling people, and their curiosity about other lands and their inhabitants was not very great.” To be modern meant to be comparatively cosmopolitan: “We, on the contrary, take a very great interest in other peoples and in other countries . . . In our houses we give our love of adventure free play, and like to be reminded at every turn, of the fact that America, big as is her territory, is but a small part of the world.”⁷⁰ Interpreting the enthusiasm for foreign goods and tastes only in nationalistic terms means missing out on the international yearnings expressed in these interiors. Just as the national marketplace unified late nineteenth-century American consumers, the international marketplace led them to imagine still wider connections. To cosmopolitan consumers, globalization did not threaten cultural loss so much as promise cultural gain, in a very literal, materialist sense.

As beneficiaries of Western imperial power, U.S. consumers had plenty of reasons—some of them visible on their mantelpieces and corner tables—to regard rising international commerce favorably. Like their nationalistic contemporaries who called for greater self-assertion, cosmopolitan decorators appreciated national economic and political power. Where these two groups differed was in their receptivity to difference. In contrast to those who adhered to a smug sense of cultural superiority, cosmopolitan decorators approached the wider world with less chauvinism. The story of Major Kyttyl illustrates this point. In a reminiscence about the major, a *House and Garden* writer recalled that, when the retired officer first moved into town, the neighbors regarded him with curiosity and suspicion. Who was he? How would he fit into small-town life? His social prospects looked grim when he unpacked his strange Persian and Indian antiques. But the story ended happily for the mysterious major, who found that some of his neighbors were

⁶⁸ “French Home Interiors,” *Art Amateur* 18 (March 1888): 88.

⁶⁹ Eugene Clute, “Japanese Homes of Today,” *House and Garden* 35 (June 1919): 39.

⁷⁰ “The Housekeeper’s Quest: Where to Find Pretty Things” (New York, 1885), 6.

“persons of culture . . . appreciative of art.” It also ended happily for the narrator, who developed a lifelong love of the “curious and beautiful things of the Orient.”⁷¹ The lesson for the reader? In an age of greater international linkages (to be sure, ones dominated by the Western imperial powers, as the major’s military title suggests), to be truly cultured was to have far-reaching, rather than insular, tastes. Collecting and displaying imported objects provided a way to demonstrate a broad outlook, wide experience, and engagement with the world.

There is a certain irony in expressing one’s individuality through exotic goods admittedly dissociated from the self, but the point was to express a fluid individuality, notable for its receptivity to wider currents and outside influences. This was the sensibility Bertha Palmer aimed to convey. The daughter of one retailer who sold imported goods and the wife of another, Palmer derived her financial status in part from transatlantic commerce. She spoke fluent French and belonged to a group called the Tuesday Art and Travel Club. She rambled in Europe and North Africa, making friends with European aristocrats, authors, actors, and artists. She collected T’ang figures and impressionist paintings. In the early 1890s, as chair of the Board of Lady Managers of the World’s Columbian Exposition, she aimed to make the women’s building the most cosmopolitan of all the fair exhibits. Palmer refused to be constrained by national boundaries.⁷²

Writings on decor encouraged international allegiances among women less traveled than Palmer. *Good Housekeeping*, for example, ran an article on Provençal pottery that highlighted its worldwide following: Italy, Egypt, Spain, and the South American republics imported the most, but the pottery was shipped to “all ports of the seven seas”—to San Francisco, St. Petersburg, Hong Kong, and New Orleans. Devotees had supposedly “formed a cult—whether they be on Broadway, Piccadilly or the Nevsky Prospekt.”⁷³ Casserole owners could regard themselves as members of a community of like-minded consumers that spanned the globe.

This is not to say that the imagined community of consumption was truly global. The appreciation of foreign handiwork helped counter negative stereotypes of other peoples, but not everybody had a casserole and not everybody exported them. Significantly, the household goods made by Africans living south of the Sahara and other groups assumed to be at the very bottom of the racial hierarchy were not widely available in the United States. In fact, according to disdainful ethnographic writings, one sign of lowly status was a lack of attractive domestic accoutrements.⁷⁴ The failure to produce consumer wares thought to be worth procuring on the world market stigmatized groups as evolutionary failures, as outsiders to the globalizing world of commerce. Furthermore, given that practical-minded Americans tended to regard artistic handiwork as only a minor attainment—indeed, as a form of manual

⁷¹ Gardner Teall, “Collecting Antiques of Persia and India,” *House and Garden* 36 (July 1919): 18–19.

⁷² *Potter Family Collections* (Sarasota, Fla., 1963), 7, 8; Aline B. Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors: The Lives, Times and Tastes of Some Adventurous American Art Collectors* (New York, 1958), 16, 20; Mrs. Potter Palmer, *Addresses and Reports* (Chicago, 1894), 116.

⁷³ Isabel Floyd-Jones, “The Potters of Golfe-Juan and Vallauris,” *Good Housekeeping* 50 (March 1910): 347–51.

⁷⁴ W. P. Pond, “A Zulu Woman’s Mansion,” *Ladies’ Home Journal* 8 (March 1891): 9.

labor—even the production of coveted objects did not overthrow derogatory ethnic and racial stereotypes altogether.

As the exclusionary cast to the circle of consumption suggests, there were considerable limits to domestic cosmopolitanism. It did not imply a belief in the essential equality of all human beings or a profound understanding of other nations and cultures. Nor did it necessarily imply a willingness to open the nation's borders to immigrants. The art experts who lamented the vitiation of "authentic" styles outside of Europe promoted the idea that cosmopolitanism should be a testament to *Western* knowledge, openness, and modernity. Those who mixed and matched imported objects fabricated the exotic. Those who sought imported items that had been crafted to suit their tastes or who arranged them so that they felt familiar domesticated the wider world, denying its difference and asserting their own appropriative power. And even those who strove for authenticity asserted the power of knowledge, something seen as a necessary base for commercial supremacy and political authority.⁷⁵ The cosmopolitanism of consumption, premised on unequal economic and political relations between people of various countries, was a cosmopolitanism in which American consumers only superficially engaged with distant producers. In some cases, they only imagined doing so. And they remained a privileged, purchasing class. Cosmopolitan domesticity made gestures toward universalism, but it was closely intertwined with the hierarchies of its day.

Nevertheless, its complicity with empire, indeed, its contingency on empire, does not mean that the cosmopolitan ethos should be interpreted only as an assertion of U.S. power. The enthusiasm for European goods and models makes late nineteenth-century Americans seem especially colonized in a cultural sense—at least one French writer regarded the export of French goods as a means to "civilize barbarous peoples"—but the passion for products and fashions of even wider provenance also represents a sense of cultural dependence.⁷⁶ Like upper-class Latin Americans who regarded European goods as a means of proving their civilizational standing, cosmopolitan consumers in the United States asserted their class and national status through acknowledging foreign superiority in matters of taste. Seen in the most penetrating light, cosmopolitan domesticity comes across as a phenomenon that benefited from and promoted empire. But the appreciation of other peoples' cultural production can also be seen in a more benign light—as a necessary (though not sufficient) precondition for international understanding.⁷⁷ Fin-de-siècle cosmopolitanism expressed a sense of national, racial, financial, and civilizational empowerment, but in acknowledging this and other shortcomings, it is

⁷⁵ Laura B. Starr, "Cairene Furniture," *Decorator and Furnisher* 26 (May 1895): 48; John Kimberly Mumford, "Glimpses of Modern Persia," *House and Garden* 2 (August 1902): 361–73. On regarding the Orient as a site of "unchanging racial or cultural essences," see Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," in *Colonialism and Culture*, Nicholas B. Dirks, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), 289–318, 289; on the inequalities of what she terms "interculturism," see Rustom Bharucha, *Theatre and the World: Performance and the Politics of Culture* (New York, 1990), 1; on commercial supremacy, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, 1988), 166.

⁷⁶ Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 224.

⁷⁷ Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (New York, 1987), 154, 176; Benjamin Orlove, ed., *The Allure of the Foreign: Imported Goods in Postcolonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997); on the potential of commerce to promote international sympathy, see Akira Iriye, ed., "Introduction," *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 1–23.

important not to overlook the relative receptiveness of the cosmopolitan ethos, something that stands out in greater clarity when we consider that some contemporaries saw it as a threat to national self-assertion.

The Americans who objected to exotic interiors did so not only because of their aesthetic qualities but also because they regarded them as too heterogeneous to be appropriate for the United States. They echoed the British and French cultural critics who maintained that taste should be national, by which they meant that it should be shared by everyone in the nation and should indicate specifically national sensibilities.⁷⁸ Calls for households decorated in a particularly American way were in keeping with calls to purge domestic servants (generally understood to be African American or foreign-born) from American (understood, in this context, to mean middle-class, native-born, and white) households. They also were consistent with efforts to persuade *immigrant* women to adopt a more “American” aesthetic in their decor. Amelia Muir Baldwin, a Boston-born interior decorator and needle tapestry designer who, as an older woman taught Americanization courses to immigrants, called for racially and culturally appropriate interiors in a 1916 essay. “In our own houses we are certainly happier if we have a background which expresses something of ourselves, racially and individually . . . [A] Turkish harem, however well done from a decorative point of view, is ill adapted to the uses and ideals of domestic life in this country.” She went on to object to the French style as “foreign to our genius.”⁷⁹ The unapologetic imitation revealed in eclectic interiors struck critics as an embarrassment for a rising power. “It is humiliating, and a national disgrace that rich Americans should build palaces and spend millions of dollars in adornment that is exclusively foreign, both in idea and execution,” editorialized the *Decorator and Furnisher* in 1895.⁸⁰ Implying that households should convey local and national sensibilities through their design and the objects they displayed, critics bewailed the modern drawing room for being, as one put it, “a mass of heterogeneous articles imported from all lands, instead of being an organic design.”⁸¹ Seeing eclectic interiors less as a sign of imperializing sensibilities than as imperialized ones, more parochial purveyors of decorating advice called for a distinctive national style, by which they often meant the colonial revival.

After originating in the 1870s, colonial revival became the most popular U.S. style by World War I. Its simple lines and relatively sparse interiors represented not only a rejection of excessive ornament and clutter but also a rejection of international influences. Colonial-style furniture stood for ethnic purity in an age of

⁷⁸ Auslander, *Taste and Power*, 141, 378; Nicholas Cooper, *The Opulent Eye: Late Victorian and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design* (London, 1976), 9, 17; Mrs. M. G. Van Rensselaer, “The Development of American Homes,” in *Household Art*, Candace Wheeler, ed. (New York, 1893), 35–55, 37.

⁷⁹ On eliminating maids, see Mary Pattison, *Principles of Domestic Engineering* (New York, 1915), 1. On servants, see David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (Urbana, Ill., 1981), 27, 72, 78; Lizabeth A. Cohen, “Embellishing a Life of Labor: An Interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working-Class Homes, 1885–1915,” *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes during the Period of Industrialization* (Westport, Conn., 1985), 321–52, 346. Amelia Muir Baldwin, “Interior Decoration, A Form of Expression,” box 1, folder 15, Papers of Amelia Muir Baldwin, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

⁸⁰ *Decorator and Furnisher* 27 (October 1895): 3.

⁸¹ *Decorator and Furnisher* 19 (March 1892): 203.

immigration, for national boundary setting and assertion in an age of international connections. It also stood for masculine vigor, at least in contrast to the opulent eclecticism of the Gilded Age, which struck twentieth-century critics as overly feminine.⁸² Along with the colonial revival, the mission style and Arts and Crafts movement gained popularity as reactions to cosmopolitanism. The mission style can be seen as a southwestern version of the colonial revival. For their part, Arts and Crafts devotees favored styles that had evolved from local traditions and products made from local materials. They saw the movement as particularly Anglo-Saxon. The irony of these nationalistic and racially inflected styles was, of course, their mixed antecedents. Both fans and critics of the colonial revival acknowledged that its origins were really more English than American and that it also contained Oriental influences: the British East India Company had introduced lacquerware, porcelain, and Chinese rugs to England in the sixteenth century, and Chinese design heavily influenced Chippendale furniture. As for the mission style, it stemmed from Spanish taste and traditions, which in turn had Moorish antecedents. The British origins of the Arts and Crafts movement likewise deserve mention. But contemporaries persisted in viewing these movements as American. And that explains much of their appeal: they were part of a protest against the cosmopolitan ethos. Home economists joined in this protest by pronouncing hygienic American households, stripped of the bric-a-brac, ornate furniture, and lush draperies that had characterized most cosmopolitan interiors, as models to the world.⁸³

This is not to say that nationalistic styles gained absolute domination over American decoration in the early twentieth century. After shipping disruptions during World War I, foreign items again flooded American shops in the 1920s. In 1922, Edward Stratton Holloway, author of *The Practical Book of Furnishing the Small House and Apartment*, described American decoration, at its best, as "Liberal, International-Inter period, or catholic." He went on to note: "America is an extremely cosmopolitan nation and many of its people are widely traveled, so that International-Inter period decoration is eminently suited to its needs and desires."⁸⁴ But writings on decor paid a decreasing amount of attention to foreign origins. Novelty had run its course. The unprecedented access to the world's marketplaces of the late nineteenth century had become mere routine in the twentieth. Imported goods became increasingly domesticated in the sense that many lost their exotic connotations and cachet. Attributes became ever more important than origins in marketing. When Bertha Palmer died in 1918, leaving her

⁸² Seale, *Tasteful Interlude*, 23; Kenneth L. Ames, *Death in the Dining Room and Other Tales of Victorian Culture* (Philadelphia, 1992), 237; Ames, "Introduction," Axelrod, *Colonial Revival in America*, 1–14, 10. David Eric Brody sees both Orientalist and colonial revival interiors as conducive to imperialism: the former for instilling colonial fantasies, the latter for manifesting American patriotism. Brody, "Fantasy Realized: The Philippines, Orientalism, and Imperialism in Turn-of-the-Century American Visual Culture" (PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1997), 1, 48; on gender, see Burns, "Price of Beauty," 236–37.

⁸³ Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London, 1991), 107; Seale, *Tasteful Interlude*, 25; Ralph Prescott Heard, "The Chinese Influence in Home Furnishings," *House Beautiful* 41 (May 1917): 357–59, 414; Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia, 1986), chap. 2. On home economists, see Christine Frederick, *Household Engineering: Scientific Management in the Home* (Chicago, 1921), 99.

⁸⁴ Edward Stratton Holloway, *The Practical Book of Furnishing the Small House and Apartment* (Philadelphia, 1922), 35, 36.

porcelains and other “articles of virtue” to her sons, they became mother’s heirlooms, family pieces that evoked bygone days in Chicago as much as in China.⁸⁵

Regardless of its success, the turn-of-the-century opposition to cosmopolitan domesticity provides the context necessary to understand the relative inclusiveness of eclectic interiors. In contrast to their critics, who advocated greater national self-assertion in domestic decoration, cosmopolitan consumers regarded their homes as loci of interaction with the wider world, as manifestations of open-mindedness and cultural receptivity. For those who embraced the cosmopolitan ethos, homes were not so much bunkers as entrepôts. Though premised on a commercial and imperial nexus that favored the United States, these interiors also represented a desire to transcend the nation. Eclectic decorative endeavors suggest that late nineteenth-century middle-class American culture can be characterized by more than just narrow-mindedness, insularity, and cultural aloofness, it also encompassed a search for novelty and difference, a deeply ingrained consciousness of the wider world, and a sense of cultural dependence. Cosmopolitan households, no less than nationalistic ones, can be seen as ideologically consistent with U.S. commercial expansion. Yet they also testify to a U.S. position in the global economy more complex than the self-assertion usually thought to characterize the nation in this period. They reveal the coexistence of imperializing impulses and a deferential mentality, especially vis-à-vis Europe.⁸⁶ They show the implications of globalizing developments for household consumption and the significance of household consumption for globalization. Rather than serving exclusively to separate bourgeois Americans from the wider world, domesticity provided a locus of material and imaginative international interaction. In the late nineteenth century, cosmopolitan consumers imported the American dream.

⁸⁵ Probate record of Bertha H. Palmer’s will, May 21, 1918, Bertha H. Palmer Collection, folder 1, Chicago Historical Society.

⁸⁶ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York, 1982); on postcoloniality, see Mackenthun, “Adding Empire to the Study of American Culture,” 264–66; C. Richard King, ed., *Postcolonial America* (Urbana, Ill., 2000).

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AHR Forum
How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?

*Historians and philosophers of history have been assessing the impact of print for some 500 years. And they have always found the job complicated. The Benedictine abbot Johannes Trithemius—reformer, book collector, cryptographer, and much more—recorded the invention of printing as a great achievement in more than one chronicle. He took advantage of the press in several ways: to make his own pioneering works on monastic life and literary history available to a wide public, but also to buy, at low prices, modern devotional works that he could trade to ignorant librarians for the precious manuscripts that gathered dust in their libraries. Yet he also wrote a polemical tract *In Praise of Scribes*, in which he argued for the superiority and durability of the handmade book and dismissed printed works as fated to decay and disappear while manuscripts survived for centuries. Evidently, this witness to the second generation of print saw the impact of the new invention from more than one point of view.*

*So have many others who wrestled with the subject, from sixteenth-century writers like Erasmus and Martin Luther, Louis Le Roy and Jean Bodin, to eighteenth-century Philosophes. From the seventeenth century on, moreover, bibliography began to develop as a formal discipline, and its proponents not only catalogued and sorted books but also hotly debated such questions as the place and time when printing was first practiced. The careers of individual printers and correctors, the work of individual type-founders, the new styles of trade and advertising that came into existence with the printing press all found their students within this rather technical field of scholarship. In the twentieth century, scholars in other fields—notably departments of modern languages—began to apply the new tools of the bibliographers to questions such as the way that European books were shipped to the Americas and Enlightenment ideas moved through the society of the *ancien régime*.*

*Most professional historians, however, devoted relatively little attention to printing and the social and cultural changes it wrought, until Lucien Febvre and other historians of the *Annales* school showed that one could trace, in precise*

detail, the ways that printing altered the lives of authors and readers, using the new, larger libraries of the age of print to chart transformations in the climate of opinion. A historiography of the book grew up in France—a series of monographs and articles devoted less to the formal study of printers and their products than to the use of these as diagnostic tools, which could reveal the temperature and texture of a whole culture. This body of scholarship produced complex—and sometimes controversial—conclusions about the spread of the Reformation and the relations between what were then called elite and popular culture. At much the same time, two influential thinkers outside the realm of professional history—the quirkily speculative Marshall McLuhan and the much more erudite Walter Ong, S.J.—argued in influential books that printing had transformed the Western psyche.

In the 1970s and 1980s, finally, a new history of the book exploded into print, drawing contributions from scholars in many nations and falling into many styles. Roger Chartier used the history of printing as a key to the larger cultural history of early modern France. Robert Darnton charted the publishing history of the quarto Encyclopedia, doing a kind of historical archaeology on the printing and sales operations of a Swiss printing shop for which immense series of records survived. Bob Scribner studied the visual forms of propaganda that carried the message of the Protestant reformation to a wide public. And Carlo Ginzburg reconstructed what had previously seemed an impenetrably private realm, that of the individual reader. The history of books and readers gradually defined itself as a field—a site of inquiry where historians, literary scholars, bibliographers, and others debate and collaborate, practicing a number of complementary forms of historical research. University courses on book history sprang up, symposia took place, and journals and yearbooks were created. The history of books became hot—surprisingly so for a subject long of interest only to antiquarians.

*No one did more to make this new field take shape than **Elizabeth L. Eisenstein**, whose massive two-volume survey *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* was first published by Cambridge University Press in 1979. In this work, which developed from a famous series of articles, Eisenstein argued, in sharp detail, that the printing press had done more than bring messages to new publics: it had, in fact, given rise to the transformations traditionally known as the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution. Based on wide reading in a vast range of secondary works, provocative and fascinating, Eisenstein's synthesis itself reached a vast public—especially in the abridged*

and illustrated paperback edition that Cambridge issued in 1987.

*Eisenstein's book provoked widespread debate. It also helped to inspire a generation of younger scholars to integrate the history of books and readers into the study of intellectual and cultural history—a generational change that is currently reshaping the historiography of all three movements that Eisenstein examined. No one has done so more systematically, or in a more dramatic way, than **Adrian Johns**. A historian of British science rather than the whole range of early modern culture, a denizen of archives rather than a synthesist, Johns devoted his massive *Nature of the Book* to reconstructing the world of early modern English printers and authors—and arguing that the nature of authorship had fundamental effects on the thinkers traditionally associated with the Scientific Revolution.*

*In the exchange that follows, Eisenstein and Johns—each in a characteristic and highly individual style—discuss one another's methods, arguments, and conclusions. Their articles enable the reader to watch major historians of different generations and formations at work, and open up a whole series of vital issues. The *American Historical Review* published one of Eisenstein's original, challenging articles. It seems highly appropriate, then, that it provides a stage where the discussion she helped to begin may continue.*

Anthony Grafton

AHR Forum

An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited

ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN

SOME TWENTY YEARS AGO, I introduced *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* with a chapter entitled “The Unacknowledged Revolution.” There, I noted that, although everyone seemed to agree that the consequences of the advent of printing were of great importance, they all stopped short of telling us just what those consequences were. To offer a full account far exceeded the capacities of any one individual. But even though the task could not be completed, I thought it should at least be begun. A beginning is what I attempted to provide.

As one might expect, not all my suggestions found favor. The most common objection was that I had exaggerated revolutionary aspects and downplayed evolutionary ones. Recent studies in book history continue to elaborate on this point.¹ They note how manuscript book dealers anticipated the commercial practices of later printers and how the hand copying of books persisted long after printers had set to work.² Concern with book format (stimulated by the transfer of texts onto screens) has also called into question the idea of a “printing revolution.” Roger Chartier, for example, suggests that we ought to “reinscribe the emergence of the printing press” in a long-term history that encompasses the shift from roll to codex and from codex to screen.³ The replacement of handcopied codex by printed codex would appear as a very minor episode (a blip or hiccup) in such a long-term history. The same point holds good if we turn from book format to consider the history of reading. Previous assumptions about hearing and reading publics have been brought into question by studies (such as Paul Saenger’s) showing that the

This is a revised version of a paper first given, at the invitation of Jonathan Rose, to a conference organized by graduate students, “The History of the Book—The Next Generation,” held at the Caspersen School of Graduate Studies, Drew University, on September 16, 2000. I owe thanks to Margaret DeLacy, William Sherman, and the *AHR* readers for suggesting revisions.

¹ This objection often seems to be aimed at exaggerated claims that are not of my making. See, for example, some of the recent essays in *Books and the Sciences in History*, Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine, eds. (Cambridge, 2000), section 1. (This volume, to which Adrian Johns contributes, is a by-product of a conference run by the History and Philosophy of Science group at Cambridge University.) See also interview by Krassimira Daskalova with Robert Darnton, *SHARP News* (Summer 1994): 3; and my comments, *SHARP News* (Winter 1994–95): 5.

² Anthony Grafton, “The Humanist as Reader” (citing the work of Richard and Mary Rouse), in *A History of Reading in the West*, Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Amherst, Mass., 1999), 186–90. See also Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993); François Moureau, ed., *De bonne main: La communication manuscrite au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1993).

³ Roger Chartier, “Texts, Printing, Readings,” in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), chap. 6, pp. 154–71.

separation of words and the habit of silent reading predated the advent of movable type.⁴ Since printing introduced no comparable changes, its significance is further reduced.

The shift from roll to codex and the development of different reading practices are certainly topics worth pursuing. But so, too, are the effects of printing on the flow of information, the collection of data, the retrieval of records, and the replication of images and symbols. My work was not intended to be framed by either the history of the book or the history of reading. Instead, I had in mind a broader, currently unfashionable, unit of study: Western Civilization (or “Western Christendom”—as it was known in the fifteenth century). I wanted to explore how the shift from script to print affected diverse institutions, traditions, occupations, and modes of thought and expression that were present in Western Europe during the late fifteenth century. I was particularly curious about the way changes affecting the transmission of texts over the course of many generations impinged upon historical consciousness. Thus I was concerned with a “long revolution” entailing cumulative effects, as well as a short one, entailing a rapid increase in output.⁵

Although current trends in book history have pointed away from such concerns, other fields ranging from the study of nationalism to that of art history have proved more receptive.⁶ Especially in literary studies, intriguing variations have been played on some of my themes.⁷ Indeed, the term “print culture” is being employed in so many diverse contexts that it is in danger of becoming a meaningless cliché.⁸ In addition, recent decades have also seen my work attract the attention of media analysts who hope to place the most recent information technologies in some sort of historical perspective.⁹ As a result, the afterlife of *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* has been extended. A retrospective review essay has recently appeared on

⁴ Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); “Silent Reading,” *Viator* 13 (1982): 367–431. See also Bernard Knox, “Silent Reading in Antiquity,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968): 421–35.

⁵ For various meanings of the term “revolution” and my use of it, see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, “On Revolution and the Printed Word,” in *Revolution in History*, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds. (Cambridge, 1986), 186–206.

⁶ See, for example, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1983); Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven, Conn., 1997).

⁷ A few titles that come to mind: Martin Elsky, *Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing, and Print in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Alvin Kernan, *Printing Technology, Letters, and Samuel Johnson* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Joseph Loewenstein, “The Script in the Marketplace,” *Representations* 12 (Fall 1985): 10–14; Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, 1995); Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, Va., 1993). A collection of essays appeared just before my cut-off date of 2000: *Print, Manuscript and Performance: The Changing Relations of Media in Early Modern England*, Michael D. Bristol and Arthur F. Marotti, eds. (Columbus, Ohio, 2000).

⁸ My own use of the term has been deemed “curiously metaphysical” in a recent review in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 (Fall 1999): 150. (Ironically, “Eighteenth-Century Print Culture” is used as an umbrella title to cover miscellaneous topics in this same special issue of the journal.) I had used the term quite specifically to contrast diverse procedures employed by scribes and manuscript dealers with those employed by printers—substituting “scribal culture” and “print culture” for the more recondite terms “chirographic culture” and “typographic culture,” used by Walter Ong. See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), 9 n. 18.

⁹ James A. Dewar, “The Information Age and the Printing Press: Looking Backward to See Ahead,” RAND Paper 8014 (Santa Monica, Calif., 1998).

H-NET.¹⁰ New translations and new editions of my shorter illustrated version are, even now, forthcoming.¹¹ It occurred to me a short while ago that perhaps the printing revolution should no longer be described as unacknowledged.

With the recent appearance of Adrian Johns's much praised, large prizewinning work, however, things have taken an unexpected turn.¹² All those authorities who stopped short of spelling out the consequences of printing turn out to be wrong—not because they stopped short but because they assumed that the introduction of printing did have consequences.¹³ Rather like members of the NRA who insist that “guns don’t shoot people, people do,” Johns argues that printing did not preserve texts more securely than had hand copying. Only people using printing presses could do that.

Up to a point, this emphasis on the human element strikes me as commendable. Here, as in some other places, Johns agrees with me rather more than some attacks on my book might suggest.¹⁴ “Printing was of no more consequence than any other inanimate tool,” I wrote, “unless it had been deemed useful by human agents, it would never have been put into operation in fifteenth century European towns.”¹⁵ But of course, it *was* deemed useful and was put into operation in many European towns within a relatively short interval. In setting out to specify just what changes ensued, I paused over a problem that Johns also notes. “Print is often hard to analyze historically,” he writes, “since it seems to be self-explanatory.” “The effects of printing are by no means self evident,” I wrote. “To track them down and set them forth is much easier said than done.”¹⁶

On some of these effects, moreover, we are also in agreement. Thus we both take note of the new occupational groups who gathered in new printing shops and who brought new marketing and manufacturing techniques to book production.¹⁷ Johns offers a wealth of data drawn from English case histories to supplement my sketchier treatment of continental printers and publishers. I describe them as entrepreneurs; he calls them “undertakers”—the same word in two different languages. Johns also helps to substantiate my own suggestions by demonstrating how texts were molded as well as marketed in printing shops.¹⁸ Finally, we share in

¹⁰ This long review by Shannon E. Duffy appeared in June 2000 as part of the “H-Ideas Retrospective Reviews Series” on the Internet. Available on the World Wide Web at www2.h-net.msu.edu/~ideas/.

¹¹ *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* was reprinted in 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, and 1992; reissued as a “Canto Book” in 1993 and again in 2000. It has been translated into ten languages.

¹² Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998).

¹³ Actually, Johns seems unaware that previous accounts did stop short and believes that historians have “always” tried to track down changes wrought by printing “in all parts of early modern life.” Adrian Johns, “Science and the Book in Modern Cultural Historiography,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 29, no. 2 (1998): 175.

¹⁴ In his favorable review of Johns, John Feather, “Revolutions Revisited,” *SHARP News* (Autumn 1999): 10–11, contrasts my unfortunate preoccupation with “impersonal influences” with the “real world” and “real people” described by Johns.

¹⁵ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 703.

¹⁶ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 325; Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 7.

¹⁷ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 22–23.

¹⁸ At one point, Johns goes almost too far in attributing important functions to a single master printer—holding him responsible for shaping “the kinds of knowledge—and hence the kinds of social order—available in early modern England.” Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 323.

common a desire to encourage more interchange between historians of science and book historians.¹⁹

Although we are in agreement rather more than some reviews have indicated, there are significant points of disagreement. What follows will take up relevant issues²⁰ under three headings: First come issues associated with impersonal processes. Johns denies that the wooden handpress had any intrinsic powers (guns don't kill people) and downplays the difference between script and print. I stress the difference between the two modes of duplication and believe the shift from one to the other affected significant historical developments. Second, we diverge on the "geography of the book." Johns's account of printing practices is restricted to England, whereas mine is cosmopolitan in scope. He thus omits consideration of continental distribution networks and of Catholic-Protestant divisions—both of which (in my view) affected scientific publication. Third, whereas I take the establishment of printing shops in fifteenth-century Europe as inaugurating a communications revolution, Johns believes the "so-called" printing revolution was a retrospective discursive construct that emerged only in the eighteenth or maybe in the nineteenth century. Here as elsewhere, Johns is precise about place but very imprecise about date.

DID IMPERSONAL PROCESSES come into play after the widespread adoption of letterpress printing? In my view, any complete account of "print and knowledge in the making" (to cite Johns's subtitle) must make room for changes in communications technology as well as for personal agency.²¹ Johns's vehement objections on this point seem to me wide of the mark. He brushes aside all consideration of how the use of printing affected the duplication of texts and images as being too abstract, "outside history," "placeless and timeless."²² I see nothing abstract or outside history about the rapid spread of printing shops throughout Western Europe and the concomitant increased output of texts. Quantitative change (increased output) is by its nature impersonal. But that is no reason to deny its historical significance. Far from being placeless or timeless, the early phases of the printing revolution lend themselves to being located and dated. So, too, does the subsequent movement of printing centers and the expansion of trade networks.

But Johns wants us to "forget" what we ourselves "know" about such developments. He urges us instead to consider how the people of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries constructed and construed the craft in their own setting and for their own ends (an unobjectionable piece of advice). He goes on to note (correctly) that earlier commentators admired printing "for its power to preserve in contrast to previous scribal arts." But he no sooner introduces this opinion than he discredits it with the (ad hominem and irrelevant) comment that it

¹⁹ When he writes about relating science to book history, Johns too often assumes the undeserved mantle of a pioneer. He passes over previous work and never mentions the name of George Sarton, who had linked the two fields in the 1950s.

²⁰ For the purposes of this essay, I am singling out issues that seem relevant to Johns's chosen field of the history of science and will set aside other topics covered in my book.

²¹ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, xv.

²² Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 19.

was a “contentious argument” from which “printers stood to gain.” Having advised us to consider how early modern Europeans construed the craft, he then disregards his own advice. Although contemporaries made much of the contrast between hand copying and printing, he writes, “we ourselves may usefully draw some rather different distinctions.” We ought to look “not just for differences between print and manuscript reproduction but for the different ways in which the press itself and its products have been . . . employed.”²³

It is here in particular that we come to a parting of the ways. All along, my concern has been to understand the difference between print and manuscript so as to comprehend the nature of the fifteenth-century change—not as something that belongs outside history but rather as a historic development firmly grounded in a certain time and place. Johns resolutely refuses to compare the output of copyists with that of printers and brusquely dismisses any suggestion that new features were introduced by printing. Not even the dramatic increase in the number of books made available after the mid-fifteenth century is deemed worth consideration.

“Talk of diffusion and dissemination,” he writes, “will not now pass muster.” One wonders why. Such talk was common enough among early modern commentators: God inspired the discovery of printing “to disseminate the truth in our century,” wrote François Lambert in 1526.²⁴ To be sure, this theme was more common among evangelical preachers than among natural philosophers, whose treatises had limited circulation.²⁵ Nevertheless, the enrichment of reading matter, new encounters with contradictions, and new possibilities of cross referencing deserve consideration in a work purporting to be about “knowledge in the making.” Johns apparently does not share my curiosity about the processes that led to the discrediting of long-held ancient theories (such as Aristotelian physics, Ptolemaic astronomy, or Galenic anatomy). Although he devotes a chapter to reading practices, he ignores the enlargement of libraries,²⁶ the burgeoning of book fairs, and all the other developments that enabled individuals to gain access to more paper tools and visual aids. Nor does he consider how the dissemination of a single text might enable scattered observers to scan the heavens for the same signs on the same date.

As for standardization and preservation, Johns confusingly lumps both features under the rubric of “fixity”—a term best reserved for preservation alone. Apart from a grudging concession that “print did stabilize texts to some extent,” he ignores the preservative powers of print entirely and thus has nothing to say about textual transmission or about any of the processes I discussed under the heading of “fixity and cumulative change.”²⁷ Earlier writers who hailed printing as “the art that

²³ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 5.

²⁴ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 43; Jean-François Gilmont, “Protestant Reformations and Reading,” in Cavallo and Chartier, *History of Reading in the West*, 213.

²⁵ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 453, 694.

²⁶ As George Sarton noted long ago, the large library is just as much a scientific instrument as is the telescope or cyclotron. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 519. Its importance as “a place where science is carried out and where knowledge is produced” has recently been restated and documented by William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, Mass., 1995), 49. There is no index entry to libraries in Johns’s book and, as far as I can tell, no reference to them.

²⁷ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 36; Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 113–26.

preserved all other arts” receive no hearing. Thomas Jefferson’s recognition that only by printing the laws of the land could one preserve them for posterity goes unremarked. So, too, does the systematic retrieval of ancient artifacts and languages. Similarly, the sheer accumulation of data that led to the outmoding of ancient authorities such as Pliny and Dioscorides and that led also from one-volume encyclopedias to multivolume serial studies of specialized topics finds no place in Johns’s book.²⁸

Instead, he is almost obsessively preoccupied with standardization—a feature he persists in equating with “fixity.” He conflates several different issues under this label and uses it when challenging the notion (which he attributes to me) that printing made texts more uniform, more accurate, and more credible. On the issue of uniformity, we do disagree, largely because Johns stresses the disadvantages of the handpress compared with later steam-powered machines, whereas I stress its advantages when set against copying by hand.²⁹ We do disagree about uniformity. But the idea that simply printing a text could make it more accurate or more credible strikes me as absurd—too absurd even to be used as a straw man.

As I repeatedly suggest, in the hands of ignorant craftsmen, the printing of texts led to the multiplying of error (all errors being “compounded by pirated editions”) and led also to the output of reversed images with misleading captions.³⁰ But (as I also note) not all master printers were ignorant and careless. Some gained a reputation within the learned community for taking pains with illustrations³¹ and for employing knowledgeable copy editors and proofreaders (“correctors”).³² Some (Regiomontanus comes to mind) were themselves experts in a given special field. “In the hands of ignorant printers driving to make quick profits, data tended to get garbled at an ever more rapid pace.” But under the guidance of technically proficient masters, printing provided a means of transcending the limits imposed by scribal procedures.³³ Since Johns refuses to consider the limits that were imposed by hand copying, he never comes to terms with this argument or with any of the specific examples that were provided to back it up.

He is so intent on contrasting the irregularity of early modern printed output

²⁸ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 115–16, 487.

²⁹ See pertinent passage about the lack of uniformity that characterized early printing and how printed editions nevertheless still had some measure of uniformity when set against the even more diverse output of copyists. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 11.

³⁰ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 108, 258.

³¹ On illustrations, see Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 53–54, 85–86, 259, 262–63, 266–69, 367, 469, 569. Although William Ivins’s recognition of the importance of the “exactly repeatable pictorial statement” has found favor among many specialists (especially historians of cartography), he is ignored by Johns, who makes much of printers’ blunders—such as the reversed images of the lunar surface depicted in Galileo’s *Sidereus Nuncius* (*Nature of the Book*, 21–24)—but says nothing about the degradation of images that were repeatedly hand copied. The care taken to obtain gifted illustrators is indicated by the supervision exercised to get the woodblocks made in Titian’s workshop carried over the Alps to the Basel printing shop of Oporinus, where *De Fabrica* was seen through the press. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 569. For a recent authoritative treatment of description and reportage via the printed image, see David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), esp. 240–59.

³² As is true of most other studies of reading practices, Johns’s chapter on that topic has remarkably little to say about proofreading. The seminal article by Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine on Gabriel Harvey, “Studied for Action,” *Past and Present* 129 (November 1990): 30–78, similarly takes no note of how differently Harvey must have read when he served as a proofreader for John Wolfe.

³³ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 109, 486–87.

with the standardized editions of today, he seems to forget that this contrast was not apparent hundreds of years ago.³⁴ His discussion of why contemporaries must have distrusted all books—ranging from lowly almanacs to costly folios—has an anachronistic air. “Contemporaries had good reason to be wary,” he writes, “their editions of Shakespeare, Donne, Sir Thomas Browne were liable to be dubious.”³⁵ “The first folio of Shakespeare” contained “non uniform spelling and punctuation . . . No two copies were identical . . . In such a world, questions of credit took the place of assumptions of fixity.” In what world were readers concerned about non-uniform spelling? In a seventeenth-century world, or is a twentieth-century author projecting back into the seventeenth century such concerns? After all, no early modern reader had access to a Hinman collator. Even when readers referred to enhanced reliability, Johns writes, “it was often in the face of direct evidence to the contrary.”³⁶ That readers did refer to enhanced reliability provides a better indication of their views than does Johns’s late twentieth-century opinion of what they overlooked.

In fact, Johannes Gutenberg’s invention was celebrated from the first for its capacity to standardize texts, and there is ample evidence that it did so from the viewpoint of contemporaries who were dissatisfied with the varied versions produced by hand copying. “This godly and decent order of the ancient fathers hath been altered, broken and neglected . . . [H]eretofore there hath been great diversitie in saying and singing in Churches within this realme . . . [N]ow henceforth all the whole realme shall have but one bible.”³⁷ A 1485 missal was certified to be “through God’s grace, identical in every copy sentence by sentence, word by word and letter by letter and to correspond precisely with the diocesan exemplar provided to the printer.”³⁸ As noted in my book, early printing methods led to the multiplication of variants, and errata had to be issued. But the very output of errata pointed to standardization as a feature of print.³⁹ Johns misconstrues my argument and has me say that printing meant mass reproduction of *precisely* the same texts.⁴⁰ I had instead objected to quibbling over the fact that early copies were *not* all precisely alike.⁴¹ To quibble in this way (as Johns does throughout) is to distract

³⁴ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 30.

³⁵ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 30. One wonders why the works of Shakespeare and John Donne are introduced in a study concerned with assigning credit to technical texts.

³⁶ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 31. When he cites Edmund Halley: “since the invention of printing the survival of exactly the same texts had been virtually assured,” it is only to indicate disagreement with Halley’s opinion (p. 425).

³⁷ The preface to *The Book of Common Prayer*, 1549 (English Short Title Catalogue, STC 16274).

³⁸ Paul Needham, “Haec Sancta Ars: Gutenberg’s Invention as a Divine Gift,” *Gazette of the Grolier Club* (New York) 42 (1990): 106. Needham makes clear that churchmen were attracted to printing because they appreciated its capacity to standardize liturgies. See also the account of the standardization of English liturgical texts by John Wall, “The Reformation in England and the Typographical Revolution,” in *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, eds. (Newark, Del., 1986), 208–22.

³⁹ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 80.

⁴⁰ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 10.

⁴¹ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 81. Other evidence also suggests that he skimmed my work rather hastily before launching his attack. Compare his complaint about my “persistent” use of the anachronistic term “scientist” (*Nature of the Book*, 11) with my comment: “‘scientist’ is still a problematic creature, as current definitions suggest. In the early modern era, it may be a mistake to use the label at all.” Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 640.

attention from the fact that printed copies *were* sufficiently alike to change conditions within the learned world, to make it possible, for example, for scholars to correspond about a common text—such as Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus*—while referring to the same passages.⁴²

That such correspondence was conducted about the same work from many diverse locales ought to go without saying. But the far-flung distribution of a given work represents the sort of impersonal process that Johns resolutely ignores (or dismisses out of hand—like “talk about dissemination”). He is determined to apply to printing the thesis developed by his mentors, Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin, with regard to crediting reports of scientific experiments.⁴³ He depicts all early modern books—“from lowly almanacs to costly folios,” “from the humblest ABC to the most elaborate encyclopedia”—as being so unreliable that no reader would credit their contents without foreknowledge of the conditions under which they were printed.⁴⁴ It is difficult to imagine real readers of ABC books being concerned about such matters. There is no evidence that they were. As for larger reference guides, Johns seems oblivious to the new mode of data collection and feedback that was entailed in the publication of successive editions of works on topics ranging from astronomy to zoology.⁴⁵

He discounts the possibility that one might credit (or discredit) a given work by examining its contents, by comparing and contrasting it with other works in the same field, even without knowing the foreign auspices under which it was published.⁴⁶ He makes no room for the way encounters with conflicting testimony, contradictory theories, and alternative diagrams⁴⁷ led to the checking and rechecking of results by observers and investigators. The story of how certain works by Johannes Kepler “previously read and thrown aside” were reappraised and eventually won credit is instructive in this regard. So, too, is the challenge, issued as an open letter by Pierre Gassendi, asking European astronomers to observe a forthcoming transit of Mercury on November 7, 1631, and to check their findings against Kepler's Tables.⁴⁸

Neither large-scale data collection nor a far-flung book trade can be easily reconciled with the model proposed by Johns's mentors in their study of Robert

⁴² Robert S. Westman, “Three Responses to the Copernican Theory,” in Westman, ed., *The Copernican Achievement* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975), chap. 9, 285–345, 343. Owen Gingerich, “The Censorship of Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus*,” *Annali dell'Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza di Firenze* 6, no. 2 (1981): 45–61.

⁴³ “*The Nature of the Book* builds on Steven Shapin's identification of trust as a key element in the making of knowledge.” Johns, 31. Johns's bibliography cites eleven publications by Shapin and eleven by Schaffer (who supervised Johns's graduate work) plus their joint work: Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, N.J., 1985).

⁴⁴ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 30, 32.

⁴⁵ For example, Conrad Gesner enlisted the help of some fifty correspondents in different regions and also solicited drawings and specimens when compiling his pioneering multivolume work on zoology: *Historia Animalium* (Zurich, 1551); Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 98–99.

⁴⁶ That credibility is not always independent of content (that *what* is said is as important as *who* said it) is pointed out by Peter Lipton, “The Epistemology of Testimony,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 29, no. 1 (1998): 1–31—a critique of Steven Shapin's “social constructivist approach.”

⁴⁷ See, for example, the two illustrations, 1) of three diagrams of competing schemes concerning the motion of Mars, presented by Kepler (1609), and 2) concerning world systems presented in the frontispiece of Giovanni Battista Riccioli's *Almagestum novum* (1651)—both illustrated in my abridged version: *The Printing Revolution* (1993), 224, 228.

⁴⁸ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 630–31.

Boyle's experiments.⁴⁹ It seems plausible that reports of an experiment conducted in a given laboratory might be rendered credible by agreement among "gentlemen" who knew each other well enough to trust each other's words.⁵⁰ Laboratory experiments were by their nature "local in character." But when Johns asserts that all "cultures of the book were local in character," he seems to be applying the Shapin-Schaffer model to unsuitable materials. The products of a far-flung book trade cannot be confined to a single "citadel," as Johns calls the Stationers' Hall. He argues that "texts could not easily transcend locale," but the atlases, ephemerides, logarithm tables, and other paper tools that were used throughout a cosmopolitan commonwealth of learning did transcend locale. Gassendi's challenge was scarcely "local in character."⁵¹

It seems misguided to dwell on the problem of assigning credit to a given reference guide without considering how printing enabled scattered readers to send in corrections and supplementary data (even seeds and specimens) to authors, editors, and publishers who conducted a far-flung, wide-ranging correspondence and incorporated new material in new editions of a given work. In the sixteenth century, Abraham Ortelius's correspondents ranged from Muscovy to Wales. Two centuries later, Linnaeus was receiving reports, seed packets, and specimens from the whole world. Such interchanges were conducted not between gentlemen who knew and trusted each other but between authors and their invisible public at large.

I entreat the assistance of all those who wish well to the progress of learning and beg they will favor me . . . with extracts of curious books, with such original pieces and accounts of new inventions and machines and any other improvements . . . as are fit to be communicated to the public. In which case I shall either mention their names or observe a religious silence as they shall desire.⁵²

Johns also imputes to me the strange belief that, after printing, "scholars no longer had to concern themselves with the fidelity of their representation."⁵³ I had suggested, instead, that they were more concerned than ever with this issue and cited a comment attributed to Rabelais, when he was editing medical texts for the Lyonnaise printer Sebastian Gryphius, who wanted to complete publication in time for a book fair in 1532: "One wrong word may now kill thousands of men!" I also noted how one error caused the printer of the so-called "Wicked" Bible of 1631 to be fined.⁵⁴ In several passages, Johns equates "fixity" with "credibility" and (in a remarkable leap) with "civility."⁵⁵ But the notorious case of the so-called "Wicked" Bible (all copies of which commanded, "Thou shalt commit adultery") showed how

⁴⁹ Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*.

⁵⁰ Plausible but, in my view, unpersuasive. A refutation of Shapin's view that experimental results could be certified by a "gentlemen's agreement" rather than by being subjected to testing and replication is offered by Mordecai Feingold, "When Facts Matter," *Isis* 87 (1996): 131–39.

⁵¹ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 30, 625.

⁵² *The Present State of the Republic of Letters* (London, 1728–36), 6 vols., 1: preface. I previously cited this same passage in my Hanes Lecture at the University of North Carolina: "Print Culture and Enlightenment Thought" (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 7.

⁵³ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 10.

⁵⁴ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 567–68, 81.

⁵⁵ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 624.

“fixity” could render an edition *incredible*. The same point applies to several other Bible editions that became infamous for their standardized errors.⁵⁶

Johns compounds confusion by stretching the term “piracy” to cover every kind of printed output that was not specifically authorized. His “taxonomy of practices labeled piratical” includes “abridgement, epitomizing, translation . . . , plagiarism, libel.”⁵⁷ It seems odd to stigmatize translation in this way. Most of William Caxton’s output consisted of translation, and so did that of many of the English printers who came after him. Were all books translated from Latin or French into English to be considered “pirated”?⁵⁸ In any case, it is a mistake to assume that all unauthorized (pirated?) editions were less trustworthy than those that had been duly licensed. Few unauthorized editions of the Latin Vulgate were as corrupt and full of errors as the fully authorized Bible of Pope Sixtus V.⁵⁹

WITH REGARD TO GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE, Johns doesn’t go far enough across the Channel to justify his generalizing about either early modern printing or early modern science. What he describes as his “richly detailed historical approach” is impoverished by his restriction of focus to the very special case provided by the English experience. His readers are too often left unaware that he is describing English variations on themes sounded earlier on the continent.⁶⁰ Throughout, he conveys the mistaken impression that “England was one of the earliest nations to develop a sophisticated and commercial culture of printing and publishing”⁶¹—a statement that is likely to astound Venetian scholars. That England lagged behind the continent is well documented.⁶² But chronological precision is not Johns’s

⁵⁶ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 81 n. 115.

⁵⁷ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 33.

⁵⁸ Johns’s treatment of piracy in an age before copyright was established also has an anachronistic air. That authors often took refuge behind the pretense that their work was “pirated” is underplayed. There is one reference to Isaac Newton (*Nature of the Book*, 512–13) indulging in this pretense, but otherwise little is said about the way authors and publishers “cried wolf” in this matter. See, for example, Erika Rummel, “Professional Friendships among Humanists,” in *In Laudem Caroli: Renaissance and Reformation Studies for Charles G. Nauert*, James V. Mehl, ed. (Kirksville, Mo., 1998), 35–45.

⁵⁹ See Basil Hall, “Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries,” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 3: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, S. L. Greenslade, ed. (Cambridge, 1963), 68–69. Thomas James (Bodley’s first librarian) produced a four-volume Latin treatise on Sixtus V’s version, including a 40-page itemized list of its mistakes and mistranscriptions.

⁶⁰ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 623. He seems surprised at how often the English printer Joseph Moxon invokes Vitruvian principles in connection with cutting letters (*Nature of the Book*, 80, 107, 144) without noting how Moxon was echoing earlier treatises on “geometrical alphabets” by continental calligraphers, engravers, and mathematicians—such as Felice Feliciano, Luca Pacioli, Geoffroy Tory, Albrecht Dürer, *et al.* (Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 203 n. 108, 548–49). He singles out an English bookseller as the main producer of John Locke’s work (*Nature of the Book*, 583) without noting that Locke’s debut in print and subsequent celebrity as the author of an *Essay on Human Understanding* was due to the earlier initiative of Jean LeClerc, who publicized Locke and his work in his cosmopolitan francophone journal the *Bibliothèque universelle*. See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Grub Street Abroad: Aspects of the French Cosmopolitan Press from the Age of Louis XIV to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1992), 62–64.

⁶¹ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 41.

⁶² “Between Caxton’s return [to England] and the end of the century there were fewer printers in the whole of England than might be found in a reasonably prosperous year in Paris or Venice.” Martin Lowry, “The Arrival and Use of Continental Books in Yorkist England,” in *Le livre dans l’Europe de la Renaissance*, Pierre Aquilon and Henri-Jean Martin, eds. (Paris, 1988), 449.

strong point.⁶³ His treatment moves back and forth over an indeterminate interval and, for the most part, skips over the first century of printing. One would never guess from his account that early English presses were largely manned by foreign craftsmen or that the importation of printed books from the continent continued and increased even after English printers became more numerous.⁶⁴ He takes no notice of the continental printing shops that provided Latin books for English readers, offered sanctuaries for English authors, and most important—given his special concern with natural philosophy—provided Copernicus, Vesalius, Galileo, Kepler, Descartes, Harvey, *et al.* with publication outlets.

Johns echoes my observation that historians of science make much of publication dates such as 1543 or 1688 yet stop short at the doors of the printing house.⁶⁵ His insular outlook leaves him vulnerable to the same criticism, for he passes by the doors of every continental printing house that was responsible for the publications that gave the “century of genius” its name. By doing so, he misses an opportunity to connect Catholic-Protestant divisions with scientific communications. “That publication will be forthcoming is too often taken for granted,” I wrote. “It is simply assumed that intermediaries . . . will do what is needed. But the necessary services hung in the balance for many virtuosi three centuries ago.”⁶⁶ “Hanging in the balance” alluded to the way censorship inhibited printers from undertaking certain jobs—not only because they feared long delays and uncertainties but also because of more severe measures, including imprisonment and death. I cited Eugenio Garin’s description of the “silent battles” that were fought over the Index of Prohibited Books: “It is difficult to understand the atmosphere of suspicion and suppression which dominated the world of culture in the age of Galileo. Heresy was ferreted out from dictionaries and traced in the collections of apothegms . . . believed to be hidden in the very names of printers and had to be exterminated there.” I also noted that historians since Garin have done much to illuminate these battles and to make them more difficult to ignore.⁶⁷ Yet Johns ignores them all. He makes no mention of the Index of Prohibited Books despite the asymmetry it introduced into the European book trade and its repercussions in England.⁶⁸ His several chapters on the Royal Society take no note of how its reputation was enhanced by the opportunities it extended to foreign virtuosi (such as Marcello Malpighi) who found publication outlets closed in their native lands.⁶⁹

One wonders what Malpighi or Galileo would have thought about Johns’s

⁶³ “In the sixteenth century,” he writes, “almost from the first introduction of printing, Tudor administrations had instituted measures” such as setting up the Stationers’ Company (Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 189). The “almost” covers an 80-year interval. His book contains oddly anachronistic illustrations such as the fanciful mid-nineteenth-century depiction of “Benjamin Franklin in His Printing House,” taken from a magazine of 1859 (p. 97), and the picture of “The Bookseller as Host,” ostensibly illustrating a “social setting pioneered by Tonson around 1700 or earlier” (p. 121) but actually depicting a late nineteenth-century social setting, taken from a *Harpers’ Monthly* of 1885.

⁶⁴ See Lotte Hellinga, “Printing,” and Margaret Lane Ford, “The Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland,” *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 3: 1400–1557 (Cambridge, 1999), 65–109; 179–205.

⁶⁵ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 42.

⁶⁶ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 638–39.

⁶⁷ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 670.

⁶⁸ As I noted, the Index served to guide the publication programs of both John Wolfe and, later, Thomas Salusbury. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 416, 677.

⁶⁹ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 664–65.

favorable account of the “regulatory constraints” that he deems “necessary to guarantee trust, order and propriety” in the craft. His description of how arguments were resolved within the citadel of Stationers’ Hall and of the benefits of such procedures as registering, licensing, and the granting of royal privilege is remarkably rose colored.⁷⁰ “Faith in print and its products,” he writes, depended on these procedures. In Stationers’ Court, “the genuine was distinguished from the counterfeit, the authorial from the unauthorized and the printable from the unprintable.”⁷¹ One becomes increasingly puzzled as to how later generations ever managed to carry on after the lapse of licensing and the weakening of the Stationers’ Company.

No doubt, privileged printers approved of regimes that granted them exclusive rights to print a given work. But when Johns asserts that “the vast majority of printers and booksellers in cities like London and Paris” supported licensing and similar measures *even though this entailed suppressing “texts of which the state disapproved”* (my italics), his claim seems much too sweeping.⁷² It treats the fluctuating policies of diverse regimes that ranged from Mary Tudor to Oliver Cromwell to Queen Anne (from François I to Louis XVI) as if they were all the same. Moreover, it tells us nothing about the views of printers and booksellers in numerous cities that were unlike London and Paris—such as Venice, Basel, Strasbourg, Antwerp, and Amsterdam.

While painting his rosy picture of English conditions, Johns finds fault with my portrayal of printers and booksellers as being the “natural enemies” of such regimes.⁷³ But the bookmen that I depicted in this manner were not London stationers, whose activities (it must be noted) were really quite marginal to the far-flung continental book trade of early modern times. Nor were they the privileged printers of Paris. They were, rather, the more freewheeling entrepreneurs who “had good reason to avoid well ordered consolidated dynastic realms and to fear the extension of central control from Rome.” By taking advantage of late medieval political particularism, by operating in quasi-independent principalities, loosely federated provinces, and city-states, they could turn out banned books and profit from black markets despite strong censorship edicts issued by officials serving Habsburg and Valois rulers.⁷⁴ This pattern became even more pronounced after the Bourbons replaced the Valois, French replaced Latin as the cosmopolitan language, and the Huguenots were expelled from France. The French-language press that served a cosmopolitan Republic of Letters and offered publication outlets to the most celebrated writers of the Enlightenment was not run by the privileged printers of Paris.⁷⁵ As Robert Darnton puts it, a “fertile crescent” of printing shops located

⁷⁰ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 38, 624.

⁷¹ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 263.

⁷² Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 38.

⁷³ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 37.

⁷⁴ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 139, 405, 442–47.

⁷⁵ On the extraterritorial French-language press, see my *Grub Street Abroad*, *passim*; and special section on “L’édition en français hors de la France,” in Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, eds., *Histoire de l’édition française* (Paris, 1984), 2: 304–67. In keeping with his neglect of Jean LeClerc, see n. 60 above, Johns underestimates the wide-ranging influence of the long-lived diverse francophone journals called *Bibliothèques* and takes the Royal Society’s *Transactions* as the sole model for their “shortlived” English equivalents. *Nature of the Book*, 537.

just across French borders testified to the preference of eighteenth-century printers and publishers for locales (especially in the Dutch Netherlands) where they could evade many constraints on their trade.

This preference was exhibited by many of the printers who served natural philosophers. In the sixteenth century, there was Vesalius's Basel printer, Oporinus, who evaded Calvin's demand that Sebastian Castellio be extradited to Geneva and provided a refuge for John Foxe and others who fled from England during Mary Tudor's reign. In the seventeenth century (and presumably of special relevance to Johns), there was Louis Elzevir, of Leiden and Amsterdam, who enabled Galileo to evade his Italian captors and helped get the aging prisoner's final work smuggled out of Italy to be printed in Leiden.⁷⁶

Interestingly enough, when Johns leaves the English scene briefly to criticize my treatment of Tycho Brahe and Galileo, he completely omits any mention of this final episode in Galileo's publishing career. He makes much of "Galileo, Courtier" and his fall from grace but stops short of describing the fate of the *Discorsi*—"Galileo's last and greatest book"⁷⁷—produced, after his imprisonment, by "Galileo, physicist."

Similarly, his account of Tycho Brahe stops short with the astronomer dying, leaving his papers unpublished. Tycho is depicted as being an atypical case because of his noble birth, his complete control of printing operations on his island home, and the protection later given him by Rudolph II's court.⁷⁸ After his death, Johns writes, his works fell out "of court circles" and "descended into the hands of the book trade," where they "stood at risk of piracy and imitation" and were likely to be read in different ways by different people for different reasons.⁷⁹ "Their accreditation became far more insecure."⁸⁰

But this fall "out of court circles"—this "descent into the book trade"—was not entirely without benefit. It included the reworking of Tycho's data and the expansion of his star catalog by a low-born assistant whose several publications are oddly omitted from Johns's account, even though they figure in most histories of science.⁸¹ This was of course Johannes Kepler, who procured supplies of paper, supervised the punch-cutting of symbols and the setting of type, and finally, in the

⁷⁶ Johns has two footnote references to an Elzevir (*Nature of the Book*, 138, 261) without specifying which member of the dynasty he means. Shortly after publishing Galileo and Descartes in Leiden, Louis Elzevir moved to Amsterdam to set up business there and to publish works by Hobbes, Bacon, Gassendi, and Milton, among others. David W. Davies, *The World of the Elzeviers, 1580–1712* (The Hague, 1954), 105. (I follow Johns's spelling of the variously spelled name.)

⁷⁷ Galileo Galilei, *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo*, Stillman Drake, trans. (Garden City, N.Y., 1957), epilogue, 281. The term "Galileo, Courtier" comes from Mario Biagioli's book: *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago, 1993), upon which Johns relies.

⁷⁸ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 14.

⁷⁹ This seems gratuitous. As Roger Chartier makes clear, it is the fate of all printed matter to be read in different ways by different people for different reasons. Johns seems to believe that I attribute "iconic" status to Tycho and estimates that I make more references to him than "any other Renaissance figure" (*Nature of the Book*, 50–51 n. 7). A glance at my index entries for Galileo and Erasmus would show his estimate is wrong.

⁸⁰ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 18.

⁸¹ Johns mentions only one of Kepler's writings, namely his defense of Tycho, which was never printed. *Nature of the Book*, 17.

guise of a traveling salesman, set out in the company of other presumably low-born tradesmen to peddle his finished *Rudolphine Tables* at the Frankfurt Fair.⁸²

Johns comments unfavorably on “the disconnected air” exhibited by my account and complains that I place “printing outside history.”⁸³ Yet it is his account that places Tycho’s work “outside history” by isolating it on the Dane’s remote island kingdom and by assuming it could only be contaminated once it entered a more public domain. It is his account that has disconnected Tycho from his assistant who struggled to produce the *Rudolphine Tables* amid the disorders of the Thirty Years’ War.

The “descent into the book trade” after Tycho’s death also saw another of Tycho’s low-born assistants, who had started out as a clerk in the Dutch herring trade, embark on a successful career as a globemaker and map publisher. This was William Janszoon Blaeu, who died in 1638 as the owner of the largest printing establishment in Amsterdam. It contained nine presses for letterpress printing, six for copperplate work, a type foundry, and rooms set aside for engravers. There was also a book shop in a different location.⁸⁴ It was Blaeu who gave the Nova of 1572 the long-lasting name of “Tycho’s star” by marking it in gold on his celestial globe—by “fixing” it, in short. Blaeu published a third edition of Copernicus’s *De Revolutionibus* in 1617 just after it had been put on the Index.⁸⁵

Blaeu is mentioned by Johns but only in a dismissive manner. He appears as a personage favorably regarded by Joseph Moxon because he had once worked for Moxon’s idol: Tycho Brahe. Johns implies that Moxon’s admiration was misplaced. He belittles Moxon’s admiring reference to Blaeu’s improved new press design and says it was not much used in England. (That it *was* widely adopted on the continent is relegated to a footnote.) Johns even casts doubt on whether Blaeu did design a new press and speculates (wrongly) that Moxon was the only one to credit Blaeu with the new design.⁸⁶

As was the case with many other technically proficient master printers who were located too far across the Channel to be included in Johns’s account, Blaeu was strenuously involved in the hurly-burly of the book trade. He furnished simplified latitude tables, vernacular pilot guides, and printed sea charts to sailors. He even offered a money-back guarantee that his printed cards “were better than any hand-copied ones.” He engaged in cutthroat competition with another Dutch map publisher as to who would be the first to display new observations of the Southern skies brought back from Dutch expeditions to the East Indies.⁸⁷ Dutch publishers who jostled each other on boat landings to obtain fresh reports from seamen did not

⁸² Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 627.

⁸³ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 19.

⁸⁴ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 627.

⁸⁵ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 599–600, 676.

⁸⁶ Apparently, Johns is following the appendix to the Oxford edition of Moxon’s *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing, 1683–4*, Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, eds., 2d edn. (Oxford, 1962), 373, where the editors are skeptical about the “supposedly new press” and say Moxon is the sole authority for attributing it to Blaeu. Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 84. But Davies, *World of Elseviers*, 135, cites a report by Claude Joly (one of several foreign visitors to Blaeu’s Amsterdam printing office) on a visit in 1646: “I went to see the Blaeu press which is considered the best in Europe.”

⁸⁷ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 480.

conduct themselves in accordance with the civility Johns attributes to English stationers. They contributed to the knowledge industry, nevertheless.

Because such printers and publishers were not of gentle birth or subsidized by noble patrons or hemmed in by licensing regulations, their publications were deemed to be untrustworthy. Gentlemen “soaring above the commercial fray produced works of higher quality than would be possible in an environment of ruthless competition.” Only “virtuous people” were capable of “veracious printing.” Johns cites such arguments in favor of granting privileges with approval.⁸⁸ But an environment of ruthless competition did not necessarily result in the output of cheap or shoddy goods. It also spurred some publishers of reference works to turn out improved products and thus to gain a reputation for providing updated reports among the specialists they served.⁸⁹ The atlases that were produced from the days of Ortelius to those of W. J. Blaeu’s son Joan showed how one might profit by exploiting the new mode of data collection, however much one failed to “soar above the commercial fray.”

FINALLY, PERIODIZATION PROBLEMS need to be addressed. Given his disinterest in distinguishing between script and print and his indifference to the cosmopolitan book trade, it is not surprising that Johns is prepared to dismiss the printing revolution as nothing more than a discursive construct. It is not surprising, but it is puzzling that he regards the construct as so belated—as a “retrospective creation” produced “in the eighteenth century . . . to serve as the cusp separating Descartes, Bacon, Newton and modernity from corruption, superstition, ignorance and despotism.” Here as elsewhere, uncertainty about chronology prevails. At one point, we are told that the construct was first fully articulated by Condorcet and was “a result of the French Revolution”; another passage tells us that Turgot preceded Condorcet, so “its first clear manifestations” get put back to the mid-eighteenth century. But we are also told that both Turgot and Condorcet drew their inspiration from Francis Bacon, which means that the early seventeenth century contained some relevant elements. At yet another point, special significance is assigned to the development of lithography and the mechanization of printing processes, so full articulation is postponed until the mid-nineteenth century.⁹⁰

Nevertheless, Johns’s chief emphasis is on Condorcet and the French Revolution: “The ideology . . . of a printing revolution was . . . not only a result of the French Revolution: it was perceived as . . . necessary in order to render that revolution both permanent and universal.”⁹¹ Now it is undeniable that Condorcet and his associates assigned a pivotal historic role to the printing press. The culminating event was the petition to exhume Gutenberg’s remains for entombment in the Pantheon alongside Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.⁹² But there is also

⁸⁸ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 258.

⁸⁹ W. J. Blaeu’s terrestrial measurements thus proved useful to Jean Picard. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 663 n.

⁹⁰ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 374, 373, 378.

⁹¹ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 374.

⁹² For background and references to seminal studies by Hans Jürgen Lüsebrink and Gary Kates, see my 1996 Clifford Lecture: Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, “Gods, Devils and Gutenberg: The Eighteenth

evidence that Renaissance humanists and Protestant publicists had regarded the invention of printing as a historical turning point well before the eighteenth century had dawned.

Oddly enough, Johns is not entirely unaware that his construct had antecedents. Although his insular outlook and lack of interest in religious history leads him to bypass those Lutherans who claimed that printing had emancipated Germans from bondage to Rome,⁹³ he does pause over John Foxe's "enormously influential" work and notes how a new edition was issued in 1641. "Provided with such emphatic testimony," he writes, "no English Protestant could doubt the providential import of printing . . . [as] a pivotal moment in a vast predestined scheme of doom and salvation."⁹⁴ But Foxe's views on the benefits of the invention are no sooner mentioned than they are set aside in favor of fifty pages given over to disputes about the identity of the inventor.

For reasons that are unclear, Johns assigns great significance to arguments over who invented printing. He believes that "identifying the originator of printing" was "one of the most important problems in early modern historiography."⁹⁵ So many similar foundation myths and priority disputes (who "discovered" America, who "invented" the telescope) gave rise to prolonged debate that it is hard to see why this one is so important.⁹⁶ The long section Johns devotes to the disputes over Gutenberg versus Coster (and Caxton versus Corsellis) serves to distract attention from the early formation of the construct. It also avoids coming to terms with my point of departure for the printing revolution (viewed as a historical development and not as a "construct"). This point of departure is not what happened (or did not happen) in one printing shop in Mainz (or elsewhere) but the establishment of many shops unknown in Europe before the mid-fifteenth century and found "in every important municipal center by 1500."⁹⁷ Even while attributing too much importance to the "naming" of the single inventor, Johns pays too little attention to those numerous other early printers whose identity was never in question.⁹⁸ This leads to his bizarre conclusion that the "printing revolution" was not "complete" until the nineteenth century, when, presumably, claimants other than Gutenberg (and Caxton) were discredited. "In a sense, the invention of printing was not complete until the cultural identity of its inventor had crystallized." "With the crystallization of certainty in its inventors came a crystallization of certainty in print itself. And with that came the printing revolution."⁹⁹

In the emphasis on debates about naming the "true" inventor, Johns's priorities

Century Confronts the Printing Press," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* (Julie C. Hayes and Timothy Erwin, eds.) 27 (1996): 1-24.

⁹³ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 304-05.

⁹⁴ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 329.

⁹⁵ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 331.

⁹⁶ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 119-20.

⁹⁷ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 44.

⁹⁸ Individual printers were named and singled out for separate tributes in Conrad Gesner's multivolumed supplement to his *Universal Bibliography*, the *Pandectae* of 1548 (Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 97-98). John Dee's familiarity with Gesner's volumes is noted by Sherman, *John Dee*, 48.

⁹⁹ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 375, 378. In keeping with his insularity, Johns gives more weight to ending the dispute about Caxton (which he credits to William Blades's nineteenth-century biography) than to what happened to Gutenberg and couples them both as "inventors" (p. 378). Of course, Caxton

are at odds with those of John Foxe. Foxe changed his mind about the identity of the inventor from one edition to another. But he did not regard the issue as important. In his section "The Benefite and Invention of Printing,"¹⁰⁰ he noted that "what man soever was the instrument" was unimportant compared with "what end and purpose . . . what utility and necessity" the invention served. He went on to describe all that printing did to spread true knowledge and defeat the forces of darkness:

hereby tongues are known, judgement increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, . . . times be compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected . . . and all (as I said) through the benefit of printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or . . . he must seek a new world to reign over: for else as this world standeth, printing will doubtless abolish him.¹⁰¹

It is puzzling how anyone who has not only read Foxe but also acknowledged his "enormous influence" can postpone until the eighteenth century "the earliest clear manifestations of the concept of the press as a unique force for historical transformation"—especially since historians have long noted a resemblance between Condorcet's treatment of printing and that of John Foxe.¹⁰²

Furthermore, world historical significance was attributed to printing even before Martin Luther set the pattern for Protestant celebrations. Johns not only misconstrues Foxe, he ignores all the other relevant writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that were later reworked during the Enlightenment.¹⁰³ In this regard, he keeps company with Michael Warner, who also dismisses earlier tributes to printing and also views the printing revolution as an eighteenth-century construct. Warner makes the misleading claim that "early printers in no way distinguished their work from hand produced documents," thereby overlooking numerous self-congratulatory colophons.¹⁰⁴ "Who dares glorify the pen made book / when so much better brass-stamped letters look."¹⁰⁵ Not only early printers and editors but also

was not an inventor but rather an importer of the craft. As for the Coster-Gutenberg dispute, it has yet to be resolved to the satisfaction of Dutch schoolteachers.

¹⁰⁰ "The Benefite and Invention of Printing" is the title of the section in the one-volume edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* that I cite [STC 11225] (1583), p. 707, paragraph 3. The title has been rearranged in the more accessible nineteenth-century edition of 1877 (rev. and corrected by the Reverend Josiah Pratt, intro. by John Stoughton), 3: 718, to read: "The Invention and Benefit of Printing." The need to check the later editions against the earlier ones is shown by Thomas Freeman, "Texts, Lies, and Microfilm: Reading and Misreading Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,'" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30 (1999): 23–47.

¹⁰¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1877), 720.

¹⁰² Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 373. "The importance Condorcet attached to the invention of printing is curiously reminiscent of John Foxe"; Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948), 97.

¹⁰³ Polydore Vergil, Guillaume Budé, François Rabelais, Jean Fernel, Jean du Bellay, Gerolamo Cardano, Jean Bodin, and Martin Frobisher are just a few of the writers who celebrated printing before Francis Bacon. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, n. 51. References to others are offered by Needham, "Haec Sancta Ars"; Henri-Jean Martin, "Comment on écrivit l'histoire du livre," in Martin, *Le livre français sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1987), 11–39; Raymond Waddington, "Meretrix est Stampificata," in *Books Have Their Own Destiny: Essays in Honor of Robert V. Schnucker*, Robin Bruce Barnes, et al. (Kirkville, Mo., 1998), 131–41.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 8.

¹⁰⁵ This colophon, translated from Latin by Pollard and taken from Wendelin of Spira's 1470 edition

cardinals, patricians, and Sorbonne professors hailed printing as a “divine art” almost as soon as the first Bibles had come off the Mainz press.¹⁰⁶ Of course, there were competing narratives.¹⁰⁷ Careless printers were denounced just as careless scribes had been; authors complained of greedy publishers, and satirists depicted drunken printing workers. Nevertheless, the wooden handpress was soon assigned a prominent place among the other inventions and discoveries (new stars and new colonies) that signified the dawning of a new age. A series of prints issued in the 1590s entitled *Nova Reperta* illustrated the primacy assigned to printing, gunpowder, and the compass well before Francis Bacon’s time.¹⁰⁸ Given such a well-documented early modern context for the construct, it seems both arbitrary and absurd to relocate it centuries later.

Although Johns implies some acquaintance with “the historian’s craft,” he seems to be unfamiliar with its protocols and thinks nothing of jumping over hundreds of years. “If it amounted only to the claim that the familiar printing revolution happened four centuries later than any one has hitherto thought,” he writes, “then my argument would not in the end be all that disquieting. Such a claim would imply no more than a reconsideration of the chronology of what would in essence remain the existing story.”¹⁰⁹

Such a claim may well appeal to a “postmodern” sensibility. But the idea that two stories remain essentially the same when placed four centuries apart is, for this (old-fashioned?) historian, very disquieting indeed. The establishment of printing shops across fifteenth-century Europe is the basis for one story. The industrialization of printing processes is the basis for another story. To conflate the two throws time out of joint even while altering the “familiar printing revolution” beyond all recognition.

The Nature of the Book has attracted numerous accolades and prizes. It is an impressive work in many respects. But it does a real disservice to historical understanding by treating the shift from script to print as inconsequential. As I wrote some twenty years ago, “Consequences entailed by a major transformation have to be reckoned with whether we pay attention to them or not. In one guise or another they will enter into our accounts and can best be dealt with when they do

of Sallust, is only one of numerous examples in Alfred W. Pollard, *An Essay on Colophons, with Specimens and Translations* (Chicago, 1905), 37.

¹⁰⁶ Aeneas Silvius’s letter of March 1455 to Cardinal Carvajal concerning a Mainz Bible he saw in Frankfurt is cited by Needham, “Haec Sancta Ars,” 105, along with many other pertinent references.

¹⁰⁷ Objections to the new craft, posed mainly by fifteenth-century Venetians, are described by Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979), 26–41. Lowry himself holds Venetian printers in low esteem until Aldus arrives on the scene.

¹⁰⁸ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 20–21 n. 51. Relevant prints are discussed and used to illustrate my Harold Jantz Memorial Lecture given at Oberlin in 1995: “Printing as a Divine Art: Celebrating Western Technology in the Age of the Hand Press” (Oberlin College Library, 1996).

¹⁰⁹ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 638, 628.

not slip in unobserved.”¹¹⁰ Historians who come of age in the twenty-first century should not have to contend with an unacknowledged revolution once again.

¹¹⁰ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 42.

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AHR Forum
How to Acknowledge a Revolution

ADRIAN JOHNS

To cull from books what authors have reported is exceedingly dangerous.

Julius Scaliger, quoted on the title page of Sir Thomas Browne,
Pseudodoxia Epidemica (1646).¹

ELIZABETH EISENSTEIN'S STRONGLY FELT ARTICLE provides us with a chance to reassess how best to think about the invention, development, and consequences of printing. The opportunity is both timely and welcome. For more than two decades now, Eisenstein's own approach to these topics, definitively set out in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), has dominated discussion. But the advent of electronic communications is inevitably casting the era of print into a new light, and at the same time historians' own approaches have evolved in unpredictable directions. Both developments encourage us to ask questions that her classic work could not possibly have been designed to address. A comparison between the different approaches now available can therefore be instructive and useful.² We should be grateful, then, to Eisenstein for taking the initiative to mount that comparison here.

Eisenstein's remarks take their shape from a critical reading of my own work, *The Nature of the Book* (1998). She makes a number of specific charges about this work in the course of her article, some of them significant, others less so. To respond to them all *seriatim* would make for an article of unforgivable dullness. So I shall restrict myself to rebutting a representative sample. For the most part, I shall instead try to address the broader issues at stake—issues that may be of interest not just to historians of printing but to historians in general. In particular, I wish to focus on two major points of difference between Eisenstein and myself. The first is the degree of autonomy that historians should or should not ascribe to readers of printed works (or, for that matter, to manuscript ones). The second is the character, potency, and even existence of something called “print culture.” A consideration of these two points—which prove to be deeply intertwined—will help both to characterize the real issues at stake in this debate and to resolve them. And resolving them is a worthwhile objective, since we do need to be clear about our

¹ “Ex Libris colligere quae prodiderunt Authores longe est periculosissimum.” The edition I used was actually that of 1650.

² I am indebted also to a number of colleagues who have read this response in draft and made valuable suggestions, especially Steven Pincus, Peter Dear, Bob Richards, Bob Hatch, Steven Shapin, and Simon Schaffer. Responsibility for the result rests entirely with me.

approach to what is, Eisenstein and I agree, one of the most important of all episodes in Western history.

TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IS AT STAKE TODAY, we need to return to first principles—to the concept of print culture, in particular, and to that of the printing revolution that supposedly ushered print culture into being. Both derive principally (though not exclusively) from Eisenstein's *Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. Eisenstein's two-volume work impelled these concepts into the everyday currency of historians, and they have retained a prominent place in historical explanations ever since. Today, appeal to them can be found in works of political, social, and religious history, as well as in literary studies and the history of science. Like all works, of course, Eisenstein's cannot be held responsible for these subsequent uses. Nonetheless, in the course of 794 pages, she could hardly fail to invest her key notion with some distinctive characteristics. These characteristics proved central to its subsequent employment by historians, anthropologists, and sociologists, and they are what she wishes to uphold in our own exchange.

Briefly, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* advanced a small set of assertions describing the core elements of a "culture" brought about by the press—elements principally consisting of increased production rates, textual standardization, and preservative power—and then a long list of suggestions as to the effects of those elements on various aspects of early modern life. Its thesis was that, by remembering these elements, scholars could more properly "set the stage" for the events of the Reformation and Scientific Revolution. As that implies, the central message was a very simple one. What Eisenstein wanted to insist on above all was the starkly "revolutionary" character of print itself. In bringing about the advent of print culture, she maintained, the press created a fundamental division in human history. Yet, she also wanted to insist, this profound revolution had been overlooked by the historical profession. Indeed, in a strong sense, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* was more about that profession than about the early modern period itself. Remarkably for a work on its purported subject, the two volumes cited very few books made during that period, and told the history of none. (Partly as a result, it found a mixed response from historians of printing and the book—the people who deal with such objects on an everyday basis.)³ By contrast, Eisenstein confronted virtually every modern intellectual of note who had worked on the era, from Philippe Ariès and William Bouwsma to Max Weber and Edgar Zilsel. In effect, these, and not the books of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries, became her primary sources. She charted at length the extent to which they "acknowledged"—or, more frequently, failed to acknowledge—the unique role played in Western history by the invention of the press. By this means, she mounted a relentless, cumulative indictment of the profession's alleged failure to come to grips with the impact of Johannes Gutenberg's invention. Nor, it turns out, has her vigilance in this regard declined. Two decades after *Printing Press*, its author still stands ready to resist vigorously any possibility of backsliding.

³ See, for example, David Shaw, in *The Library*, 6th ser., 3 (1981): 261–63.

Eisenstein's problem is that in recent years she has been able to identify an awful lot of backsliding. As she ingenuously concedes, what she is really responding to in her article is not just my own work but a whole generational shift of which my work is a specimen. Her principal complaint is that historians today are once again in danger of failing to "acknowledge" the printing revolution. That complaint embraces cultural historians such as Roger Chartier, scholars of reading practices such as Paul Saenger, and even, it turns out, intellectual historians such as Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine. Literary scholars such as Michael Warner and historians of science Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer get caught in the barrage, too. If nothing else, such an eminent list serves once again to confirm the sweep and impact of Eisenstein's own work—one can think of few academics who would lay claim to as much generality of relevance. But for all her success, it nevertheless seems that a remarkable diversity of scholars—whatever their own questions, whatever their own foci of attention—remain worrisome to her. Why?

The example of Roger Chartier that Eisenstein herself cites is suggestive of the answer. Chartier proposes that we try to see the invention of printing in long-term historical context. It seems an inoffensive enough suggestion. But apparently we should not take it up, because in Eisenstein's view even this modest initiative would mean reducing the printing revolution to the status of a historical "blip." It would, she thinks, return that revolution to the "unacknowledged" status it had before she herself appeared on the scene. The fear is on the face of it simply unfounded. After all, to be fair to him, Chartier himself urged that the reason to appreciate the development of print in a longer context was precisely to comprehend something that "overturn[ed] the whole culture" of the time.⁴ To understand how Eisenstein can react in such an apparently exaggerated way, it is therefore necessary to ask a rather different question. What can she mean by the "acknowledgement" of a revolution, such that a proposal merely to place that revolution into a longer context risks its acknowledgement being seriously denuded? The answer turns out to reveal a peculiar definition of her subject, and a no less idiosyncratic view of its historicity.

Eisenstein repudiates criticisms of *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* in part by maintaining that her argument should not be "framed by" the history of the book. It is a remarkable declaration of autonomy, given that her work is, after all, centrally about the history of books. Twenty years ago, she was more candid still. In *The Printing Press* itself, she averred flatly that the printing revolution was "sui generis"—something "to which conventional models of historical change cannot be applied."⁵ A different, unconventional, model was therefore called for, the most evident characteristic of which was its virtually exclusive reliance on secondary sources. The reason for this, as Eisenstein once again confirms here, seems to have been that her real subject was one synthetic by its very nature. "Western Civilization" is, by the standards of those who beaver away in archives, a stratospheric subject—where would you look for it?—so it seemed to demand a

⁴ Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printings, Readings," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 154–75, esp. 174–75.

⁵ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, "An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," *AHR* 107 (February 2002): 88; Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), 168.

correspondingly synthetic approach. In addressing something that was largely a creature of surveys and textbooks, her polemic itself ended up as a survey built largely on textbooks. This was in some ways a very powerful strategy, since it allowed for emphatic verdicts free of pedantic qualification. Their status as apparently tested hypotheses further endeared them to social scientists in particular (although it is worth recalling that her central hypothesis has never, in fact, been subjected to test). But an exclusive reliance on secondary authorities also had drawbacks. Not least, the method was implicitly circular, since Eisenstein relied on the same sources not only for evidence about the early modern period itself but also for her account of modern views about that period, and for her critique of those views. It all had an uneasy sense of eliding historians' representations of the past with the past itself.⁶

Eisenstein's target was thus as large as could be imagined. It was axiomatic that this subject be *the* printing revolution—that in the end there could be only one print culture, its nature and effects appreciable only on a civilization-wide scale. In principle—although this was not something that Eisenstein herself attempted—other societies could then be situated on a scale representing the extent to which they achieved the same “shift.” Hence, by acknowledgement of Gutenberg's achievement, she naturally came to mean acceptance of this holistic concept. (Less logically, but very clearly, she also came to mean explicit acclamation of it.) So studies that focused on primary materials, that looked at longer periods, or that called attention to the peculiarities of different regions were by definition detracting from such an acknowledgement. However much light they threw on print, they still diverted attention from this synthetic, universal character. Histories of reading are exemplary in this respect, since their impulse has in fact been so culturally centrifugal. That is, historians of reading have largely devoted themselves to microhistorical studies, articulating diversity rather than hailing a shared culture centered on a machine.⁷ So to that extent, Eisenstein's point about neglecting the printing revolution is well taken. Nobody is about to relegate the advent of printing itself to the status of Perkin Warbeck or the War of Jenkins' Ear. What really stands to lose its acknowledgement is something much more specific: the particular concept of a revolutionary shift to a unitary print culture.

Eisenstein believes that a vast amount is at stake in this exchange. She may well be right. But I want to argue that *what* is at stake is a different kind of issue from the one that so exercises her. Consumed by whether we acknowledge the printing revolution or not, Eisenstein never once addresses the possibility that we could acknowledge the importance of print *in a different way*. Yet this, I would maintain, is precisely what recent work in the history of the book and of reading is seeking to do. A work like *The Nature of the Book* is not designed to replace *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* in terms of scope—as Eisenstein rightly remarks, its geographical focus is far too restricted for that. But it is designed to supplement it in terms of approach. As I shall explain more fully below, the deepest difference

⁶ William J. Bouwsma, *AHR* 84 (December 1979): 1356–57; Donald R. Kelley, *Clio* 10 (1981): 213–16.

⁷ The exception is Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Amherst, Mass., 1999).

between us lies in the questions we ask. Where Eisenstein asks what print culture itself is, I ask how printing's historic role came to be shaped. Where she ascribes power to a culture, I assign it to communities of people. Most generally, where she is interested in qualities, I want to know about processes. Both of these last are valid interests, and deciding which is preferable is not an empirical matter. But the decision does have to be made, and which side we choose will have real consequences. In light of this, we should not get too bogged down in arguments of detail. We ought instead to be arguing over the very shape and character of a history of print. We should especially be debating whether a cultural history of print—which is a different thing from a history based on print culture—is either possible or desirable. This article is an attempt to spark that debate.

ONE OF THE MORE PROFOUND CHANGES to have occurred in the historiography of print since *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* appeared in 1979 is the rise of the history of reading. Historians such as Grafton, Chartier, and Robert Darnton are turning what would otherwise be a mere critical truism about the manifold character of interpretation into a researched historical enterprise.⁸ It is potentially an immensely important one, too, simply because reading is among the most powerful of all human activities. It may be that no author can hope to determine what future readers will make of his or her work—and still less to do so by means of the text alone—yet we are slowly developing the techniques to track how readers have in fact made meanings out of the works they have encountered.⁹ Inasmuch as *The Nature of the Book* challenges Eisenstein's print culture, it does so partly by endorsing this perspective.

In this light, it is instructive to ask how *The Nature of the Book* is itself read. For an answer, we can look to Eisenstein's article. Reading plays a central if tacit role in her polemic. Indeed, the critique itself is represented as emerging out of readings, and, whether or not that representation is faithful, it is significant. As I shall indicate, however, hers are readings that exemplify the active power of the critic to frame meanings out of what is on the page—a power that is very much part of the world of the book but is not an emergent property of the press itself and hence has no clear place in Eisenstein's notion of print culture. An examination of her critique in terms of those readings consequently permits us to do two things. First, we are led to address the question of whether (and to what extent) readers are truly autonomous or are constrained by the texts before them. This is the question most often pressed by critics of the history of reading who adopt Eisenstein's own model of print culture, with its primary emphasis on the power of print itself. It is therefore a key point between Eisenstein and myself. Secondly, it invites us to ask how successfully Eisenstein's own argument can accommodate this, the fate of a specific printed book at the hands of an unusually expert reader. If Eisenstein's line

⁸ For an informed survey of this burgeoning field, see Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), 3–62.

⁹ The best example is James A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation"* (Chicago, 2000).

cannot accommodate this example very well, then we may well ask what it *can* accommodate.

I intend to sketch here a general, taxonomic survey of the reading techniques that seem to be implicit in Eisenstein's article. The point is to get beyond "quibbling," to use her word, and penetrate to what seems to be the practical basis for her critique.¹⁰ One should note first of all, then, that some of her readings are straightforward by almost any standard one can conceive of. No book is perfect, and I am happy to admit some of the points she makes about mine. In particular, this applies to omissions. Certain topics are indeed under-represented in *The Nature of the Book*, given their potential significance. I should indeed have said more about the events of the fifteenth century, about English writers' negotiations with continental houses, about proofreading, and about errata sheets. None of these topics is neglected with quite the completeness she implies, but nonetheless they all deserve greater attention.¹¹ Similarly, although it is not true to say that libraries are at present ignored altogether, there would certainly be room for a more substantial analysis of them, too. The principal reason that they are under-represented in *The Nature of the Book* lies in the work's focus on experimental philosophy—since historians have not yet explored how library culture and experimentalism cohered, it remains a fascinating topic for investigation by others.¹²

But not all of Eisenstein's readings are so readily intelligible. Altogether more interesting are those occasions on which she construes what she sees in distinctly creative ways. These provide excellent examples of what historians mean when they say that readers actively "appropriate" books rather than being dictated to by them. Two examples will have to suffice. One gives rise to her repeated accusation of a surfeit of methodological individualism. This complaint seems to derive chiefly from her reading of one passage at the end of my Chapter 4. There, she writes, I hold a single printer (John Streater, to be specific) responsible for "shaping 'the kinds of knowledge—and hence the kinds of social order—available in early modern England.'" She quotes accurately enough but neglects to note that the very next sentence runs as follows: "he was not alone."¹³ In principle, obviously, this could still be reconciled with methodological individualism. But in context, it would be a stretch. It looks much more like an avowal that printers were flesh-and-blood people trying to work within, and sometimes to reshape, a culture and a society. Moreover, in the book as a whole, it is expressly clear that appeal is being made not so much to individual actions as to social conventions—"social" because shared within communities, like that of the Stationers' Company. The example matters because from it Eisenstein builds a consistent distinction, not between the intrinsic

¹⁰ Eisenstein, "Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," 93.

¹¹ See, for example, Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998), 181 and 424–25 for exemplary uses of errata in contexts of scholarship and piracy, 514–21 for continental houses, and 90–91 and 595 for proofing.

¹² In fact, the most remarkable thing about Sherman's analysis of John Dee's library at Mortlake (for which I share Eisenstein's general admiration) is that it explicitly abstains from describing any relation between laboratory and library practices: compare the comments on alchemy in William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, Mass., 1995), 89–90, with the reconstruction in William R. Newman, *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 115–69.

¹³ Eisenstein, "Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," n. 18; Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 323.

powers of machines and human actions but between those powers and *individual* human actions.

Eisenstein's discussion of the term "piracy" is even more elastic. In this example, she reads the "taxonomy of practices labeled piratical" given in Chapter 1 of *The Nature of the Book* as a claim that these practices—and in particular, translation—were intrinsically piratical. Her interpretation is implicitly rebutted in the very passage she cites, which refers consistently to "practices *labeled* piratical," to "*allegations* of impropriety," to the "*apparent* ubiquity of such allegations," and to "*claims* that such practices had been pursued." In short, the text itself is about attributions to books, not inherent properties of them. Where this example improves on the previous one is that it illustrates the futility of an author's attempting to preempt certain readings as illegitimate. Here, the opening pages of *The Nature of the Book* tried to do just that for construals like Eisenstein's. To reiterate those pages, the point was never that translation per se was piratical but that some translations might be taken to be piratical in some circumstances. A large part of the book's purpose was, then, to elucidate how, in practice, this happened. That was why it provided such a large amount of evidence for all those assertions about labeling, claims, allegations, and attributions. Reading as she does, Eisenstein does not so much repudiate this task as fail to spot its existence. This is therefore an unusually clear demonstration of the inability of a text to constrain its future readers even when it attempts explicitly to do so.¹⁴

Another of Eisenstein's techniques is to read a modern account of past opinions as though those opinions were held by their modern reporter. For example, she cites me as believing that gentlemen were capable of "soaring above the commercial fray." She says that I assert that only virtuous people could produce veracious printing, and adds for good measure that I endorse "with approval" arguments in favor of privileges.¹⁵ Quite a lot of interpretative autonomy is involved in these verdicts. The best way to show this is by quoting the relevant sentences from *The Nature of the Book*:

Supporters of the patents régime, on the other hand, retorted that the security associated with privileges enabled the production of worthwhile texts that would never appear at all in other circumstances. They had a point. The making of elaborate folio volumes demanded substantial investment, which without due protection would only be ventured by the extremely foolhardy. But they further averred that gentlemen patentees, soaring above the commercial fray, could produce works of higher quality and fidelity than would be possible in an environment of ruthless competition between mercenary Stationers. They explicitly and consistently identified virtuous *people* with veracious *printing*.¹⁶

Note that the opinions are presented explicitly as those of "supporters of the patents régime." There is little sign of approval (or disapproval, for that matter) on the author's part of those views, beyond the elementary observation that publishing substantial volumes required a sizable investment and therefore some security, the form of which is left unspecified. This is not a controversial view on any account, let alone Eisenstein's (she never descends to such nitty-gritties). The passage is surely

¹⁴ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, xx–xxi, 33 (my italics).

¹⁵ Eisenstein, "Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," 101.

¹⁶ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 258.

describing what seventeenth-century patentees themselves thought, and attempting to reconstruct how they themselves argued. Its purpose, I would suggest, is not to endorse their views but to render their motivation comprehensible to modern readers for whom they will inevitably be rather alien. Even that, moreover, is followed by the word “but”—implying, if anything, that the patentees’ subsequent arguments went rather too far. In short, what is displayed here is an attempt at explication resting on an aspiration to evenhandedness. Eisenstein’s reading shows how ineffective such an aspiration can be.¹⁷ And that reading, like those mentioned above, is worth recalling because it plays a central role in the development of her more general critique. Specifically, it ends up as the foundation of her insinuation that I am myself somehow in favor of censorship—a charge that rests entirely on her elision between my own views and those of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers I cite.¹⁸

Many other examples could easily be cited, but to continue in this vein would be otiose. By now, we have built up a simple but sufficient taxonomy of one reader’s responses to a printed book. The reading practices they reveal incorporate remarkable interpretative flexibility. They add up to a sustained exemplification of the freedom of readers to make new meanings out of even quite closely argued texts. To the original author, these may seem tortuous construals, bizarre wrenchings out of context, and elementary confusions between actors’ categories and modern opinions. But in this context, the author is simply another reader, and no doubt to their perpetrator these readings look like straightforward reportage. It is probably inevitable that these readings, whatever their merits, will become part of the historiographic field, to be rehearsed and further qualified by future writers for their own purposes.

My point is not that readers are anarchic. They are not. There are consistent conventions in effect in such situations, and they impose effective limits on those interpretations that last. What is noteworthy about this case, accordingly, is that many of Eisenstein’s criticisms seem to be facilitated by a relatively simple and constant underlying practice. She consistently treats short remarks as self-sufficient entities. They can be torn out of context and appraised in isolation; they can be treated as equivalent to programmatic declarations, or even to fully realized arguments. Her spinning of that line about Streater into a general statement of methodological individualism is an obvious example. So is her essentialist reading of the passage about piracy. So, too, is her reattribution of beliefs about regulation. She even applies the same technique to her own work, repeatedly quoting individual dicta from *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* in synecdochic fashion, as though such isolated statements were straightforwardly representative of the whole. An outstanding instance is her claim to have maintained all along that the press of itself was “of no more consequence than any other inanimate tool,” so that how it was used was really the most important issue. The statement is indeed present, of course, in her 1979 text. But it is utterly isolated there, with neither a chain of

¹⁷ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 258. For an example concerning a modern author, compare Eisenstein, “Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited,” n. 13 above, with Adrian Johns, “Science and the Book in Modern Cultural Historiography,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 29 (1998): 167–94, esp. 175.

¹⁸ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 37–38.

reasoning leading toward it nor conclusions drawn from it. In fact, it is immediately dismissed as “counter-factual speculation,” since, as she then put it, “the transforming powers of print” did indeed “take effect.”¹⁹ Eisenstein’s representation of that passage now, though literally accurate, virtually reverses the original’s meaning, which was that print *did* have “transforming powers.”²⁰ A reading practice that is applied to its own practitioners’ words as much as to others’ is one that may reasonably be regarded as entrenched.

The interesting thing is that this practice exhibits a pronounced similarity to early modern reading habits, in particular that of commonplacing.²¹ Commonplacing was the standard reading practice of Renaissance scholars. It involved poring over texts for memorable snippets, which could then be lifted from their argumentative context and made available in notebooks for deployment in future arguments. Commonplaces thus need not be consistent one with another, and any chain of reasoning in which they initially participated rarely survived the commonplacing process. There were limits to this liberty, of course, and English writers tended to call the improper manipulation of commonplaces—improper as judged by the standards of learned conversation—“wresting.” But even when properly pursued, commonplace methods tended to be poor tools for systematic criticism. They were good for identifying piecemeal omissions but less good for confronting arguments, which they tended to reduce to fragments. They often gave rise chiefly to new forms of old truths. What is striking is how uncannily Eisenstein’s procedures mirror all these traits. Her readings display the stand-alone character of commonplaces, and like commonplaces they seem to be immune from elimination on grounds of inconsistency. Her claims themselves consequently inherit the strengths and weaknesses of the commonplacing method, not least its inefficacy as a tool for critically examining received views. So not only does Eisenstein’s article illustrate the vulnerability of printed books to readers’ skills in general, it shows their vulnerability to a reader whose habits reflect those most prevalent in the early modern period itself. It is tempting to applaud the whole thing as a virtuosic display of *verstehen*.

The reason that this matters is that it is the consistency of these readings, more than any objective content, that gives Eisenstein’s claims their confident cast. The best demonstration of this admittedly counterintuitive point is provided by Eisenstein herself, in an episode that plays a prominent part in her own argument. Her core case against *The Nature of the Book* is that its focus on local labors fundamentally misrepresents the very nature of print. Print, she feels, must be seen from a “cosmopolitan” perspective. I shall say more about this in the next section. But as proof she tells the story of a printed letter sent by Pierre Gassendi to

¹⁹ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 703.

²⁰ Compare also Eisenstein’s remark about the term “scientist” and her use of the same term throughout *Printing Press*; and her equating of my own comment about print being hard to analyze historically because it seems so self-evident with her own remark that the *effects* of printing are “by no means self evident.” Eisenstein, “Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited,” 89.

²¹ There is now a large literature on commonplacing, but see in particular Ann Blair, “Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 (1992): 541–51; Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 65–81; and Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996).

European astronomers exhorting them to observe a transit of Mercury in 1631. Gassendi, she affirms, initiated “a collaborative effort in simultaneous observation that was made possible by print and had been impossible in the age of scribes.” His letter thus set in train an exercise in data collection that exemplified print’s revolutionary effects. The episode was “scarcely ‘local in character,’” and as such gave the lie to my own approach. The argument is on its face a strong one. It clearly matters to Eisenstein, as it was accorded an equally prominent place in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (and it has also been taken up by Bruno Latour in his anthropology of science).²² Yet, thanks to its foundation in these reading techniques, it proves on examination to be entirely fictitious.

There is no evidence that Gassendi ever wrote a letter like the one Eisenstein describes, let alone that he printed it. In all probability, it never existed at all. What she actually cites for the story is, as always, a secondary source—in this case, one that reports a reading of a seventeenth-century work by the Tübingen astronomer Wilhelm Schickard that itself reports a reading of Gassendi, who had in turn been reading Johannes Kepler.²³ This reading of a reading of a reading of a reading leads her a long way from reality. There is, however, a story to be told here, albeit one that lends little support to Eisenstein’s argument. It begins not with Gassendi but with Kepler. Kepler added an *Admonition to Astronomers and Students of Celestial Matters* to one of his ephemerides, which was published in 1629 and then again, at the hands of Jacob Bartsch, in 1630. This admonition warned of the coming transit. Its purpose was not to request feedback, nor did it get any. Its real object was to secure the credibility of the ephemeris itself, and by extension that of Kepler’s *Rudolphine Tables*. But Gassendi noticed it, observed the transit in Paris, and announced his achievement in a manuscript letter sent to Schickard. Schickard later printed this letter along with his own response. Far from exhorting a Europe-wide series of announcements by the new means of print, Gassendi’s text was handwritten, *followed* the transit itself, was not printed until even later, and in the end proved the only authoritative observation of the phenomenon to be published. Yet in reducing this to a commonplace, Eisenstein has conjured up what has become a significant myth in the received historiography of scientific printing.²⁴

The moral is simple. Historians of reading are often told that they go too far—that textual content ultimately has the dominant effect on the construal of a work. This is very much the position implicit in Eisenstein’s notion of print, which

²² Eisenstein, “Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited,” 95; Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 631; Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 226–27.

²³ J. L. Russell, “Kepler’s Laws of Planetary Motion, 1609–1666,” *British Journal for the History of Science* 2 (1964): 1–24, esp. 10–11.

²⁴ See *Johannes Kepler Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 11 (Munich, 1983), 475–82; *Petri Gassendi Opera Omnia*, 6 vols. (Leiden, 1658), 6: 45; 4: 499–510. The definitive discussion of the transit is A. Van Helden, “The Importance of the Transit of Mercury of 1631,” *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 7 (1976): 1–10. I am most grateful to Michael John Gorman, whose detective work has ferreted out what seems to be the truth behind this story. His paper is available on the World Wide Web at www.stanford.edu/group/STS/immutablemobile.htm. I am also indebted to Robert Hatch for advice and information on this matter—his remarkable researches on Gassendi’s correspondence will make it possible for future scholars to decide the issue once and for all. The interpretation, of course, is my own responsibility and is subject to correction. Incidentally, far from hailing the press as the enabler of this whole episode, Gassendi laments its ability to misrepresent astronomical data.

speaks exclusively of its impact. A synthetic concept of print culture can do little to accommodate a multiplicity of readings. Despite herself, Eisenstein provides an exemplary rebuttal of that logic. What she shows is that, in certain cases at least, readers are so powerful that they can make meanings even where no texts exist at all.

EISENSTEIN'S APPARENT READING PRACTICES reinforce the contention that books need to be seen as embedded in history through and through—not just in their creation and distribution but in their use. Yet her own recommendations would leave us ill-equipped to do that. I want now to return to the point introduced in my first section and address the question of how best to understand print in this light.

There are broad issues raised by the phenomenon of print that deserve consideration by cultural historians in general. In Eisenstein's terms, they center on three grand dichotomies. These are the distinctions between "impersonal processes" and "personal agency," between the localism of *The Nature of the Book* (and in particular its focus on England) and the "cosmopolitan" perspective that she says print demands, and between the status of the printing revolution as a "discursive construct" and its objective reality as a "historical development."²⁵ I am broadly content to begin my discussion according to these distinctions, although I shall make the case for qualifying the first and third of them significantly in what follows. It is clear, at any rate, on which side of each she herself stands. Her concept of print culture captures a perspective that is relatively impersonal, cosmopolitan, and objective. Nonetheless, the existence of such dichotomies implies that we have a choice. Is a history couched in terms of print culture really what we need? Or should we seek something significantly different, giving causal weight to the representations, situations, and actions of participants? The latter might be called, by contrast, not a history of print culture but a cultural history of print. It is the character and advantage of this approach that I want to explore briefly here.

Our first two dichotomies, those concerning place and process, concern the much-vexed issue of the attribution of agency in explaining past events. A cultural history of print should, I submit, be broadly constructivist about its subject. For all Eisenstein's insinuations of postmodernism, this is not a particularly radical position; it resembles nothing so much as traditional empiricism. It amounts to holding that one should account for the very character of print historically, by telling how it was shaped by communities of printers, booksellers, readers, and (for want of a better term) censors. This means taking what seem to us the most self-evident elements of the subject as demanding historical explanation. The aim is then to arrive at a different kind of understanding—one building on "the complex social processes by which books came to be made and used." What needs to be stressed in that formula is the term "social." The development of print should not be ascribed primarily to individual actions but to collective practices. (To adopt Eisenstein's idiom for a moment, an apt slogan for the approach might be something like "guns don't kill people, society kills people.") In broad terms, this

²⁵ Eisenstein, "Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," 90.

kind of investigation is what I had in mind when I remarked that we could try to explain issues in the history of communication by means of the historian's craft. Specifically, what emerged from this inquiry in *The Nature of the Book* was a focus on the link between print and knowledge, or between print and veracity. In the end, the book became largely a history of the processes by which that link was forged.

If a history of print should be broadly constructivist, then the best way to proceed is to adopt a local focus, for several reasons. Not least, the decisions and actions that sustained the world of the book not only occurred in specific situations but took their character from their peculiarities. For example, the development of uniform impressions depended on printing-house practices that were in fact quite complex; they involved not only the machinery of the press but relations between master and journeyman, the transfer of skills, and the rituals of artisanal life. Of course, such a focus implies a relative neglect of other locales; that much is simply analytic. But if one's concern is to understand processes, then a concentration on the places where they occurred is nevertheless appropriate. After all, to argue that the cosmopolitan nature of the book was the result of labors shaped by many different settings is no mere truism when the settings were as distinct as Venice, Frankfurt, and Paris. Proponents of Eisenstein's print culture begin by asserting these distinctions to be accidental. But her own protestations belie that assertion, since one finds that her objections to a local approach end up furnishing evidence for it. For example, she complains that England was a "very special case." Granted—but that means that a major European power developed a print culture with essential differences from others'.²⁶ Similarly, her objections to my interpretation of press regulation hang on differences between urban and regional printers. In each case, a local approach is imperative not only to understand these differences but to realize how cosmopolitan uniformities could have come into being out of them. It leads not to a neglect of the achievement of cosmopolitanism but to a proper appreciation of its character *as* an achievement.

Perhaps the interesting question to emerge from all this is simply what we mean by "place." Like print, place needs to be historicized. Eisenstein may say that her aim is to comprehend print "as a historic development firmly grounded in a certain time and place," but in practice she means by this nothing more specific than early modern Western Europe.²⁷ Yet Western Europe was scarcely a place at all in the early modern period. It was becoming one, in that people were beginning to call themselves "European," but it had relatively little cultural presence. By contrast, every country, every province, every city, every ward and parish was a coherent cultural reality in at least as firm a sense.²⁸ An ambition to understand the printing revolution as "firmly grounded" in place therefore ought to imply understanding it in terms of these kinds of places. That being so, there are then good reasons for focusing on England, not least those to do with its special importance in the history of knowledge. It was, after all, the site for the development of experimental philosophy and the advent of Newtonianism. In terms of print, early modern

²⁶ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 636.

²⁷ Eisenstein, "Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," 91.

²⁸ See, for example, J. R. Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York, 1994), 3–50.

England saw the development of practices of authorship, reading, freedom of the press, and intellectual property that have proved immensely influential. And above all, as the location for the earliest scientific journal of international repute, London was uniquely successful in making its local print culture effective on a European scale. In other words, if we are seeking a solution to the problem of how print's cosmopolitan consequences resulted from situated labors, then here is a good place to look for it.

But is that problem a real one? One view has it that the notion of dissemination or diffusion is sufficient to deal with it. This view inherits our tendency to speak of dissemination as though it were equivalent to distribution—as though, in other words, the distribution of printed materials equaled the diffusion of knowledge. It seems a little question-begging. Early modern natural philosophers and mathematicians had to deal with print on a daily basis, as both readers and authors, and they could not afford to make that elision. It was hard enough to publish books. That depended on social and economic conditions that were difficult to secure. Still harder was it to ensure that, when a printed book reached a distant city, it would be accorded the same reading as that it received locally, in an institution like the Royal Society—or, at least, a tolerably commensurable one. Historians have pointed out many times the difficulty of transmitting experimental skills by print. Hence my recommendation to avoid recourse to notions like “the dissemination of knowledge,” especially when talking about printed science. The point is simply that the distinction between the distribution of books and that of knowledge is a real one that such notions conventionally obscure. Or, put another way, we need to ask how practices of reading came to be shared, such that knowledge could be transferred (to the extent that it was) with the help of printed materials such as the *Philosophical Transactions*.²⁹ Writ large, a similar point ought to hold for the universality of print culture itself.

Two examples may suffice to indicate the consequences. The first concerns science and religion, the second censorship. *The Nature of the Book* in fact appeals a good deal to religious history, couching many explanations in terms of participants' ideas about such things as Providence, godliness, and priestcraft. Yet it is

²⁹ Since my original point was historiographical rather than historical, it had not occurred to me to make this an issue of linguistics, and Eisenstein is quite right to upbraid me accordingly. But her argument is vitiated by the fact that she relies on a modern English translation (“disseminate”) of a modern French translation (“diffuser”) of a Latin original—and in that original, the verb employed is in fact *publicare*, which rather makes her point moot. The trajectory denoted by this sequence of translations is precisely what I meant to draw attention to. In general, it seems that while the Latin usage *disseminare* may be old, in English “dissemination” came to refer to ideas only during the mid-eighteenth century: a fascinating tidbit, if the *Oxford English Dictionary* is correct. Furthermore, the word seems to have had a decidedly negative connotation up to the end of the handpress era, being largely applied to the spread of ignorance or error by analogy to that of disease or infestation. In this light, it is interesting that when Lambert does employ *disseminare* later in his book, it is to lament printers who spread not sound knowledge but spurious prophecies and heresies. See Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental* (Paris, 1997), 248; the English translation in Chartier and Cavallo, *History of Reading in the West*, 213; and Franz Lambert, *Commentarii de prophetia, eruditione et linguis* (Strasbourg, 1526), tractatus V, chap. 31, fol. 120v. I am very grateful to Ann Blair for taking the trouble to look this up when I could not find a copy in Los Angeles; I alone am responsible for the interpretation. For the negative connotation of “dissemination,” see Andrew McCann, *Cultural Politics in the 1790s: Literature, Radicalism and the Public Sphere* (Basingstoke, 1999), 114.

accused of neglecting religion. When Eisenstein explains what would count in her eyes as *not* neglecting religion, it turns out that what she is looking for is simply the great divide between Catholicism and Protestantism. In her opinion, this grand division “affected” scientific publication.³⁰ Hardly a startling revelation, one would have thought; yet she evidently finds it sufficient, because here she stops. She has never provided a coherent account of how it did so, and to what effect. The difference between our approaches is that I think we must at least ask these questions—questions about processes constituting a culture, as well as about properties of a culture. To answer them, we need, quite simply, to look at what people actually thought and did. Only then can we understand how a scientific publication system emerged in the later seventeenth century. This problem (it is worth noting) is as fundamental as any based on the postulate of print culture, but it demands an approach that resolves that culture into its constituents.

Eisenstein’s view of restriction is similarly exalted. She asserts that censorship created a sweeping asymmetry in European culture, and in particular it stymied the development of Italian science after Galileo. Censorship considered thus plays a key role for her in explaining how a single print culture could give rise to different scientific cultures: the effects of print were simply restrained in much of Europe. But this is problematic on several grounds. Not least, early modern Catholicism was not as united, or as secularly powerful, as such a Manichaean view would require. Authorities differed widely in the rigor with which they policed the press—in France, for example, the Index was effectively ignored.³¹ (This variability operated even in Rome itself, where it was another major reason why Galileo miscalculated so badly.) Nor was Catholic natural philosophy so evidently backward. Publishing restrictions may have helped change the direction of Italian science—toward natural history, perhaps—but they are implausible candidates to explain an alleged decline.³² At the same time, I can think of no Protestant state before 1695 that had no regulatory regime governing its press, so the contrastive appeal to censorship involves an appeal to a null set.³³ We therefore need to move on. Instead, we must examine regulation itself, again resolving the catch-all topic of “censorship” into its constituent practices. Only then can we hope to preserve something of the historic impact of restrictions, by looking to differences between those practices rather than simply to their presence or absence. Contemporaries themselves saw substantial differences between licensing and other procedures that constrained authorship. Not least, licensing was part and parcel of the regimes of privilege and registration, which were designed to protect good works as well as to hinder bad. In that light,

³⁰ Eisenstein, “Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited,” 90.

³¹ See, for example, Virgilio Pinto Crespo, *Inquisición y control ideológico en la España del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1983); Alfred Soman, “Press, Pulpit and Censorship in France before Richelieu,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120 (1976): 439–63; Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton, N.J., 1977). For my own views on the Index system, see Adrian Johns, “The Invention of Print,” in Derek Jones, ed., *Censorship: An Encyclopedia*, 3 vols. (New York, 2001). Galileo’s role as martyr of repression is described in Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 264.

³² Michael Segre, *In the Wake of Galileo* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1991), 103, 137–40.

³³ The Dutch in particular did have such a regime. More broadly, Eisenstein’s attempted criticisms on this subject again have the unintended effect of reinforcing the importance of locality: she finds herself reliant on the profound differences between London Stationers, Paris guildsmen, and the Dutch and Swiss entrepreneurs who exploited the restrictions on local markets.

seventeenth-century writers would have seen the *lack* of regulation as a restriction on authorship. After all, Marcello Malpighi himself made use of a Royal Society whose powers for creating and distributing books lay in privileges and licensing. In other words, those powers lay in the very system that Eisenstein is so keen to have us decry.

Yet the strongest argument for positing a unitary print culture operates at an altogether simpler level. It is intuitively compelling to attribute textual standardization, a massive increase in output, and the quality of fixity to “technological effects” independent of “personal actions.” These are precisely the elements that *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* so successfully articulated. Surely the technology of the press is sufficient to explain these constituents—and therefore to underpin a singular concept of print culture itself.

There is in principle no major problem with positing textual standardization or uniformity as a consequence of printing. On first pass, we can agree that they were. But once we get beyond introductory generalizations, we need to become a little more discriminating. We soon find that the claim to uniformity is easily exaggerated, for example, as is the degree of discontinuity with manuscript production.³⁴ This need not matter if it can be shown that readers ignored such variations, but that was not necessarily the case. Moreover, we will further want to know *how* standardization, multiplication, and distribution came about—not just in the abstract but to the extent and in the way that they were in fact achieved. The trouble with resorting to print culture as an *explanans* is that it has nothing to say on these topics.³⁵ Eisenstein’s attempts to show the contrary merely reinforce the point. While “ignorant” craftsmen could multiply errors in print, she points out, learned masters could always work to reduce them.³⁶ True enough (although the attribution of ignorance seems a little condescending), but this amounts to conceding the point at issue. For in a world in which both “ignorant craftsmen” and masters were at work, a reader might need to work, too, in order to discern the differences between their respective products. A central part of that work had to be identifying which workers were ignorant and which knowledgeable. In other words, attributing credit to a printed book might involve knowing about its conditions of production—which is exactly what *The Nature of the Book* spent so long arguing. This task might not be an easy one. It could not be short-circuited by direct appeal to the appearance of a book, since it was and is notorious that the most lavishly produced volumes of the

³⁴ Others more expert than I have found Eisenstein’s descriptions of manuscript culture wanting: for example, Michael T. Clanchy, “Looking Back from the Invention of Printing,” in Daniel P. Resnick, ed., *Literacy in Historical Perspective* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 7–22. I myself would add that since scribal copying remained a vital part of intellectual life until at least the eighteenth century, print needs to be seen less in terms of a radical break than in those of an environment combining speech, manuscript, and print in mutual interaction: Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993); D. F. McKenzie, “Speech-Manuscript-Print,” in Dave Oliphant and Robin Bradford, eds., *New Directions in Textual Studies* (Austin, Tex., 1990), 87–109; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000).

³⁵ “The idea that simply printing a text could make it more accurate or more credible strikes me as absurd,” Eisenstein writes; “Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited,” 92. But her argument in *Printing Press* and elsewhere proceeds on the basis that “ancient and medieval scientific traditions were transformed by the capacity of printing to transmit records of observations without any loss of precision and in full detail” (p. 470).

³⁶ Eisenstein, “Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited,” 92.

time were full of variants. Some of those variants mattered a great deal. Historians familiar with early modern debates about scriptural hermeneutics, for example, will recall countless lamentations in the correspondence, private manuscripts, and controversial writings of the time. They were just as prevalent among astronomers and mathematicians. Eisenstein asks in what world people worried about non-uniformity; the answer is, in both the modern world and the early modern one.³⁷ We would therefore do well to ask, as early moderns themselves did, how standardization could be achieved and how it could best be secured.

Once again, the problems inherent in taking standardization at face value as an attribute of printing are poignantly present in the very evidence that is often cited to support it. What such evidence really shows is that the uniformity exhibited by printed materials was as much a product of social actions as of the inherent properties of the press. The *Book of Common Prayer*'s remark that the whole realm could now use "one bible," for instance, reminds us that the whole realm was *not* in fact using one bible. Impression after impression—from royal printers, Stationers' Company members, patentees, foreign interlopers, Catholic agents, and others—contained variations that might or might not prove consequential. The fifteenth-century missal cited by Eisenstein is an even better example. The quotation she gives seems emphatically to endorse the idea that printing created fixed, identical texts.³⁸ But a closer look reveals a different story. When he had such missals printed, the bishop of Freising would order *every single copy* of the impression checked individually against a single, manuscript original. Far from being an effect of printing, uniformity was a result of this unusual practice—a practice directly modeled on measures taken in manuscript workshops to detect copying mistakes. The bishop's statement therefore testifies to the power of strategies designed to *make* print reliable, rather than to any intrinsic reliability print might itself possess.³⁹ He knew well that if he relied on the attributes of the press and did not exercise some "personal processes," then standardization—and its consequences—could not be relied on at all.

Even the apparently most basic elements of the posited print culture are, then, amenable to analysis by the historian prepared to pursue the task. So we should indeed pursue it. A key component of that analysis has to be an attempt to understand actions like the bishop's in terms of what participants themselves knew—or guessed—about the printing, distribution, and reading of books. Hence the caution at the beginning of *The Nature of the Book* about "forgetting that we ourselves 'know' what printing is" in order to reconstruct "what printing was."⁴⁰ It

³⁷ Eisenstein, "Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," 93.

³⁸ Eisenstein, "Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," 93.

³⁹ F. Geldner, "Zum ältesten Missaldruck," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1961): 101–06; see also Jan-Dirk Müller, "The Body of the Book: The Media Transition from Manuscript to Print," in Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and K. Ludwig Pfeiffer, eds., *Materialities of Communication* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 32–44, esp. 42–2???. On the various Bibles available, and the different readings to which they were thought to give rise, see Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, Va., 1993), 11–56; and Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London, 1993). It should also be added that historians of art too have recently begun to see things a different way: for example, W. B. MacGregor, "The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective," *Art History* 22 (1999): 389–420, esp. 392–93.

⁴⁰ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 5 (italics in original).

is scarcely a new conceit: as Sir Thomas Browne remarked of the received views of his own day, “knowledge is made by oblivion; and to purchase a clear and warrantable body of Truth, we must forget and part with much we know.”⁴¹ By doing what Browne recommended, we can hope to approach primary sources like Eisenstein’s missal with a perspective that is informed by existing approaches but not in hock to existing assumptions. This simple proposal is what underlies the prominence that a cultural historian of print should give to representations of the craft of printing itself. We are never going to arrive at *one* such representation—that kind of unanimity is a chimera. So it is vital to comprehend the range of possible perceptions and their practical implications. These were the wellsprings of the world of print.

As it happens, evidence for those perceptions is readily found in arguments over the invention of the press. Such arguments raged incessantly. People wrote about the topic at great length and with much passion, and in doing so they articulated what became key ideas about print’s history, character, and consequences. The persistence in their histories of a theft narrative, for example, carried over into debates about the importance of protecting authorship in the realm of print. And it is possible to show that such arguments were current not only among scholars but among the very printers and booksellers who made the realm of print what it was. *The Nature of the Book* traced some of those arguments. Among its conclusions was that the specific concept of a printing revolution came about late in the day, arriving around 1800 and achieving the status of an orthodoxy only in the mid-nineteenth century.

Of course, this begs the question of how to read the sources for such a story. It is true that the account in *The Nature of the Book* gave greater attention to writers like Richard Atkyns and Samuel Palmer, all of whom were at odds with what we might think of as orthodoxy, than to those like Francis Bacon, who hailed the press in relatively familiar terms. The main reason for this was simply that those terms *are* so familiar. Moreover, Atkyns and Palmer created coherent and influential histories on the subject; Bacon and others did not. It is clearly important to ask why they bothered to do so—to understand their occasions for writing, the questions they were addressing, and their intended and actual readerships.⁴² Moreover, we should not measure their arguments solely by their approval or disapproval of print. Of course, writers like John Foxe did hail the significance of the press. But they differed substantially on how to understand and represent that significance.⁴³ Calibrating their statements according to a single index of “acknowledgement” amounts to a lamentably one-dimensional reductionism (just as does calibrating modern historians’ views according to that index). It ignores what such writers thought they were praising, how they expressed that praise, why, and to what effect.

⁴¹ Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, sig. A2r. In fact, the opinion is ancient.

⁴² In *The Nature of the Book*, 5, I remarked that early printers often praised the press’s accuracy by contrast to scribal practices, but I cautioned that the identification of that contrast was “partly a product of interest.” I did not dismiss the view as false, let alone on ad hominem grounds, but warned that it might not be the whole story and that its articulation, as well as its content, deserved explanation.

⁴³ Eisenstein’s own authority lists at least five distinct kinds of response, ranging from awe at the cheapness of printed books to surprise at the craft’s employment of the ignoble art of metallurgy: Paul Needham, “Haec Sancta Ars: Gutenberg’s Invention as a Divine Gift,” *Gazette of the Grolier Club* 42 (1990): 101–20, esp. 106–08.

In sum, it ignores their meaning. For, *contra* Eisenstein, it is far from clear that such writers endorsed a printing revolution at all. Do modern historians really believe that printing was a gift from an apocalyptic God, for example? If not, then they are in stark disagreement with Foxe, who never meant what he said more than when speaking of Providence.⁴⁴ Nor is this a trivial or inconsequential distinction. An act of Providence is a profoundly different thing from a technological revolution.

The notion of a printing revolution became a far more viable interpretative category in the era of the political and social revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. (It is only after this point that we find many other proclamations of revolution in the early modern period, too: the scientific, the commercial, the financial, and the military spring to mind.) Standing as it does at the end of a long process of debate, Condorcet's history produced in that era is very unlike Foxe's written two centuries before. It has no Christian providentialism, no Protestant millennium, and no martyrology. In their place, it portrays secular stages of historical maturation, punctuated by revolutions. The historiographic framework—the meaning itself—is as different as could be imagined.⁴⁵ As a result of such work, the history of print and its impact was reconstructed, with the figure of Johannes Gutenberg taking center stage afresh as the heroic personification of progress. The chronology of the process is simple: Turgot developed a crude outline, which was then expanded by Condorcet, and the notion of a secular revolution became orthodox in the mid-nineteenth century. Eisenstein's confusion on this seems to arise from her commonplacing, since she apparently considers "elements" of a complex concept like that of a printing revolution to be equivalent to the concept itself. At any rate, while James Watt became the secular icon of an industrial revolution, and Isaac Newton that of a scientific revolution, Gutenberg joined them as the symbol of a printing revolution.⁴⁶ In each case, the transition was marked by books, public ceremonies, and monuments—as well as by fierce controversy.

It should be clear at this point that to describe the printing revolution as a construct in no way means negating the historical importance of printing itself. Indeed, the very point of showing how central representations of print were to practices in the printing and bookselling community is to demonstrate the inseparability of social reality and cultural understanding. When a printer such as John Streater decided to try to monopolize the printing of law, this was the kind of knowledge on which he based his decision. When the Stationers' Company objected to royal power intruding on the book trade, this kind of history was the basis for its complaint. When John Locke and others argued over licensing, this was the

⁴⁴ On this subject, see now Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 249 and *passim*.

⁴⁵ Eisenstein asserts that "historians have long noted a resemblance between Condorcet's treatment of printing and that of John Foxe." Apart from begging the question of precisely what resemblance she means, it transpires that the evidence for this consensus consists of a lone aside voiced back in 1948.

⁴⁶ Christine MacLeod, "James Watt, Heroic Invention and the Idea of the Industrial Revolution," in Maxine Berg and Kristine Bruland, eds., *Technological Revolutions in Europe: Historical Perspectives* (Cheltenham, 1998), 96–115, esp. 108 (where the comparison to the invention of printing is made explicitly); Richard Yeo, "Genius, Method, and Morality: Images of Newton in Britain, 1760–1860," *Science in Context* 2 (1988): 257–84; Henri-Jean Martin, "Comment on écrivit l'histoire du livre," in Martin, *Le livre français sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1987), 11–28.

foundation on which they built their characterizations of printed books. Contemporaries knew better than to rely on any intrinsic virtues printing might have in order to make such far-reaching decisions. Conventional practices and accepted representations provided a firmer basis for action. The case in point is what happened when those practices and representations were most seriously challenged. If the Stationers' protocols were really so stable and so important, why did the world of the book not collapse with the end of licensing in 1695? Eisenstein asks the question rhetorically, but it should be posed seriously. The answer is that it did not collapse precisely because contemporaries feared that it would. They therefore worked hard to avoid the possibility. John Feather has recounted in detail how their efforts—pursued doggedly over almost fifteen years—led to the development of the first copyright law in 1710. In other words, the creation of copyright was a result of a polity contemplating almost exactly the possibility that we are invited today to dismiss as self-evidently ridiculous. Without their fears seeming credible, many of the quarrels raking the media world in our own day would, at least, have been very different.⁴⁷ That seems a fairly good indication of the importance of representations in constituting reality. To understand where our own situation comes from, we surely have to comprehend both.

IS HISTORY CONDITIONED BY PRINT, or print by history? I have argued that the latter is the case. At least, we get a richer appreciation of the historical importance of printing if we adopt this as our starting point. Elizabeth Eisenstein may agree, but in practice her approach is different. She prefers to postulate a distinct "culture" that can only be characterized synthetically. This culture seems to emerge directly from the press itself, to the extent that the characteristics of print and those of its putative culture—characteristics like fixity or standardization—often seem indistinct. The advent of print culture amounted, she insists, to a printing "revolution"—a radical "shift" away from all that had gone before, and that took place independent of contemporaries' perceptions of it. Cut loose from its past, print culture thus acted far more as an influence on history than as an outcome of it. It should be hailed as the engine of modernization on a continental scale.

Eisenstein's has been a hugely influential account, and she has defended it here by means of a critical reading of my own *The Nature of the Book* that is in many ways perceptive. But it is also revealing. In particular, it proves to be a reading that her own interpretative recommendations would leave us ill-equipped to understand. As such, it exemplifies shortcomings in her approach that are not easily remedied from within. By contrast, I have tried to present here something of a draft manifesto for a different way of understanding the importance of print—one based on the premise that print is conditioned by history as well as conditioning it. Its major proposal is that we explain the development and consequences of print in terms of how communities involved with the book as producers, distributors, regulators, and readers actually put the press and its products to use. The best way to do *that*, I have

⁴⁷ John Feather, "The Book Trade in Politics: The Making of the Copyright Act of 1710," *Publishing History* 8 (1980): 19–44.

argued, is to adopt a local perspective, at least in the first instance. This will help us attend to how such communities sought to understand the new craft in their own terms, and to exploit it according to that understanding. In one sense, there is nothing new about this; it is merely what historians of the book and historical bibliographers have always done. My contention, however, is that we need to appreciate the greater implications of such local researches. In other words, adopting these recommendations should become the best way to appreciate the achievement of printing as just that: an achievement. It is, I think, how best to acknowledge what most needs acknowledging.

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AHR Forum

Reply

ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN

I AGREE WITH ADRIAN JOHNS THAT our deepest difference lies in the questions we ask, but I disagree with his formulation of that difference. On the most general level, we differ because we approach early modern printing from the opposite ends of a time scale. I start with medieval texts and the incapacity of hand copying to achieve certain goals long valued by Latin reading elites. Johns starts with the modern book and the incapacity of the handpress to achieve the degree of standardization and uniformity that is now taken for granted.

Both positions are defensible, even complementary. Unfortunately, Johns refuses to give mine a fair hearing either in his book or in this exchange. Here, he seeks to redirect my argument so that it is aimed against recent trends in book history. Let me repeat: I regard long-term changes in book format and in reading practices as topics “worth pursuing.” To say that a landscape viewed from the air looks differently from one seen from the ground is not to invalidate either perspective, let alone accuse either of “backsliding.” My quarrel is not with Roger Chartier or any of the others whose work I admire. It is with the author of *The Nature of the Book*.

My work is not “centrally about the history of books.” The communications shift that occurred in Western Europe in the late fifteenth century encompassed images and charts, advertisements and maps, official edicts and indulgences. Had Johns glanced at my abridged edition, he would have seen illustrations of some of the varied materials and also maps that depicted not clouds in some stratosphere but the location of the first printing shops to be established in diverse European regions. “Where would you look [for Western Civilization]?” he asks. Why not take time out from “beavering in the archives” and examine the shifting frontiers of Western Christendom as depicted in any historical atlas?

With regard to religious divisions, Johns dismisses my “contrastive” discussion of censorship and points out that every Protestant state had a regulatory regime. He ignores my point that no Protestant state—not even Geneva, the so-called “Protestant Rome”—issued an Index of Prohibited Books. Instead of pausing over prohibitions that resonated in every book shop throughout Europe, he urges us to “move on.”

Far from discounting location, or meaning “nothing more specific” than all of Western Europe or treating the difference between Basel and Geneva, Venice and Antwerp, etc. as “accidental,” I repeatedly stressed the distinctive political,

economic, and religious constraints that impinged on diversely located early printing shops. It is not Johns's focus on "local labors" to which I object. It is, rather, his exclusive focus on a single "major European power" and neglect of all the numerous minor powers: those principalities, bishoprics, city-states, and the like that reflected late medieval political fragmentation. Although special local conditions affected all printing shops, their products were exported to readers who were more widely dispersed. "Cosmopolitan" is an appropriate term to apply to the distribution of Latin texts and to the Commonwealth of Learning that received them.

With regard to collaborative ventures undertaken by dispersed readers, I regret that, when discussing one such venture, I was led astray by a 1964 article in a specialized journal. That it was Kepler not Gassendi who alerted readers to a forthcoming transit of Mercury does not, however, invalidate my point that a publication addressed to a dispersed readership enabled scattered observers to check the accuracy of an astronomer's prediction. Nor does it undermine the discussion in my book concerning the publishers of almanacs and ephemerides who were spurred by competitive conditions to investigate rival predictions and who ultimately decided in favor of Kepler.

Confrontation with rival claims is related to the question of dissemination. Of course, the distribution of texts should not be confused with the distribution of knowledge. ("Knowledge" is a tricky word; historians would do well to avoid it.) But increased output (dissemination) did mean more frequent encounters with conflicting testimony, contradictory theories, and alternative diagrams—all of which stimulated investigatory activity. As for standardization, I did not ask about early modern readers' concern with non-uniformity in general. I asked about their concern with non-uniform *spelling* in particular. Johns evades answering this question. With regard to the fifteenth-century missal, no doubt the practice of checking copies against an exemplar was derived from scribal procedures. But so, too, was the anxiety of churchmen over non-uniform liturgies—an anxiety that their resort to printing eventually alleviated.

The chronology of commemorating Gutenberg is not nearly as "simple" as Johns says. Commemorative publications did not commence after Isaac Newton, let alone James Watt. They started in 1540 following fifteenth-century chronicles that set 1440 as the invention's date. They punctuated every century thereafter. A 1740 commemorative image of a wooden handpress descending from the heavens, escorted by Mercury and Minerva, is closer to fifteenth-century tributes to a divine art than to later depictions of the steam press as a "mighty engine of progress."

I quite agree that John Foxe "never meant what he said more than when speaking of Providence." Certainly, "an act of Providence is a profoundly different thing from a technological revolution." Doubtless, the post-Napoleonic era saw the construction of many new kinds of "revolutions": industrial, scientific, and so forth. But Condorcet lived before these later constructs. Providentialism, martyrology, and an unexpected tribute to Martin Luther may be found in his *Esquisse*. It was fortunate (providential?), he wrote, that no one foresaw the consequences of the

invention of printing; otherwise, kings and priests would have strangled at birth the enemy who was eventually to unmask and dethrone them.¹

“Do modern historians really believe that printing was a gift from an apocalyptic God?” asks Johns. The views of modern historians ought not to be equated with those of Condorcet and his colleagues, who lived before iron presses had been harnessed to steam. When Johns dwells on the incapacity of early printing methods to produce modern standardized editions, he adopts a position that no eighteenth-century observer could ever have assumed. His version of a “printing revolution” is not an eighteenth-century construct but a late twentieth-century one. It is inflected by a (postmodern?) sensibility that seems to be tone deaf to the music of time.

¹ Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, Monique Hincker and François Hincker, eds. (Paris, 1966), 177. See also p. 184 on Luther, p. 187 on martyrs (to free thought). The resemblance to Foxe is in the idea that the press served as a weapon that undercut despotic rule, of popes (in Foxe's case), of kings and priests (for Condorcet).

Review Essay
Strategies of Narrative Synthesis in American History

THOMAS BENDER

OVER THE PAST QUARTER CENTURY, a new American history has been written.¹ This rewriting of American history has often been associated with the “triumph” of social history within the discipline, but in fact the transformation is much broader than that: the domain of the historical has been vastly extended, inherited narratives displaced, new subjects and narratives introduced.

While at the monographic level, one sees similar developments in various national historiographies, national synthesis—and the idea of a national synthesis—seems to have been less troubled elsewhere than in the field of U.S. history. Admittedly, generalization is risky, especially if one reaches into historiographies with which one is barely familiar. Still, I think that a variety of outstanding national histories (or histories of a people sometimes treated as nations) have been more confident of established narrative strategies. With the exception of the historians of France that I will note, historians of other modern nations seem to have had fewer doubts about the basic framing of a narrative synthesis, and they have not felt compelled to develop new approaches, even though in many cases the other work of the authors involved has been strikingly innovative.² Yet the social, intellectual, and political developments that have complicated American historiography are likely, I suspect, to make themselves felt in other national historiographies fairly soon, a point recently made by Jacques Revel, a leading French historian.³ And that circumstance may spawn a generation of controversy about the politics and strategies of synthesis. If so, the American case may be of more general import and interest.

Beginning in the 1940s, intellectual history became the synthesizing subfield in U.S. history, replacing the political-economic narratives of Frederick Jackson

I wish to thank the editors of the *AHR*, first, for inviting me to consider the issues in this essay, second, for the helpful comments of Acting Editor Jeffrey Wasserstrom, and, third, for the quite stimulating commentary of several anonymous reviewers.

¹ See Eric Foner, ed., *The New American History* (Philadelphia, 1990); Foner, ed., *The New American History*, rev. and expanded edn. (Philadelphia, 1997).

² I have in mind Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York, 1990); Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy* (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1990); Theodore Zeldin, *France, 1848–1945*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1979); Fernand Braudel, *The Identity of France*, Siân Reynolds, trans., 2 vols. (New York, 1988–90); André Burguière and Jacques Revel, eds., *Histoire de la France*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1989–2000).

³ Jacques Revel, “Le fandeu de la mémoire,” paper presented at the conference “Internationalizing the Study of American History,” Florence, Italy, July 5, 1999. Paper in possession of author.

Turner and Charles A. Beard.⁴ But during the 1970s, the claims being made for a national mind or culture were challenged by social historians. Intellectual history was chastened and transformed by the confrontation with social history. Eschewing their former embrace of synthesis, intellectual historians pulled back to study more precisely defined themes and thinkers.⁵ Not only intellectual history but other subfields accommodated social history's provocation to rethink conventional generalizations. In addition, a professional, even "social-scientific," concern for precision and specificity of reference collaborated—sometimes with forethought, often not—with a sharpened awareness of difference and conflict that came from social movements outside the academy to undermine older composite narratives.

Neither the frame supplied by Charles and Mary Beard in *The Rise of American Civilization* (1927), with its dramatic narrative of conflict between the "people" and the "interests," nor the consensual pluralism that succeeded that interpretation in the 1950s survived.⁶ If the consensus historians underplayed conflict, the Beards' approach, for all of its sympathy for the dispossessed, was found to be inadequate as well. Their narrative revealed little feel for the diversity of Americans, and it paid scant attention to non-whites. Most important of all, while their narrative voice was sympathetic, one did not discover the quotidian life or hear the voices of those groups that have found voice in more recent historiography. Judged by newer historiographical expectations, *The Rise of American Civilization* seemed "thin," compared with the increasingly popular "thick" description that was built, in part, on the enormously influential anthropological work of Clifford Geertz.⁷

In the past quarter century, there has been a proliferation of exciting new research, much of it bringing previously overlooked or explicitly excluded groups and events into the light of history. The number and variety of American stories multiplied. Suddenly, there were histories where there had been none or where the available histories had not been attended to by professional historians: histories of African Americans in the era of slavery and beyond; of Native Americans; of workers at home in their communities, at work, and at play; of women at home and outside of the home and of gender relations more generally; of consumption as well as production; of ethnic minorities and "borderlands"; of popular culture and other "marginal" forms of cultural production; of objects and material culture; of whites and whiteness as historical subjects; of non-state international and intercultural relations; and much more.

⁴ Frederick Jackson Turner never completed a major synthesis, but one can see how he might have done that work in his posthumously published *The United States, 1830–1850* (New York, 1935); Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (1927; 2 volumes in 1, New York, 1930). In fact, the Beards participated in this shift with the publication of *The American Spirit: A Study of the Idea of Civilization in the United States* (New York, 1942).

⁵ For an early anticipation of this development—from the point of view of intellectual history—see Lawrence Veysey, "Intellectual History and the New Social History," in Paul K. Conkin and John Higham, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore, Md., 1979), 3–26. See also, in the same volume, David A. Hollinger, "Historians and the Discourse of Intellectuals," 42–63; and Thomas Bender, "The Cultures of Intellectual Life: The City and the Professions," 181–95.

⁶ For consensus history as synthesis, see especially Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans*, 3 vols. (New York, 1958–73); Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955).

⁷ On the Beards and newer social histories, see Thomas Bender, "The New History—Then and Now," *Reviews in American History* 12 (1984): 612–22. For Clifford Geertz, see *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973).

By the early 1980s, some commentators inside and outside the profession were wondering whether an American history had disappeared in the onslaught of highly particular studies, often about subgroups in the larger society of the United States. These developments were occurring at a moment when the number of American historians was expanding to an unprecedented degree. Disciplinary expansion both allowed and prompted increased specialization. And that worried some, who began to speak of hyperspecialization and fragmentation. The structure of specialization derived in large part from the impact of a social history that often fused the group-based particularity of focus with ideological commitments to class and identity-based social movements. This pattern of work discouraged the integration of particular histories into some kind of synthesis.⁸

Traditionalists, perhaps not surprisingly, were unnerved by these developments.⁹ But even some proponents of the newer history worried. Early on, Herbert G. Gutman, one of the leading figures in the movement to write a history that included all Americans and that recognized differences—class, ethnic, racial, gender—was concerned that instead of enriching and enlarging the usable history of the United States, the new scholarship was failing to do that, perhaps making it in fact less usable. The “new social history,” he wrote in the introduction to his collection of pioneering essays in the field, “suffers from a very limiting overspecialization.” Take an Irish-born Catholic female textile worker and union organizer in Fall River involved in a disorderly strike in 1875. She might be the subject of nearly a dozen sub-specializations, which would, he feared, “wash out the wholeness that is essential to understanding human behavior.”¹⁰ Later, in the wake of a national meeting of writers at which historians and history seemed to be largely ignored in discussions of the political and cultural situation in the aftermath of Richard Nixon, Gutman mused aloud in the pages of *The Nation* over whether the failure of historians to incorporate social history’s findings into a new synthesis had seriously diminished, even evacuated, history’s possible contribution to public debate.¹¹

In the mid-1980s, in what turned out to be a controversial pair of articles, I raised a related question: how might one construct the (to my mind) needed synthesis of recent historiography on the United States.¹² There was considerable negative reaction to those articles, coming from two different positions. One

⁸ For an insightful and quite worrisome examination of recent scholarly practice and its trajectory, see Winfried Fluck, “The Modernity of America and the Practice of Scholarship,” in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

⁹ See, for example, Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987). This volume includes essays published by Himmelfarb between 1975 and 1984.

¹⁰ Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York, 1976), xii–xiii. Bernard Bailyn, who did not share Gutman’s political or historiographical agenda, raised similar issues a few years later in his presidential address to the American Historical Association. Bailyn, “The Challenge of Modern Historiography,” *AHR* 87 (February 1982): 1–24.

¹¹ Herbert G. Gutman, “The Missing Synthesis: Whatever Happened to History,” *The Nation*, November 21, 1981. See also, in a similar spirit, Eric Foner, “History in Crisis,” *Commonweal* (December 18, 1981): 723–26.

¹² Thomas Bender, “Making History Whole Again,” *New York Times Book Review* (October 6, 1985): 1, 42–43; Bender, “Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History,” *Journal of American History* 73 (1986): 120–36. See also the earlier and less commented on essay, Bender, “New History.”

position worried about its critique of specialization and its call for addressing a larger public. These arguments were equated with a carelessness about scholarly rigor.¹³ The other, and more widespread position, focused on the risks of a national narrative itself. It was evidently feared that such a narrative would, by definition, re-exclude those groups and themes that had so recently been brought under the umbrella of history and would re-inscribe a “master narrative” dominated by white, elite males.¹⁴

By the end of the 1980s, however, the question of synthesis had become less controversial. The issue became more practical, more professional in some sense: how to do it and how to do it within the parameters of inclusion that had been central to the discussion from the beginning. It was on this note that Alice Kessler-Harris, the author of the chapter on social history in *The New American History* (1990 edition), addressed the question. In the last section of her essay, with the section title of “The Problem of Synthesis,” she acknowledged the problem and explored various possible ways to overcome “fragmentation” and move toward synthesis.¹⁵

A different issue emerged in the 1990s. Poststructuralist literary and cultural theory, sometimes broadly and even more vaguely characterized as postmodernism, was and is suspicious of any aspiration toward a comprehensive narrative. It is to this body of theory that we owe the commonplace use and misuse of the epithet “master narrative.”¹⁶

These theories have been rather slow to penetrate workaday historical practice among American historians. Levels and types of awareness of them vary: from shocked indignation at the whole idea, to vague awareness and thoughtless dismissal, to intellectual fascination largely in isolation from the making of one’s own histories. In his recent book, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (1995), Robert Berkhofer seeks to force more attention to these issues. Insistently, but not always consistently, he urges historians to recognize the dimensions of the postmodern crisis that surrounds them. He seems more interested in sounding the alarm about the quicksand before us than in guiding us

¹³ Eric H. Monkkenon, “The Dangers of Synthesis,” *AHR* 91 (December 1986): 1146–57.

¹⁴ See the Round Table articles, Nell Irvin Painter, “Bias and Synthesis in History,” *Journal of American History* 74 (June 1987): 109–12; Richard Wightman Fox, “Public Culture and the Problem of Synthesis,” 113–16; Roy Rosenzweig, “What Is the Matter with History?” 117–22; and for my response, Thomas Bender, “Wholes and Parts: Continuing the Conversation,” 123–30. For a more recent and more broadly argued critique, see Randolph Roth, “Is There a Democratic Alternative to Republicanism? The Rhetoric and Politics of Recent Pleas for Synthesis,” in Jeffrey Cox and Shelton Stromquist, eds., *Contesting the Master Narrative: Essays in Social History* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1998), 210–56.

¹⁵ Alice Kessler-Harris, “Social History,” in Foner, *New American History*, 177–80. The closing chapters of Peter Novick’s very influential social history of the profession worries this issue as well. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), chaps. 14–16. The most recent public discussion is David Oshinsky, “The Humpty Dumpty of Scholarship: American History Has Broken in Pieces, Can It Be Put Together Again?” *New York Times*, August 26, 2000.

¹⁶ See Allen Megill, “Fragmentation and the Future of Historiography,” *AHR* 96 (June 1991): 693–98. For a more general but very rich survey, see Dorothy Ross, “Grand Narrative in American Historical Writing: From Romance to Uncertainty,” *AHR* 100 (June 1995): 651–77.

around it or safely through. But either way, he intends to challenge the very possibility of narrative synthesis.¹⁷

While these worries, proposals, and polemics were being fashioned, the daily work of historians proceeded. Among the products of that work have been a good number of explicitly synthetic volumes. There is, of course, no clear or settled notion of what defines a work of synthesis. I have used a rather generous definition. Some of the books I am calling synthetic might alternatively be designated as monographs—archivally based but exceptionally ambitious books that tackle big questions and seek to frame a large field or to provide an interpretation for an audience well beyond specialists. Others are more obviously synthetic, relying heavily on secondary literature to establish the state of the art in a broad field for a wide audience, including, often, students and the general public. With this diversity of form, purpose, and audience in mind—as well as a concern for a reasonable distribution of fields and periods—I have, with the help of the editors of the *American Historical Review*, selected a few recent synthetic works for examination.¹⁸

The very existence of these books mutes the question of whether we need synthetic works or whether, under the constraints of present historiographical practice, synthesis is possible. In fact, the seeming proliferation of syntheses at present—and their variousness—suggests that the field of American history is at a formative (or reformatory) moment that invites synthesis: the quest for new understandings that has undermined established narratives has now, perhaps, prompted new efforts at crystallizing a very unstable body of historical writing into new syntheses.

A different question, however, provides the focus of this essay. What strategies for narrative synthesis are available to historians today? How might we think about the relation between a particular structure of narrative synthesis and the author's purpose or interpretation? How do these different strategies relate to current historiography? What particular work do they do, within the profession and beyond it? And finally I want to ask some questions about the firmness of the boundaries (mostly geographical) that define what is and is not captured in synthetic narratives of U.S. history.

These works do not, of course, cover the whole field of synthetic works. More and other books could have been chosen, but these eleven books (and several others mentioned along the way) at least represent different kinds of history, different

¹⁷ Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995). See the "Forum" on the book in the *American Quarterly*: Michael C. Coleman, "Gut Reactions of a Historian to a Missionary Tract," *American Quarterly* 50 (June 1998): 340–48; Saul Cornell, "Moving Beyond the Great Story: Post Modern Possibilities, Postmodern Problems," 349–57; Betsy Erkkila, "Critical History," 358–64; and Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "Self-Reflections on *Beyond the Great Story*: The Ambivalent Author as Ironic Interlocutor," 365–75. See especially the exceptionally insightful and critical review essay by Thomas L. Haskell, "Farewell to Fallibilism: Robert Berkhofer's *Beyond the Great Story* and the Allure of the Postmodern," *History and Theory* 37 (October 1998): 347–69.

¹⁸ None, incidentally though importantly, present themselves as synthetic narratives of the nation, although some to be discussed below certainly reach toward that in practical effect, particularly those authored by Eric Foner (*The Story of American Freedom*) and by Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher (*The American West*). In fact, I have recommended each to non-historians asking for a literate one-volume history of the United States.

periods, and different themes. Together, the eleven total nearly 6,000 pages of outstanding historical writing. If nothing else, I can conclude that synthetic narrative invites long books.

Because I cannot claim special knowledge in any of the fields being synthesized in these books, I do not propose to do the kind of analysis one would find in specialized reviews. Such criticisms that I have will be framed from the position of my interest in synthetic narrative. I say that in part to be honest about my own limitations in appraising these books but also for another, more positive reason. I want to insist that narrative synthesis is a form of knowledge, indeed, a particularly powerful form of creating, not simply summarizing, knowledge. I hope to get past or under the story enough to probe the implications of different modes of structuring a narrative synthesis. The way different narrative strategies construct that knowledge is important. While inclusion is one of the tests our generation will rightly ask of synthesis, there are other important historiographical issues that are embedded in the question of narrative synthesis.¹⁹

The more seriously we consider possible narratives of American history, the more we may be prepared to ask questions that press beyond inclusion. We may even be both bold enough and hopeful enough to worry a little about the language of inclusion, if not the principle. Is there perhaps more than a hint of dominant culture *noblesse oblige* in the language of inclusion? Might not a more sophisticated notion of the temporal and geographical boundaries of American history, including an awareness of the diasporic stories within American history, complicate and enrich the notion of inclusion?²⁰ Can the historical and historiographical terrain be opened a bit more in a way that enables a deeper, denser, and more complex historiographical exploration of justice and difference at the center of American history? Might democracy be the word, the concept, the commitment that will move us in that direction? As I examine the stack of books before me, I propose to keep these issues in mind and to return to them at the end of this essay.

JON BUTLER's *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (2000) covers the whole mainland British colonial space and history, and it addresses a wide range of themes. In fact, themes, not time or chronology, organize his story. His brief, often one-word, chapter titles reveal a very distinctive type of synthesis, one immediately accessible to the reader, whether professional or lay: Peoples, Economy, Politics, Things Material, Things Spiritual. It is a reasonable progression, and in each case he brings together a good deal of material. Although his theme is transformation, Butler also claims (following recent historiography) a more inclusive geography, making more of the middle colonies than would have been the case a generation ago.

In some ways, his manner of organizing the material topically bears a relation to

¹⁹ I do not propose to go into theories of narrative or even my own notions, but I will here indicate that my understanding has been greatly influenced by the work of Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, trans., 3 vols. (Chicago, 1984–88).

²⁰ Such thinking is not restricted to specialists in the profession exploring the theme of diaspora. The novelist Russell Banks has recently argued that the focus for a synthesis of American history ought to be the African diaspora. See "The Star-Spangled Novel," *Los Angeles Times*, July 2, 2000.

Richard Hofstadter's posthumously published *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (1971).²¹ But what might have worked for Hofstadter, who was setting the scene for a three-volume narrative history of the United States, works less well for the purposes Butler has in his book. If Hofstadter's book was intended to provide a snapshot that would serve as a starting point, Butler's title ("Becoming America") and his stated intentions announce change as his theme. He means to persuade the reader of a broad pattern of transformation that produced a distinctive and modern society in advance of 1776 and that in turn spawned the first modern revolution. Such an argument demands more complex and careful attention to process and cause than his framing of the book seems to allow. While he has surely gathered together a considerable body of material (his notes run to fifty pages), he has not produced a synthetic narrative of change over time, one that sketches a developmental sequence that integrates disparate elements in the interest of a causal interpretation. By bounding each unit of synthesis, Butler is stuck with a structural isolation of topics that undercuts narrative explanation. Given that Butler's theme is transformation, this narrative structure is crippling.

For reasons related to structure and style of argument, Butler's claims for American modernity are quite vulnerable. While there are doubtless some specific ways in which the British North American colonies became "modern" before independence, they were not uniformly modern—over space or in all aspects of life. Many historians would readily grant numerous anticipations of modernity by the middle of the eighteenth century, but few would insist, with Butler, that so much modernity had been achieved so soon, implying that only a few pre-modern anomalies remained on the eve of revolution.²² Most give a significant role to the revolution.²³

But the most serious problem is not with the phenomena he notices or does not notice, even if there is some real unevenness on this point. Rather, it is Butler's teleology of the modern, combined with his exceedingly loose, elusive, and, as is so often said today, undertheorized definition of modernity. Add to this an unnecessary but apparently irresistible tendency to claim American uniqueness and "firsts" for nearly everything he identifies as modern in America. He names a number of phenomena that he considers evidences of the modern—polyglot, slaves, cities, market economy, refined crafts and trades, religious pluralism, and "sophisticated politics." Without further historical specification and theoretical precision, one can indulge in *reductio ad absurdum*. With the exception of religious pluralism, all of these qualities probably described Athens in the age of Aristotle at least as well as the British colonies. In fact, I suspect that Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, relying on their recent book *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (2000), would argue that the

²¹ Richard Hofstadter, *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York, 1971).

²² Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 1.

²³ See, for example, Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992). Long before, Bernard Bailyn suggested certain developments that Butler would consider modern had developed in the eighteenth century, but he emphasized the unevenness and even paradoxical character of this proto-modernity. See "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas in Eighteenth-Century America," *AHR* 67 (January 1962): 339–51; and Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (New York, 1968).

Atlantic world provides a better example of modernity on those terms than does the colonial mainland.²⁴

He makes many claims for American distinctiveness. In the end, however, it is diversity, which he tends to equate with multiculturalism, that for Butler makes Americans modern. But if we look around, we cannot but wonder about his claims for a uniquely polyglot society. This assertion may be quite vulnerable from any sight line approaching a global perspective. Can he fairly claim that New York City harbored a level of diversity “never before gathered together”?²⁵ Might not this be as plausibly said of Constantinople during the period covered by Butler’s book? And did not the Ottoman Empire—of which Constantinople was the capital—far exceed the religious and ethnic diversity of the British colonies?

My point here is partly one of fact, of care in making comparative statements without comparison. More important, however, are the criteria of the modern. Few, if any, major political bodies in the past half millennium more successfully accommodated diversity than the Ottomans, yet that achievement has never brought them recognition for a precocious modernity. One needs greater definitional and descriptive specificity to make the argument he claims. Because of the breadth and generality of synthetic narratives, it is especially important to be clear about key concepts.

Similarly, he tends to claim the realization of “Americanness”—here equated with some vague notion of modernity—for events that, however interesting in themselves, hardly sustain his assertion that they designated “the American future.”²⁶ For example, writing of the French Huguenots, a group he knows well, he notes their assimilation, and he calls this “American.”²⁷ Well, of course it is, but so are the endogenous marriages that continue for various groups well into the twentieth century—sometimes because of racial difference and even legislation (as in the case of African Americans) or out of choice, as in the case of Scandinavians in the upper Midwest. Or to take a more ominous subject, it seems a bit fatalistic to say that colonial encroachment on Indian land “predicted” nineteenth-century relations with the Indians.²⁸ Oddly, such a claim, while taking the moral high ground, nonetheless erases the postcolonial history of the United States by denying contingency and thus diminishing both the capacity and moral responsibility of all later actors or potential actors. The twin and linked teleologies of “modern” and “American” produce a distorting and de-historicizing synthesis.

If there is a problem with the sort of synthesis Butler has written, what precisely is it? He makes historical claims about patterns and meanings of development on the basis of a narrative structure that effectively isolates and de-historicizes his themes. By not constructing a developmental narrative that integrates the various themes now separated in distinct chapters, the process and complexity of development is obscured. While his chapters are full of relevant and interesting details of

²⁴ Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2000).

²⁵ Butler, *Becoming America*, 9.

²⁶ Butler, *Becoming America*, 36.

²⁷ Butler, *Becoming America*, 22. One of Butler’s previous books is *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in a New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

²⁸ Butler, *Becoming America*, 68.

everyday life, they never get integrated in any individual, institution, or place. In the absence of a narrative of change to explain and interpret, he resorts for a theme to repeated assertions of “modernity.” The issue is not so much the claim for an eighteenth-century American modernity—although I am myself drawn to much more complex, nuanced, and contradictory discussions of that theme—as it is the incapacity of the particular model of synthesis he deploys to advance that theme or argument.

Philip D. Morgan’s *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (1998) is at once similar to Butler’s and quite different. Both focus tightly in each chapter on a particular topic or theme; there is little play among the different themes in both cases. While Butler’s themes propose a reorganization of material, thus giving an impression of freshness, Morgan’s quite important questions are phrased in well-established ways. While Butler’s structure works against his theme of transformation, Morgan’s similar structure better fits his goals for the book, partly because transformation plays a smaller role in his analysis than one might expect.

Slave Counterpoint addresses nearly all the issues raised by a half century of vigorous scholarship on the beginnings of slavery, the practices of racial slavery as a labor and social system, and the nature of African-American culture in early America. It is a book of enviable learning: with a seeming total command of the historiography and an impressive knowledge of a substantial archival base, Morgan proceeds to pose (or re-pose) difficult historiographical issues. Again and again, he offers compelling answers. Want to know what scholarship has disclosed about slavery and African-American culture in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake and Lowcountry? Look to Morgan’s synthesis of a generation of scholarship.

To have done that is to have done a great deal, and he has done it magnificently. Yet one gets the sense of a summary volume, a volume driven by the past, by past questions. Synthesis can either cap a phase of scholarship or initiate another. I think Morgan’s book falls into the former category, while Ira Berlin’s new book, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1998), which also relies on a generation of scholarship and addresses many of the same issues, has the potential to become a new starting point. Berlin has captured the shift to an Atlantic perspective that has increasingly characterized scholarship by early modern Europeanists, Africanists, Latin Americanists, and historians of British North America. In this sense, his work, at least the early parts that sketch out and populate the Atlantic littoral, points forward.²⁹

In a dramatic opening section, Berlin, relying more on secondary literatures than does Morgan, locates his story in very broad understandings of time (periodization) and space (the Atlantic world), the dimensions of which are shadowy, almost invisible, in Morgan’s account. He locates Africans in an Atlantic history connecting four continents and in a rich and growing historiography reaching out from Europe, Africa, Latin America, and North America.³⁰ One

²⁹ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

³⁰ Berlin’s powerful evocation of the Atlantic builds on many predecessors. At minimum, mention should be made of Philip D. Curtin’s *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969); and *The*

wishes Berlin had sustained this perspective in the later sections. But even if he narrows the story to the territory that later became the United States and loses the multiple histories implied by his portrait of the Atlantic world, the beginnings of stories, whether novels or histories, are heavy with intention and implication that can, I hope, be built upon.³¹

In fact, the four Atlantic continents remain an always changing aspect of American and African histories. Attending to, or at least recognizing, that larger and continuing extended terrain of American history would enrich the story of the making of African Americans and America, a historiography that is at present too much captured by an implicit and too simple assimilation or "Americanization" model. Nonetheless, Berlin has provided a powerful image of the creation of the Atlantic world and of the origin of modern slavery within it.

Morgan has a quite different strategy. His domain is not the Atlantic but the South, or two regions of the South, which he is anxious to reveal as differentiated. Thus his is a comparative history, comparing two regions within the South. Suggesting a certain scientific aspiration, he refers to his delimited space as a kind of laboratory, a site for an "indirect experiment."³² This approach offers him much. He is able to focus tightly on his questions and generally achieves sharply phrased answers. Yet, like any good scientific laboratory, his field of inquiry is almost hermetically sealed. A two-hundred-page part of the book titled "The Black World" begins with a fifteen-page section on "Africans." Yet it is in only one paragraph at the beginning and a few other scattered references that one reads anything about Africa. His story rarely strays east (or south or north or west) of the Maryland/Virginia and South Carolina boundaries.

His comparative method has impressive rigor. Yet one senses that not only does his approach trap him within a particular place, he is also caught within a very confining net woven from the existing historiography. As Walter Johnson pointed out in a review of the book in this journal, his questions are smaller than the stories he has unearthed.³³ Much like another important book on African-American history, Herbert G. Gutman's *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (1976), this book, for all its synthetic aspirations, cannot capture some of its best material within the tightly bounded historiographical questions and issues that frame it.³⁴

As in the case of Berlin's book, Morgan's is quite explicit about time and space. There is a well-thought-out chronology of change, and one of his major arguments is that the South, and thus the black as well as white experience, was not uniform over space. He shows real and important distinctions between the experience of

Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex (New York, 1990; 2d edn., 1998); and John K. Thornton's *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (New York, 1992; 2d edn., 1400–1800, 1998).

³¹ On the importance of beginnings, see Edward W. Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (Baltimore, Md., 1975).

³² Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), xvii.

³³ Walter Johnson, review of Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, *AHR* 105 (October 2000): 1295–97, esp. 1297.

³⁴ See Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York, 1976), which loses more than it gains by focusing so tightly on refuting the assumptions of the Moynihan Report.

slavery in the Chesapeake and in the Lowcountry. Yet by treating both the temporal and spatial aspects of the story as sites (and very limited ones) rather than as processes of historical making, he weakens the capacity of his local analyses to explain change over time and, to a lesser extent, space. His major explanatory claims appear in the introduction. They are not only brief but also separate from the rich stories he tells and the analyses he makes of historiographical questions.³⁵ The expansiveness of *Many Thousands Gone*, by contrast, evokes a strong sense of change, of process. It achieves a narrative synthesis of the movement of Africans onto the Atlantic and into the Western hemisphere. The difference between this approach and the tightly controlled analysis crafted by Morgan is striking.

Like Morgan's, Michael Schudson's book, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (1998), is organized around fairly established questions—especially one big question. Has American civic life deteriorated over the course of the past three centuries? Naturally, the question is of a different order than those driving Morgan's analysis. It has not been generated by disciplinary scholarship. It arose out of American public life. Schudson thus draws on history and other disciplines to address directly a public question, one endlessly repeated today and, as he shows, in the past.

Schudson himself, we should note, is not a historian. He was trained as a sociologist, and he teaches in a Department of Communication. While he reveals an impressive command of the relevant historiography, historians are not his primary reference group or audience.³⁶ Although I am sure specialists will find some of his formulations to be of considerable historiographical significance and likely to encourage new lines of research, his intention, again, is different: his audience is a general one, and he seeks to bring historical knowledge to bear on a civic issue.

What he is doing points toward the most important work that one kind of successful narrative synthesis can do, for the profession and for the public. By openly declaring his address to a public issue and for a public audience, Schudson participates in a very important tradition of historical writing. Some of the very best professional historians of the United States in this century have done precisely that: Frederick Jackson Turner, W. E. B. Du Bois, Charles Beard, and Richard Hofstadter all focused on issues, worries, or preoccupations of fairly general interest to write synthetic works that importantly rephrased fundamental themes in American history. This mutual enrichment of public and professional discourse is perhaps the ideal cultural work of narrative synthesis. Let us hope that historians can do this more often and more effectively. Yet as I make this point, I realize that all of the historians just named, including Schudson himself, were either trained as social scientists or did not recognize a significant boundary between history and the

³⁵ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, xv–xxiv. I should note that my concerns about boundary setting in Morgan's book do not apply nearly so much to Philip D. Morgan, "The Black Experience in the British Empire, 1680–1810," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. 2: *The Eighteenth Century*, P. J. Marshall, ed. (Oxford, 1998), 465–86.

³⁶ This command is at once impressive and sometimes puzzling. In discussing the Founding and the Constitution, he does not mention Gordon Wood's *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1969). Nor, in writing about the first decades of the nineteenth century, does he mention either of two key books by Robert H. Wiebe, *The Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion* (New York, 1984); and *Self-Rule: A Cultural History of American Democracy* (Chicago, 1995).

(other?) once more expansive social sciences. Is this a mere coincidence, or is it an issue to be addressed by the profession?

While I would not place Schudson's book in the same class as the scholarship produced by the short list of great historians, he has written a fine book. It is a book about change over time, and he establishes three eras of citizenship and participation, each clearly defined. He does not devote much attention to how each configuration changes into the next, but he effectively characterizes their differences, even in some very brief summaries, as in the following paragraph from early in the book:

Another way to characterize the past three hundred years of political change is to say that the type of authority by which society is governed shifted from personal authority (gentlemen) to interpersonal authority (parties, coalitions, and majorities), to impersonal authority (science, expertise, legal rights, and information) . . . The geographical center of politics has shifted from the countryside to the cities to the suburbs and perhaps, today, to "technoburbs," "postsuburbs," or "edge cities," or whatever we name our newer habitations. Correspondingly, the kind of knowledge a good citizen requires has changed: in an age of gentlemen, the citizen's relatively rare entrances into public discussion or controversy could be guided by his knowledge of social position; in the era of rule by majorities, the citizen's voting could be led by the enthusiasm and rhetoric of parties and their most active partisans; in the era of expertise and bureaucracies, the citizens had increasingly to learn to trust their own canvass of newspapers, interest groups, parties, and other sources of knowledge, only occasionally supported by the immediacy of human contact; and in the emerging age of rights, citizens learn to catalog what entitlements they may have and what forms of victimization they may knowingly or unknowingly have experienced.³⁷

This paragraph reveals the argument and the narrative strategy that Schudson uses to undercut the widespread notion of civic decline: rather than a story of decline, it is one of restructuring, one that recalibrates citizenship and civic practice in relation to changing values and social experiences. What some, including me, see as the erosion of our public life and the thinning of American political culture, he presents as a complex rearticulation of expectations and institutions. Whether one fully agrees with Schudson or not, the book and the point of view it ingeniously argues constitutes an important contribution of contemporary civic life. And a narrative strategy of restructuring (as opposed to the usual rise or fall scenarios) deserves a place in the historian's menu of narrative types.

"Presentist" purposes may, however, carry the danger of anachronistic readings. Schudson is vulnerable on this score, especially in his consideration of the colonial period. He too easily asks how democratic any phase of political life was. A commitment to explore the fate of democracy in our past—something I endorse—surely includes recognizing when democracy is not an available concept. He might better have asked how the legitimation and exercise of power worked. Indeed, such a deeper historicism would complement his anti-anti-Whig approach.

Similarly, while a then-and-now binary invites sometimes interesting questions and offers some illumination of past and present, it also invites problems. Again, one sees this risk in Schudson's work. False categories of judgment are explicitly or implicitly brought to bear. Speaking of the first generation to live under the

³⁷ Michael Schudson, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (New York, 1998), 8.

Constitution, he observes that little political knowledge was expected of voters, “at least little of the sort of knowledge that today’s civic moralists urge upon people.” Voters then were expected to have “local knowledge—not of laws or principles, but of men.”³⁸ The binary obscures the role of principles in the past and knowledge of men in the present. Most important of all, it diverts our attention from the principles that it was thought would aid voters in judging character.³⁹ Sometimes, by focusing so much on the party system that we worry about today, he overlooks those important issues that eluded the parties or that parties avoided. Substantive issues—the reason citizenship and civic life are important—are marginalized in his account of the different concepts and patterns of public life. The result, whether intended or not, is a form of consensus history.⁴⁰

“Progress or decline is not the real question,” Schudson concludes.⁴¹ He converts that question into one of restructuring that points to his core argument: there must be a fit between forms of citizenship and forms of everyday life, between values and institutions, between aspirations and commitments. It is that historically informed understanding that allows him in his conclusion to speculate in quite promising ways about an evolving pattern of citizenship that may yet serve our collective hopes and needs. Still, his conclusion leaves me uneasy. Like the journalistic coverage of politics today, the substance of political conflict is subordinated to discussion of the “health” of the system, of the institutions and practices.

By contrast, the tensions, conflicts, and substantive issues that made politics so important in the development of the United States and in the lives of individuals are at the center of Eric Foner’s *The Story of American Freedom* (1998). Foner’s book has an uncanny resemblance to one that at first glance might seem utterly unrelated: Richard Hofstadter’s *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*.⁴² Of course, Foner inverts the point Hofstadter sought to make. If Hofstadter famously played down conflict and (less remarked upon) paid little attention to the social making of political ideologies, Foner emphasizes conflict and the changing historical construction and reconstruction of the idea and ideology of freedom. Foner’s work is much more explicitly sensitive to social history, even if it parallels Hofstadter’s in its interest in ideology and the limits and possibilities of American political culture.

While Hofstadter was alternately comic and ironic, bitterly so at times, in *The American Political Tradition*, Foner’s *Story of American Freedom* is strikingly fair and straightforward. Yet the underlying hope is similar. As James Oakes has perceptively noted, Foner’s narrative is undergirded by an unstated but firm liberal ideal of freedom, one that at once shares in an Enlightenment universalism and

³⁸ Schudson, *Good Citizen*, 81.

³⁹ See Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

⁴⁰ See, for example, his summary judgment of the party system at Schudson, *Good Citizen*, 132. Put differently, it bears at least a formal relationship to the theories of pluralism popular in political science during the 1950s.

⁴¹ Schudson, *Good Citizen*, 313.

⁴² Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948).

accommodates current concerns for inclusion and regard for difference.⁴³ I would even argue that Hofstadter's own liberal position was closer to Foner's than one might at first suspect. Both appraised American political culture and its prospects from the position of a richer, more textured liberalism than we usually recognize in current debates.⁴⁴

In thinking about the core issue in Foner's narrative, therefore, it seems fair to consider it to be the quest for a democratic liberalism, insisting on the relevance and indispensability of the modifier inserted before liberalism. One might thus characterize Foner's as a democratic synthesis, which, as I suggested above, offers a stronger and more egalitarian standard of judgment than commonplace invocations of inclusion. It offers as well the implication of voice and empowerment.

To Foner, as he indicates in his introduction, "abstract definitions" of freedom are not the focus. His concern is "with the debates and struggles through which freedom acquires concrete meanings, and how understandings of freedom are shaped by, and in turn help to shape, social movements and political and economic events."⁴⁵ The result is a narrative that is at once focused yet always open to an examination of larger issues, structures, and events that intersect with and often drive his story. It is a dynamic story, filled with actors, with agents making freedom and using freedom. He selects key events or controversies of different eras, events that are widely contested (slavery, labor and property, the role of the state, social movements). Of course, coverage is selective; the gain is the richness deriving from a series of concentrated focal points. In each case, he examines the conflict, the parties contending, and the stakes. He does not hesitate to declare justices and injustices, to name winners and losers, and he does so from a consistently democratic perspective. Foner thus achieves inclusion without the dilution consequent with the *faux* openness characteristic of talk radio and without the postmodern hesitations that undermine moral judgment.⁴⁶

The American West: A New Interpretive History (2000) by Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher spans the whole of American history, from "the European invasion" until the present.⁴⁷ The book is written in the spirit of Frederick Jackson Turner. Instead of lamenting the ambiguity of Turner's conception of the frontier, which after Turner got reduced by rigorous historians to a place, the West, Hine and Faragher embrace its fullness. For them, the frontier is both a place and a process, and they recognize that it is not only impossible but limiting to separate

⁴³ James Oakes, "Radical Liberals, Liberal Radicals: The Dissenting Tradition in American Political Culture," *Reviews in American History* 27 (1999): 503–11.

⁴⁴ For just such a contemporary theorization of liberalism, see Ira Katznelson, *Liberalism's Crooked Circle: Letters to Adam Michnik* (Princeton, N.J., 1996). Interestingly, this work also comes from a Columbia scholar, however much it is openly acknowledged to have derived largely from his experience at the New School for Social Research. Perhaps the relevant context for this liberalism is the city of New York, with its cosmopolitan character and free-for-all quality of political contestation. For a brief statement of Hofstadter's relation to liberalism, see Thomas Bender, "Richard Hofstadter," in *American National Biography*, John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, gen. eds. (New York, 1999), 11: 1–4.

⁴⁵ Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York, 1998), xvii.

⁴⁶ In Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988), where chronological compression allows for a richer analysis, one can see more fully the method and its achievements.

⁴⁷ Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), 9.

and sharply distinguish between the two aspects of the concept. That openness allows them to tell the history of the United States as a story of successive frontiers, including a fascinating rethinking of American regionalism as urban-centered at the end of the twentieth century.⁴⁸ In fact, the chapter on the postwar era is a tour de force—imaginative, original, and quite compelling.

In Turnerian fashion, they argue that “westering defined America’s unique heritage.”⁴⁹ To a very impressive degree, they give substance to this claim, but recent historiography makes that claim, even for western history, problematic. As Hine and Faragher show, in the nineteenth century as well as today, the West (and the United States) was formed by migrations from west to east and south to north, and even in a limited way north to south, as well as east to west. The notion of westering is so strong in American and European history and culture, it is difficult to construct an alternative narrative structure, though no less important for the difficulty.⁵⁰ This worry does not, however, undercut another summary point they make: the “frontier is our common past.”⁵¹

The book is grounded in social history. Of all the books under consideration here, *The American West* is probably the most sensitive to the categories of experience and groups previously excluded from mainstream narratives of American history. Their work goes well beyond mere representation of such groups and categories; previously invisible groups, whether Native Americans, migrating women, African-American settlers, working people, or the people of the borderlands, are actors who contributed to the shaping of history. But there are limits to this achievement. While there are multiple positions and voices represented in their narrative, only rarely does their narrative bring the reader inside group life. There is not much inquiry into the interior experience and subjective meanings shared by the various groups identified and recognized.⁵²

While the story could have been situated in a wider context, one that revealed the global reach of the empires or, later, the importance of global markets, in its particular geographical focus the book consistently avoids privileging the English line of settlement. Other settler efforts are considered and sometimes compared. As is often the case with synthetic histories, however, there is a tendency to do the work of inclusion at a particular moment, and then lose the group at issue. For example, there is a good discussion of the origins of racial slavery, but the later

⁴⁸ On the potential of the urban region model for historical analysis, see Jane Jacobs, *Cities and the Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life* (New York, 1984). For an extremely stimulating extension of Turner’s frontier to transnational dimensions, see Paul Sabin, “Home and Abroad: The Two ‘Westes’ of Twentieth-Century United States History,” *Pacific Historical Review* 66, no. 3 (1997): 305–36.

⁴⁹ Hine and Faragher, *American West*, 531.

⁵⁰ Loren Baritz, “The Idea of the West,” *AHR* 66 (April 1961): 618–40. For three forays into alternative narrative strategies on this point, see Thomas Bender, “The Geography of Historical Memory and the Making of Public Culture,” in Anna Maria Martellone, ed., *Towards a New American Nation? Redefinitions and Reconstruction* (Staffordshire, 1995), 174–87; Ian Tyrrell, “Beyond the View from Euro-America: Environment, Settler Societies, and Internationalization of American History,” in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*; Dirk Hoerder, “From the Euro- and Afro-Atlantic to the Pacific Migration System in North American History,” in Bender.

⁵¹ Hine and Faragher, *American West*, 560.

⁵² In fact, they concentrate this kind of analysis in one chapter, a fascinating one in “A Search for Community,” but it is limited in its cases, and it segregates such analysis from the greater part of the narrative. Hine and Faragher, *American West*, chap. 12.

extension of the plantation system and internal slave market that was a part of the frontier movement is not adequately recognized.

At times, the transnational themes they develop are extremely illuminating. They refer to what would later be characterized by theorists of the global cities as a “dual economy” in describing the role of foreign migrants, especially Chinese, in the nineteenth-century California agricultural economy.⁵³ Likewise the interplay of national and international in their discussion of the Zimmerman telegram inviting Mexico to ally with Germany in World War I and in their discussion of San Francisco’s “commercial hinterland.”⁵⁴ But, as in the case of Butler’s book, there is a bit of parochialism in making claims of distinction. Perhaps such assertions can be demonstrated, but more rigorous definitions and empirical research than we have here are required to establish, for example, that the United States is today the world’s most multicultural society.⁵⁵ How would it compare with Indonesia, the world’s fourth most populous nation, whose citizens speak more than 100 languages and live on almost numberless islands?

The social-history approach, whatever its success in representing difference, has in this instance under-represented national political institutions and policies. The development of the West, as Richard White and other historians of the West have pointed out, was profoundly indebted to what western Republicans now call “big government,” for water, transportation, Indian removal, and, more recently, direct investment, as in defense contracts and installations and aerospace industries.⁵⁶ The political economy and the role of markets, as has already been suggested, do not get the attention they deserve. We often overlook how much industry was in the West, and how much western industries—from milling and meatpacking to mining—were integral to the industrial system of the United States. And we forget how much the astonishing productivity of western agriculture enabled the formation of a large urban industrial labor supply. More of these dimensions of western history might have been included if only in the interest in enabling the story better to tell the national experience.

If Hine and Faragher encompass both the full geographical and temporal dimensions of western history, Linda Gordon’s microhistory builds out from a very delimited western space, the Sonoran highlands of Arizona, to develop a highly innovative narrative synthesis that locates itself at the various and causally interrelated scales of town, region, nation, and the transnational. Her work reminds us that there is a difference between a mere local study and a microhistory. The local histories of villages, towns, and cities, so common in the 1970s, tended to use global concepts but within artificially bounded fields of inquiry. One of the most famous of them all, Kenneth Lockridge’s study of Dedham, Massachusetts, offered an isolated inwardness as a principal finding, although it was a finding that derived

⁵³ Hine and Faragher, *American West*, 358–60.

⁵⁴ Hine and Faragher, *American West*, 395–97, 414. This story could be greatly expanded. San Francisco was closer to Asia than to Europe, a simple geographical point that usually eludes us. For an outstanding study of this relationship, see Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860–1930* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

⁵⁵ Hine and Faragher, *American West*, 514.

⁵⁶ Richard White, *“It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own”: A History of the American West* (Norman, Okla., 1991).

mainly from a methodology not only local but firmly bounded.⁵⁷ By contrast, Gordon's *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* exemplifies a microhistory that enables the historian to synthesize the threads of local life, many of which are translocal in origin and implication.⁵⁸ Unlike Hine and Faragher, she gets inside the subjective experience of local life, even the experience of very ordinary people, without getting trapped inside that world and without implying that the larger world of the region, the nation, and even transnational economic and religious institutions were beyond the ken of her study of a seemingly local conflict.

Mostly, her account is the story of the arrival and fate of Catholic orphans from New York who were to be placed in Catholic homes. The homes were Mexican as well as Catholic, and that was the problem and the focus of conflict. The conflict played out along class, ethnic, religious, and gender lines, and it eventually reached the Supreme Court. It is a compelling and very human narrative, but one that also addresses a whole range of analytical and interpretive issues of broader interest to historians. Bringing the issues of gender, class, and race into relation with each other allows for an appraisal of their relative importance in this particular historical explanation. I think that her story reveals class to be more important than her conclusion argues, but the real point to be made is that only a narrative synthesis that brings diverse threads together will enable the historian and the reader to make this kind of judgment.

These complex ends are achieved in part by her adoption of an imaginative literary strategy. Gordon's book is constructed of two types of chapters. One is quite often a broad frame for local events. In these chapters, her perspective as narrator is exterior to the action. The issues addressed are frequently structural and, as often as not, extend beyond the community. Here, one gets an analytical explanation of the relation of local experience to larger national and international cultural, political, and economic developments. Between these chapters, she has crafted others that get inside the culture of the community, providing wonderfully rich, thick descriptions of daily life and the development of the conflict. With oral histories as well as fragmentary documentary evidence, she brings the reader very close to the experience and voices of the community. The play between these accounts and the more conventional chapters produces an unusual but powerful synthesis.

Whether a microhistory qualifies as a synthesis, even by my generous definition, may be debated. But the singular relevance of this book for the discussion of synthesis concerns not scale but its literary ambition, the literary experiment that gives structure to the book. Those who would write other syntheses—at various scales—will, I hope, be encouraged, even inspired, to experiment with novel narrative strategies in the interest of more powerful representations of the past.

Quintard Taylor presents a third version of western history, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528–1990* (1998). He offers a broad synthetic account that characterizes the experiences of African Americans over a very long period of time. While the book does not ignore the

⁵⁷ Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years; Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636–1736* (New York, 1970).

⁵⁸ Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

relations among different groups in the West, particularly and inevitably between blacks and whites, but also between blacks and Native Americans, the contribution of the book is otherwise.⁵⁹ He is mapping and making visible *as a whole* a history that has been largely unknown or studied in very specific instances and places. Drawing on a substantial body of scholarship, most of it published in the past quarter century, he aims to “reconstruct the history of African American women and men” in the West over five centuries, although mostly his focus is the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Taylor’s central themes are the quest for community by blacks and the relative degrees of freedom and opportunity they find in different times and places. The conjuncture of the map of African-American presence and the conventional history of the West that his story brings out compels rethinking of both African-American and western history. He makes the point, for example, that the issue of Texas independence in 1836 was not simply, as myth, even the more recent multicultural version, would have it: Anglos and Tejanos in Texas confronting a despotic government in Mexico. It was also an Anglo effort to preserve slavery.⁶⁰ More broadly, the map literally reveals that African Americans in the West were overwhelmingly city and town dwellers, and it is that fact that unifies their experience.

The kind of synthetic narrative that he has constructed provides an invaluable service at a particular moment, crystallizing a generation of scholarship, making generalization possible. His work not only informs the public of the dimensions of previously unrecognized histories, it also provides a base for the next generation of scholarship. In a similar way, another recent synthesis, one that focuses on a more narrowly defined but also more developed area of scholarship, reveals the harvest of recent scholarship on work and workers. *American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor* (1998) by Jacqueline Jones at once brings this rich scholarship to a wider audience and proffers a fresh way of framing the field.⁶¹

If *The American West*, *In Search of the Racial Frontier*, and *American Work* cover very long chronological spans, books by David M. Kennedy and Fred Anderson address short periods. Their focus is also quite different, since both concentrate on political and military history. Kennedy’s *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (1999) addresses what might well be called “high politics,” while Anderson’s *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (2000) brings social history and high politics into fruitful play, finding in that interaction the terms of his central argument about the nature of power in the British Empire.

At the outset, both books locate their stories in a broad international context. Kennedy’s book begins at the close of World War I, and the first character introduced is Lance Corporal Adolf Hitler, who was in a military hospital recovering from a poison gas attack when he heard the news of Germany’s surrender. The international context thus suggested is obviously central to the half

⁵⁹ He explicitly recognizes the issue of intergroup relations, but he equally explicitly indicates that such is not his aim here. See Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528–1990* (New York, 1998), 18–19.

⁶⁰ Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier*, 39.

⁶¹ Jacqueline Jones, *American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor* (New York, 1998).

of the book devoted to World War II, but it is not nearly so much developed as it might be. The geography of Washington, D.C., even that of the White House, and the biographies of three men—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Hitler—are more important to Kennedy's story than the world beyond the borders of the United States or, for that matter, than the American people of his subtitle.

One of Kennedy's aims is evidently to urge upon Americans a greater attention to and sense of responsibility in the larger world, yet with the exception of the excellent discussion of the differing explanations of the economic crisis offered by Herbert Hoover and Roosevelt, there is surprisingly little incorporation of international elements into the dynamic of the story. For all the importance of the larger world, for Kennedy, as for many Americans, whether professional historians or not, the international is a sort of "other," something "over there," if I may reverse the title of one of Kennedy's earlier books.⁶²

Kennedy also pays little attention to social history, not even to social histories that have sought to better explain the politics of the interwar years.⁶³ Nor does the book address intellectual history, the history of science and technology (except briefly in connection with war production), the states, education, urban history, and much more. In fact, the book would have been more accurately described by the title of William E. Leuchtenburg's classic, *F.D.R. and the New Deal, 1932–1940*, which is here superseded and extended into the war years.⁶⁴ So titled, adding the war to the New Deal, one could have no objection to this extraordinarily well-written, deeply researched, and compellingly argued book. But is it a history of "the American people"?

Freedom from Fear is a masterful narrative on the terms it has assumed for itself. Yet having said that, historiographical questions remain. Kennedy apparently assumes that three voices are the important ones; not many other voices are heard, even though each of a small clutch of additional figures is presented very effectively as a full human being: Lorena Hickok, Eleanor Roosevelt, Harry Hopkins, Raymond Moley, Herbert Hoover, John L. Lewis, and A. Philip Randolph, among a few others. History for Kennedy, unlike for the other authors of these syntheses, is made by select leaders, not by ordinary people. What is remarkable, therefore, is the illusion of synthesis that is achieved. The book was published in a series that promises narrative syntheses of the defining periods of American national history. Most so far published accept traditional definitions of periods, and they are framed as political history, but none is so severely restricted as this one, which won the Pulitzer Prize in part because it was recognized as a work of grand synthesis. Dramatic changes in the historiography of the American field make it seem anachronistic. Yet its success makes the point that political history in the grand

⁶² David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York, 1980). The point Kennedy makes about Americans could be turned against his own book, which assumes the same divide he finds among Americans generally. He complains in the text that Americans held tight to "the dangerous illusion that they could choose whether and when [I would add how] to participate in the world." David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (New York, 1999), 386.

⁶³ The only exception I spotted in the footnotes is Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (New York, 1990).

⁶⁴ William E. Leuchtenburg, *F.D.R. and the New Deal: 1932–1940* (New York, 1963).

style, focusing on a few elite figures, can still claim, at least for the general public, to be a narrative history of a people.

Fred Anderson's *Crucible of War* again engages us with the question of elites and ordinary people, and it provides a promising approach. While Kennedy seems quite confident of the importance of a few leaders, Anderson seems to be ambivalent, and that ambivalence enriches his history. Although I think the principal contribution of *Crucible of War* to our understanding of the British Empire is grounded in the social history of the political and military experience of ordinary Americans, the dramatic focus, as with Francis Parkman's great nineteenth-century narrative, is on two great leaders of the French and Indian War, the marquis de Montcalm and James Wolfe.⁶⁵ Yet, as Alan Taylor has insightfully insisted, Anderson has rewritten the story of their confrontation in a way that diminishes these actors, especially Wolfe.⁶⁶ To be sure, Anderson's book goes beyond Parkman in its respect for Native Americans, their agency, and their role in the empire (and the role of the empire and war for them). He also modifies Parkman on a point that is central to the book's contribution to imperial history: unlike Parkman, Anderson not only notices but makes much of the division between English colonials and English metropolitans. These differences in expectation and experience make the war in his view a "theatre of intercultural interaction."⁶⁷

Like Butler, Anderson seeks to diminish the role of 1776 in understanding the development of what became the United States. Historians, he argues, will better understand the creation of the United States by closely examining the Seven Years' War and, more generally, by challenging the usual tendency to "take as our point of reference the thirteen rebelling colonies, not the empire as a whole."⁶⁸ Yet, even as he argues the importance of getting behind the Revolution of 1776 so that one can discover the eighteenth century as it was experienced, the revolution remains a touchstone for him. More than anything else, he wants the reader to recognize that the shots fired in the Seven Years' War were the ones with implications around the world. But he keeps de-historicizing his story to use it to diminish the shot of lesser implication (in his view) heard 'round the world in 1775.

When one begins the book, there is a sense of excitement. Here is a history of the United States ready to take the globe as its context. Before the narrative even begins, the reader is presented with a portfolio of maps. Only two of eight describe the British colonies; no more than four of them consider North America at all. The portfolio begins with a world map, revealing the global distribution of the battles that marked the Seven Years' War. There are also maps of the Indian subcontinent, Central Europe, and the Caribbean. The introduction promises a book that will make the world, or at least the full extent of the British Empire, its context and subject. We are told that "if viewed from Montreal or Vincennes, St. Augustine, Havana, Paris or Madrid—or, for that matter Calcutta or Berlin—the Seven Years' War was far more significant than the War of American Independence."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 6th edn., 2 vols. (Boston, 1885).

⁶⁶ See Alan Taylor, "The Forgotten War," *New Republic* (August 14, 2000): 40–45.

⁶⁷ Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York, 2000), xvi.

⁶⁸ Anderson, *Crucible of War*, xv.

⁶⁹ Anderson, *Crucible of War*, xvi.

Yet once the narrative is begun, it immediately narrows. We get very little of Asia (although Manila makes a brief but important comparative appearance), the Caribbean, Africa, and continental Europe. Of course, other European powers are part of the narrative, but they only have walk-on roles. We learn little of them at home or about the ways leaders or ordinary citizens interpret events, while we are, by contrast, led through elaborate accounts of high British politics. The preface, presumably written last, sketches an extraordinary agenda for what would be a stunning book. Unfortunately, Anderson did not write the book he there described.

Still, judged in terms of what it did rather than what it proposed to do, it is an outstanding work of craft. It will no doubt be our generation's account of the Seven Years' War. As military history, it is superb, and it contributes importantly—but not so grandly as some of the opening rhetoric promises—to the non-controversial but still unclear issue of the causal relations that connect the Seven Years' War to the coming of the revolution.

Anderson in fact offers a rich Anglo-centric narrative that explores and explains the different meaning of the war both as strategic event and as experience for the British of the metropole and in the colonies. It is written with verve and confidence—and a seemingly complete command of the materials, primary and secondary. One of its themes is the misperception of events by political elites; with the exception of William Pitt, surely Anderson's hero in this story, they fail to understand the different meaning of the war and empire for ordinary soldiers and colonial subjects. He thus makes cultural issues the heart of the book. Military and political elites play a dramatic role in the narrative, but causation for Anderson—and here he points to important newer developments in military and diplomatic history—is to be found in the culture of everyday life.⁷⁰ In making this point, he not only offers an important interpretation of the war (building in part on his previous book on Massachusetts soldiers), he also reveals the empire to be less solid, more a matter of continuous negotiation, than historians often consider such entities, whether empires or nations or states.⁷¹

MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN ANDERSON, Ira Berlin, referring to the earliest history of Afro-European North America, and Daniel T. Rodgers, addressing the early twentieth century, incorporate the Atlantic, or at least the North Atlantic, into their narratives of American history. Berlin and Rodgers write very different kinds of history and focus on different periods. Berlin's is a social history, while Rodgers has written an intellectual history, or, perhaps, a history of political culture. Yet both Berlin and Rodgers recognize the complex webs that route movements—of people, of ideas, of money, of things—in the Atlantic world. The transnational terrains that Berlin and Rodgers evoke establish larger and truer frames for national histories than do notions of bounded and self-contained regions or nations.

The first section of Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone*, a portrait of the Atlantic littoral, describes a world framed by cities and the sea, little divided by national

⁷⁰ Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 453–54.

⁷¹ See Fred Anderson, *A Peoples' Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984).

boundaries, which did not yet organize any of the four Atlantic continents. Berlin's opening tableau describes the emergence of the Atlantic world as an ever-expanding historical terrain, where the African presence is pervasive on the sea and in the cities, including Lisbon, where they made up 10 percent of the population in the sixteenth century. He evokes a world defined by a network of cosmopolitan cities populated by creolized peoples. African people were not only omnipresent, they were often crucial cultural and economic brokers, helping to knit this new world together. Berlin lets go of this powerful frame and image in his later chapters, where he narrows the focus to regional difference within the bounds of British North America. Still, the book's protean beginning remains in the reader's mind, inviting others to realize its narrative logic and moral meaning.⁷²

In *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (1998), Daniel T. Rodgers also achieves a richer historicism by expanding the space of analysis. One small indication is in the subtitle. He refers to "social politics," not the more usual "welfare state." His approach, examining relations in space as well as over time as fields of contingency, makes the welfare state a problematic common term. When he uses the more general and more mobile term "social politics," he effectively historicizes the concept, lineage, and practice of the welfare state. The development of a social politics has other possible paths and outcomes besides evolution into the national welfare state.⁷³ The national welfare state thus becomes a historically and place-specific invention rather than a universal or, worse, the teleological endpoint of American liberal narratives—an endpoint surely upended by the politics of the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Following the pioneering work of James T. Kloppenberg, who also assumed a Euro-American context for progressivism and social democracy, Rodgers approaches this age of reform as at once a transnational and national issue.⁷⁴ A variety of reforms—from urban planning to social insurance to regulation of capitalism—are examined as products both of general, transnational ideas and of particular, national political cultures. The complex narratives thus developed by Rodgers and Kloppenberg—ones that recognize, especially in the case of Rodgers, the historicity of the balance between national and transnational—are a major advance in the narrative synthesis of a national history.

Both Rodgers and Kloppenberg impress on the reader that ideas could cross the Atlantic in either direction. This is salutary; American intellectual history is too often thought by Europeans and Americans as well to be either insignificant or derivative, not quite up to equal participation in an international world of ideas. This common point is handled differently in each book. While Kloppenberg notes

⁷² One hopes this extension of the historiographical terrain will continue and that connections as well as comparisons will be made between the North Atlantic and the South Atlantic and between the Atlantic slave trade and the slave trade that turned to the east, to the Muslim empires of the Mediterranean and today's Middle East. Big as it is, the Atlantic does not capture the logic and dimensions of slavery in this era.

⁷³ See, for example, the argument (somewhat dependent on Rodgers's work) in Thomas Bender, "Cities, Intellectuals, and Citizenship in the United States: The 1890s and 1990s," *Citizenship Studies* 3 (1999): 203–20.

⁷⁴ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York, 1986).

direct interaction, he seems more interested in demonstrating a homological relation or a kind of convergence. Rodgers, by contrast, focuses on the specific transit of ideas and emphasizes the way intellectuals and reformers on either side of the Atlantic drew selectively on these ideas, depending on personal taste and local circumstance. The result is a fundamental and valuable reorientation of the way we might understand intellectual history.

The conceptual opening they have created invites a yet more radical understanding of the territory and movement of ideas. Let me go back to the title of Rodgers's book. I think that "Atlantic Crossings" projects too narrow an understanding of the implications of the book. It emphasizes the movement of people and ideas back and forth across the Atlantic. To that extent, it recalls a much older Anglo-American historiography of "trans-Atlantic influences."⁷⁵ Rodgers goes well beyond this historiography in showing that, in important respects, Europe was partly Americanized and the United States was partly Europeanized by the phenomena he describes. But his really important accomplishment is to get away from the "influence" model, to displace the linear A to B notion of intellectual history. But he could have gone farther yet. There is more to the circulation of ideas than this framing recognizes. It is more than an Atlantic crossing, more than a link between Western Europe and the United States. The whole Atlantic, South Atlantic as well as North Atlantic, and, indeed, increasingly, parts of the Pacific world better describe the extent of the intellectual network his book evokes.

In regard to urban development and reform, an important theme in Rodgers's book, it is clear that there is a global conversation at work. Rather than the linearity of steamship crossings (the dustjacket illustration) between the port cities of Western Europe and New York, I imagine a Great Bazaar of urban ideas, technology, and aesthetics hovering over the Atlantic, with many traders and buyers. This exchange is not, of course, symmetrical, and that itself is an issue, but participation was nearly global in 1900. Progressive ideas, especially those dealing with urban reform and technologies, traveled through many circuits and with different voltage, but nearly the whole world was connected, not only Western Europe and the United States. Simply look at the cities of Eastern Europe, Latin America, parts of Africa, Central and East Asia. Surely, they were part of an international conception of urbanism—and of urban commercial culture. The remnants of the era make it clear that New York and Chicago, no less than Lyons, Cairo, Buenos Aires, or Shanghai, were local instances of a global process of city-making.

THESE LAST COMMENTS SUGGEST what I take to be the next challenge of narrative synthesis. But before I conclude, let me briefly review what has been accomplished by the cohort of synthetic histories considered here. These books reveal, even verify, the capacity of narrative synthesis to achieve inclusion and to respect issues of identity. Moreover, it seems possible in synthetic narratives to combine structure

⁷⁵ See Frank Thistlethwaite, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1959).

and agency and to consider causal explanation without sacrificing the explication of subjective meaning—and vice versa. The volumes here examined reveal many narrative strategies and quite different relations to a wider reading public. There is no single model, and no one volume (yet) does all the things we might fairly expect in a realized synthesis.

In addition, these books, both in what they do and do not do, suggest to me the value of embracing a narrative core that is a more explicit and deeper exploration of democracy and difference, freedom and empowerment, contest and justice. Such a focus promises a sharper analytical history, one more historical and less susceptible to teleology, whether of modernity or anything else.

It seems plausible to propose that a wider canvas, a supranational context, may in fact enhance the examination of these issues. The work of Hine and Faragher, Berlin, Gordon, and Rodgers in particular enables one to imagine an even more radical synthesis of national history, one that operates on multiple geographical scales, from narratives smaller than the nation to supra-national ones—thus identifying the nation as a product of history as well as an object of historical inquiry. Such a framing of national history will increase awareness of the complexity of the multiple axes of historical interaction, causation, and identity formation.

While I mean these concluding comments to suggest an ambitious new agenda for the discipline, we must not overlook an already existing and compelling example. Decades ago, David Brion Davis embarked on a multivolume history that considered all these issues. He brought them together in his majestic synthesis that explores slavery and freedom in the Atlantic world, a history of nearly global reach that is also—and I emphasize this fact—a history of the United States.⁷⁶ My point, then, is that such histories can be written, have been written, and I trust that more will yet be written.

The present moment seems especially propitious for such histories. The relation of the nation to both subnational and transnational solidarities is very much in question. It is a public concern as well as an object of interdisciplinary scholarly inquiry. Historians surely have an open invitation to rethink the boundaries of national histories.⁷⁷ Colonial historians have been moving in this direction for some time, redefining their field as the Atlantic world long before the globalization talk. Likewise, Rodgers and Ian Tyrrell, both of whom work on the modern period, moved in this direction fairly early and for a different reason: their concern about the claims of American exceptionalism.⁷⁸

With these various concerns at work, we may fairly expect a movement of American historians and other historians as well toward a wider sense of their fields. National histories will not be so firmly bounded, and the assumption of their national autarky will be softened by the recognition that national histories are

⁷⁶ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966); *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, 1975), with the final installment yet to come.

⁷⁷ See Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*; and Thomas Bender, *The La Pietra Report* (Bloomington, Ind., 2000), also available on the World Wide Web at www.oah.org/activities/lapietra/index.html.

⁷⁸ Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *AHR* 96 (October 1991): 1031–55; Daniel T. Rodgers, "Exceptionalism," in Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 21–40.

embedded in yet larger histories. And all of this will demand yet more ambitious strategies of narrative synthesis.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

IGOR M. DIAKONOFF. *The Paths of History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 355. Cloth \$55.95, paper \$19.95.

Igor M. Diakonoff's book, first published in Russian in 1994, is an attempt to provide an account of the entire history of humanity, from the Palaeolithic period to Boris Yeltsin's war in Chechnia, and to identify the "laws" of development underlying it. Geoffrey Hosking provides an introductory account of Diakonoff's fascinating life and outlines his scholarly achievements, culminating in his work as editor of the three-volume *History of the Ancient World* (Russian edition, 1989). Diakonoff's account of human history distinguishes eight different stages of social development: Primitive society (e.g. Australian Aboriginal society), Primitive Communal society (with chiefdoms and priests, e.g. Zimbabwe from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries A.D.), Early Antiquity (early class societies such as Sumer or the Incas), Imperial Antiquity (e.g. Assyria, Rome, China from the fourth to the first century B.C.), the Middle Ages (e.g. Europe from the third or fourth century A.D., China from the first century A.D., and Japan from the eighth century A.D.), Stable Post-Medieval Absolutism (Western Europe from the sixteenth century, Ming China), and Capitalism (which appeared in Western Europe, North America, and Japan in the nineteenth century). Communism and Nazism failed to lead society out of the seventh phase of development; rather, from the 1930s, capitalism developed into a new form of industrial society, one characterized by a welfare state, this being Diakonoff's eighth phase of human social development. For Diakonoff, the dynamic underlying human history is to be found in the development of technology (particularly military technology) and in changes in value orientation, which together bring about social change. Indeed, the role of these factors in the transition from one phase of society to another can be seen as an instance of the "unity of the laws of the historical process" (pp. 8–9). Technological change and social values are in turn linked to the multiple social-psychological impulses and needs that characterize humanity. These include the need to be defended, sheltered, and loved, the urge to "eliminate psychological discomfort

('injustice')," and the impulses to sexual satisfaction, glory, relaxation, leadership, and so on (pp. 15–16).

One problem with this ambitious project is that Diakonoff's actual historical analysis, with its emphasis on the interaction of a range of economic, technological, social, political and ideological factors in creating historical change, is rather richer than his own explicit account of his theory suggests. It thus often becomes rather difficult to square Diakonoff's general theoretical claims and structural characterizations of each of his eight phases of social development with the narrative detail and explanatory pluralism involved in his account of specific historical events. At times, history seems to be simply one damn thing after another. This may well be the case, but the implication sits uneasily alongside Diakonoff's explicit claims to have identified an overarching unity within the historical process. A further problem is that although Diakonoff identifies a rich variety of human impulses and needs at work in history, their explanatory payoff seems rather limited. For example, when he asks why Christianity became the dominant religion in the late Roman Empire, his answer is virtually tautological: it emerged triumphant because no other religion "could compete with Christianity in the degree to which it corresponded to the psychological needs felt by the majority of the population" (p. 50).

Finally, although few readers will ever be able to match Diakonoff's range of reference, his account of specific historical events and trends may raise a few eyebrows. For instance, we are told that Magna Carta was extorted from King John by "the gentry in union with the city-dwellers" (p. 87), that the English "House of Commons was finally established under Elizabeth I," that enclosing landlords tended to oppose Charles I, and that English gentry in the seventeenth century were against the existence of "monastic estates" (p. 169). These inaccurate claims about well-known historical episodes tend to undermine one's faith in the author's account of other times and places with which one is less familiar, a problem exacerbated by the absence of supporting footnotes to indicate the source of such claims. In the end, despite its ambitious aims and encyclopedic sweep, readers looking for grand historical sociology remain likely to turn to the classic

works of Perry Anderson, Michael Mann, or Ernest Gellner rather than to this book.

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WERNER BERG. *Die Teilung der Leitung: Ursprünge industriellen Managements in den landwirtschaftlichen Gutsbetrieben Europas*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 285. DM 46.00.

Depending on temperament and training, historians often look at past developments from contrasting perspectives that focus either on discrete markers in the form of specific chronological ages or on a continuous process of change that reaches back and forth between well-known epochs. Textbook writers, for example, frequently create the impression that the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century, culminating in Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687), was the product of a few solitary geniuses—Nicolaus Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, René Descartes, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Newton—whose discoveries were closely linked in time and space and owed little to earlier and essentially reactionary thinkers. This version forgets that medieval scientists such as Roger Bacon, Robert Grosseteste, William of Ockham, and countless scholars at Chartres, Salerno, Padua, Toledo, and Oxford, not to speak of Arab or ancient scientists, paved the way to seventeenth-century science. The same is true of economic developments. What historians call the Industrial Revolution is usually dated to the mid-eighteenth century, with Britain taking the lead and other countries more or less straggling behind; but such conventional accounts neglect to inform us that economic developments are also part of a process that reaches back in time and cannot be limited to rigid chronological, geographic, or national boundaries.

It is to Werner Berg's credit that he is sensitive to historical continuity while at the same time recognizing the importance of revolutionary changes associated with modern industry. Following in the footsteps of Sidney Pollard, to whose memory the book is dedicated, Berg wants to shift the traditional historical paradigm that the Industrial Revolution was an invention of the eighteenth century by arguing that preindustrial institutions, especially in agriculture, significantly influenced the development of modern industrial organizations. His primary focus is on one elemental unit of economic life: the landed estate and its ownership, resources, management, and division and specialization of labor. Such landed estates, Berg reminds us, constituted not only centers of economic life for most people but also played a significant role in politics and social life. A simple demographic fact underscores the importance of this economic unit in the lives of people only 150 years ago: the ratio of city to country dwellers at that time was 5:170. Contrary to traditional accounts, landed estates were not generally managed by reactionary conservatives who wanted to

preserve the status quo but by shrewd and talented owners or renters who often treated their estates with the sort of business acumen we have associated exclusively with modern capitalism.

Berg sketches interesting pictures of landed estates, some of them in monastic form, that take us back to the Middle Ages, long before the Industrial Revolution took place. He offers tantalizing snapshots, based on original documents, that show how these estates were managed, how and why they became increasingly more complex in their organization, and how traditional notions of economic self-sufficiency gave way to ideas of economic growth, profit, competition, capital accumulation, and financial investment. It was from landed estates that new markets were opened up, goods exchanged, and investments made. Landowners were pioneers in the development of the mining industry, and they also furnished managerial models for future industrial organizations. In other words, landowners may still have operated in a preindustrial age, but they were also agents of modernization exercising managerial responsibilities. They recognized the need for dividing and delegating managerial authority, for literacy, and for specialized knowledge. They looked at their estates more and more in business terms, realizing that manpower, soil, and resources were not fixed and unchanging but flexible and dynamic; and out of this recognition emerged an entrepreneurial spirit that was consonant with the rise of capitalism elsewhere in Europe.

In the final analysis, of course, modernization meant the end of large landed estates and the way of life associated with them. The axis of politics, just like the axis of economics, was shifting away from landed power in the hands of the few to moneyed power in the hands of the rising commercial classes. State institutions began to impinge on the management of landed estates just as they impinged on other institutions, especially on the continent. Such state intrusions often blocked and delayed entrepreneurial activity, except in Britain, where landowners not only owned the land but also all the mineral resources the land contained. Berg's sections that compare and contrast the relationship between politics and economics in Britain with that on the continent are some of the best in the book.

Berg's study is based on meticulous research and careful attention to detail, the sort of work we have come to appreciate from German scholars; but the book is unlikely, even in Germany, to appeal to a general audience, as Berg intended that it would. Although the author synthesizes a lot of complicated material into slightly over two hundred pages, the tone is too formal and analytical, the technical jargon too intrusive, to attract a wider readership. Despite offering an array of interesting original sources, the author is often too timid to soar above his sources and offer the reader a textually richer profile of what it was like to live and work on a landed estate, and how that way of life, while shaping modernization, was also undermined by it. For a more scholarly and specialized

readership, however, the book has much to commend it, because it is one of several important works that try to alter traditional and often simplistic accounts of the processes that shaped modern industrialization.

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ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE and ELISABETH LASCH-QUINN, editors. *Reconstructing History: The Emergence of a New Historical Society*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. xxii, 377. \$21.99.

Because it is impossible to offer any thoughtful evaluation of a great many separate essays on a variety of topics, volumes of this kind are ordinarily relegated to the "Collected Essays" section, where their tables of contents tell readers of the *AHR* something of their scope. (In fact, collections like this one, most of whose contributions have previously been published elsewhere, are rarely noted.) But this is not an ordinary volume, and it is most usefully considered as a primary document. Although the two dozen essays take up a variety of topics, overall the book constitutes the Declaration of Independence of the new Historical Society from what it regards as a corrupt and tyrannical historical establishment. Much of this declaration, like its eighteenth-century predecessor, is devoted to detailing the "long train of abuses and usurpations," evincing "a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism," which have led the men and women of the new society to "dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another."

Eugene Genovese, the founding president of the Historical Society, recently told an audience of scholars that the American Historical Association (AHA) is "in the hands of people who . . . are committed to the myth of America as a uniquely evil nation . . . [T]hey recruit the like-minded while they purge dissenters or . . . make sure dissenters never get jobs in the first place." It is an error, he said, to think that these are "decent people who are just not thinking straight. Decent people do not do what they do." He informs readers that the "presiding cliques" of the profession have created "an atmosphere that uncomfortably resembles the McCarthyism of the 1950s"; they have made ideological conformity the primary criterion for holding office" in "establishment organizations." Editors Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, in their introduction to the book under review, report wide agreement in the historical profession that students should not be asked to "learn anything about those of whom they did not approve." Traditional fields of history, they say, "are now widely derided as the preserves of elite white men who trod upon the sensibilities and aspirations of those less privileged than they." The American historical profession, as presented in this volume, is one in which tolerance, mutual respect, and cooperation have given way to the

tyranny of "politically correct" ideologues who shamelessly bend the past to suit their politics.

It is easy to deride and tempting to dismiss this overwrought version of the current scene. But it is more useful to glance at some of the far-reaching changes in the American historical profession over the past twenty-five years to which the book is an exaggerated response. Those now in their sixties and seventies came of age at a time when the approved posture for academics was one of ironic detachment. Not surprisingly, many of them were discomfited when this stance gave way to an ethos of passionate commitment. Those old enough to have entered the profession when history was overwhelmingly empiricist and atheoretical have often been bewildered and made cranky by the metastasizing of theory within the discipline in recent decades. Crankiness is compounded among those in fields like diplomatic or military history, whose standing within the discipline has declined relative to that of women's history and varieties of ethnic history. Then there is politics. Over recent decades, while the center of gravity of the American polity has moved markedly to the right, the historical profession has lurched sharply to the left. Historians who have moved rightward (or even stood still) have come to feel isolated and marginalized in a profession that is often at odds with "mainstream" American opinion.

The particular counts in the Historical Society's indictment of the profession may be overstated—indeed, may fairly be described as a caricature—but these complaints are not wholly without merit. The passionately committed are more likely to be intolerant than the ironically detached. As the experience of other disciplines illustrates, disputes between opposed theoretical camps are likely to be more acrimonious and divisive than controversies over "the facts." When historians studying different times, places, and dimensions of life think of themselves as contributing bricks that will eventuate in a single grand edifice of Truth, a cooperative spirit commends itself. As this aspiration comes to be mocked as naïve, and different historians come to be engaged in very different building projects, the spirit of overarching cooperation naturally wanes. In an expanding profession, new fields can blossom without threatening declining ones; in an era of downsizing, there is no such happy outcome. A profession whose members mostly inhabit a broad ("vital" or "dead") center is going to be much more irenic than one in which historians are ideologically at odds with political elites and with each other.

Although I see the causes of the disaffection of the Historical Society members as mostly structural, it may be that with greater wisdom the departure of many of the profession's more conservative members (along with some others) from the AHA could have been avoided. Unlike the Historical Society, or the *Radical History Review* family, which are designed for the mutually congenial, the AHA is the congressionally chartered representative of all American historians, which imposes special responsibilities. Avoiding some

symbolic actions (like chastising the voters of Cincinnati) and undertaking others (like honoring distinguished conservative historians with the presidency of the AHA) might conceivably have been effective in signaling greater ecumenicity and averting the secession. But maybe not.

Finally, there is the claim reiterated most frequently throughout this book. The way in which that claim is advanced validates, although not precisely in the way he intended, Genovese's claim that there is a climate within the historical profession that "uncomfortably resembles the McCarthyism of the 1950s." Then the bogeymen were Communists, allegedly a pervasive influence within American society, working to undermine the foundations of our democracy. For the contributors to this volume, the bogeymen are "postmodernist historians" whose growing influence within the historical profession is said to be undermining *its* foundations. In this collection (and not only in this collection), the "postmodernist" label is thrown around with all the exquisite care and precision with which Senator Joseph McCarthy deployed the word "Communist." The contributors repeatedly summon up a stick figure called the "postmodern historian": a crazed nihilist who "campaigns against efforts to identify clear historical facts of any kind"; teaches that there is "no way to establish any kind of truth or even accuracy"; seeks "to liberate us all from the coercive ideas of truth and reality"; and insists that "diseases, once dreaded entities with the power to kill, are now merely social constructions."

The best historical maxim I know is "If you can imagine it, someone will do it," so perhaps someone could come up with an example of an American historian whose practice reflects this sensibility. But neither the contributors nor anyone else has ever offered a scintilla of evidence for the proposition that there is some substantial (let alone "growing" or "influential") cohort of American historians who work in this fashion. In the 1950s, even those broadly sympathetic to McCarthy's crusade soon gave up hope that his sweeping claims for the existence of a vast and efficacious Communist conspiracy at work in the United States would be supported by any real evidence. In the present instance of McCarthyism redux, those sympathetic to the Historical Society venture will be similarly disappointed with respect to evidence for a powerful postmodernist plague within the historical profession. Will this disappointment lead them to question the Historical Society's claim to represent the cause of rigorous empirical scholarship as opposed to tendentious ideological posturing? Probably not.

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JOHN PATRICK DIGGINS. *On Hallowed Ground: Abraham Lincoln and the Foundations of American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xxi, 330. \$27.95.

In his preface, John Patrick Diggins supplies his readers with the proper context into which to place his new book, for he there proudly owns up to being a "cold-water historian" (p. x) with a habit of dousing historiographical fads that distort the historical or philosophical record. In previous works, he had excoriated history written under the aegis of three great "isms" of the past century's historiography: Marxism; civic republicanism; pragmatism and neo-pragmatism. These old enemies come in for occasional pummeling in the new work, but the focus shifts here to two newer fads or faiths in historical writing, multiculturalism and poststructuralism. Though professedly applying "cold water," Diggins writes with an engaging amount of heat, perhaps more here than in his previous books, for here the enemies propound not merely a false picture of American history (as did the three earlier fads he opposed) but declare open war on the very idea of historical truth. Diggins admits to having "a problem with schools of thought that claim we can get along without the authority of truth." He has large fish to fry here, fish that often lead him to philosophical speculation unusual in historical writings, for he attempts no less than a defense of truth itself. Diggins is uneven in the success of his address to the large questions he raises. In part, the claims raised are historical claims, and although historians will debate the cogency of his response, he is arguably on strong ground when he replies to historical claims with history. But in part the claims are philosophical, and his historical responses are not always to the point.

The multiculturalists insist there is no unified vision, story, or perspective in American history; they recur to the "conflict" side in the old conflict vs. consensus wars. Diggins, on the whole, takes up the consensus side, and indeed some of the most interesting writing in the book is his revisiting of the old consensus historian Louis Hartz. He sees Hartz as a kindred spirit in that he (and Christopher Lasch) refused "to run after those seductive organizing isms that promise to give America easy political solutions" (p. xxi). He finds Hartz a kindred mind in identifying the unifying thread of American history in "liberalism" or "Lockean liberalism." He does Hartz one better by at least supplying a semblance of definition of "Lockean liberalism": "a body of ideas that regards matter and property, comprehended by mind and conscience, as elementary and irreducible realities and views liberty and natural rights as the means by which happiness is pursued and freedom protected" (p. xiv). Many political philosophers would have at least a little trouble with this definition, which puts "liberty" and "natural rights" in the service of "pursuit of happiness" and the protection of freedom (p. xiv). Thomas Jefferson, for example, might counter that liberty and pursuit of happiness *are* natural rights, not the end for the sake of which rights exist. Despite a looseness of argument of this sort that recurs at times in important places, we do know more or less what Diggins has in mind.

Liberalism finds its supreme expression in the

thoughts, words, and deeds of Abraham Lincoln. In Lincoln, "liberal democracy finds its educator," for he "tried to teach us that to know America is to know the meaning of the American Revolution and its timeless document, the Declaration of Independence" (p. xix). Lincoln is the necessary teacher today, given the twin challenges of multiculturalism and poststructuralism, because he faced down similar if not identical dangerous errors in his own time. "What should render Lincoln relevant to different people everywhere is his conviction that America's political ideas transcend differences of race, class, gender, religion, and ancestry. He believed that all of humanity possesses certain qualities and endowments," and thus he responded in advance to the assertions of the multiculturalists (pp. 29–31). In his opposition to Stephen A. Douglas, he faced a position on truth not unlike the deep constructivism of the poststructuralists and refuted that as well.

Part polemic, part tendentious analysis, part brilliant insight, this is not a book to leave its readers bored or wondering why one would write on such a topic; in Diggins's prose the life forces that move him to his task are visible. On more than a few occasions, readers will wish for a more coherent, or more sustained, or more philosophically probing discussion, but there is no doubt that this is a significant statement in our current context.

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WARREN BRECKMAN. *Marx, the Young Hegelians, and the Origin of Radical Social Theory: Dethroning the Self*. (Modern European Philosophy.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 335. \$54.95.

Following G. F. W. Hegel's death in 1831, the Hegelian movement, which had a strong presence in German academic institutions and intellectual life, splintered over the issue of religion. As students of Hegel sought to clarify ambiguities in his philosophy of religion, they became increasingly skeptical of his (sometimes) claimed reconciliation with Christianity. These so-called "Young Hegelians" arrived at the conclusion that Christianity was humanity's unrecognized projection of its own powers and faculties onto the alienated and abstract form of a domineering God. In past decades, intellectual historians—notably, John Toews in *Hegelianism: The Path Toward Dialectical Humanism, 1805–1841* (1980)—examined the religious disputes of the 1830s in their specific theological and institutional contexts, while others (including myself) have examined more closely how dissenting Hegelians were then politically radicalized by intense political persecution in the 1840s. Warren Breckman's ambitious and sophisticated book seeks to bridge these two crucial decades in the development of Hegelian philosophy. Breckman argues that the path to Marxism in the 1840s was already marked out by the theological politics of the 1830s.

The author provides a compelling discussion of the

1830s that nicely complements Toews's account. Breckman considers how the issue of "personality" was central to both conservative theology and politics in restoration Germany. Theological critics attacked the putative "pantheism" of Hegelian philosophy because it undercut the belief in the idea of God as a singular personality, a notion that was directly tied to the political restoration's defense of the personalism of the state in the absolute power of the monarch and of civil society in the institution of private property. Breckman shows how conservative theorists, including Friedrich Stahl and the later Friedrich Schelling, elaborated an all-encompassing ideology of personalism as they gained influence in the Prussian state. In reaction to the attacks of conservative personalism, some Hegelians in the 1830s became more conservative, bending Hegelian philosophy to fit conservative theology and politics, but others, the "Young Hegelians," intensified their critique to include conservative Hegelians, until they ended up attacking Hegel himself for residual personalist belief. Breckman is particularly adroit in unearthing a specific political critique of personalism in overlooked sources, such as the writings of Ludwig Feuerbach in the early 1830s. Against political personalism, Young Hegelians in the 1830s also turned to sources of thinking about a social self, particularly to French Saint-Simonianism. The dissemination of antipersonalist and Saint-Simonian ideas, through such figures as Heinrich Heine, Moses Hess, August Cieszkowski, and Feuerbach into the late 1830s led, according to Breckman, to the ideas of Arnold Ruge and Karl Marx in the early to mid-1840s.

The author's overarching intention is to construct a continuity, a tradition, as it were, of antipersonalist and collectivist Young Hegelian thought, reaching from the young Feuerbach in the 1830s to the young Marx in the mid-1840s. But while the analysis of the 1830s is original, cogent, and convincing, the analysis of the 1840s, although often ingenious, also seems significantly underargued and rather skewed in its conclusions. Sometimes the problem is one of how to handle evidence. Breckman, for example, perceptively finds antipersonalist ideas in Marx's *Notebooks* to his doctoral dissertation on Epicurean and Democritean atomism (1841) and observes, rightly, that they contradict what Marx identifies in his dissertation as the "serenity" of Epicurean thought, which suggests some kind of reconciliation with existing reality. Breckman then assumes that his discovery proves Marx's membership in a continuous current of critical and radical antipersonalism, but he offers no explanation of why the references in the notebooks should be considered more important than Marx's final text, which entirely omits them, or of how the notebooks relate to the finished dissertation. The author moves too quickly from the possible presence of elements of a tradition of antipersonalism to the conclusion that they were determinative (as opposed to, say, residual, rhetorical, or inert) in Marx's thinking at the time. If Marx was

already so radical why did he feel the need to write about serenity? This requires explanation.

Some other attempts to subsume the politics of the 1840s into that of the 1830s appear forced, such as the linkage through Ruge's reading of Plato to a putative civic republicanism (the usual route is via Aristotle) or the problem of assimilating Ruge and Marx to 1830s Saint-Simonian inspired collectivism when, as Breckman himself notes, they both explicitly condemned that line of thought, and Ruge ultimately rejected all socialist collectivism. The desire to establish continuity leads the author to characterize collectivist concepts as the necessary outcome of the essential character of Young Hegelian thought, even though he fully recognizes that a strong current of the same thought had the opposite result. The Young Hegelian writings of Max Stirner and Bruno Bauer (who for a time was Marx's mentor) issued in a strong critique of collectivism, of how it did not repudiate but only replaced the abstract persona of God with that of the "species" or the proletariat. The Hegelian arguments of the 1840s led, in other words, not only to collectivism but also, and perhaps even more logically, to an emphasis on concrete, empirical persons putatively devoid of abstract identities. Breckman elides this anticollectivist current in Young Hegelianism; yet it was influential enough to have produced Ruge's repudiation of socialism, two book-length denunciations in 1844 and 1845 by Marx, and Marx's abandonment in 1845 of the Feuerbachian language of "species-being."

Choosing 1843 as the terminus of his study results in a confusing discussion in the culminating chapter on Marx and modern social theory. In the book's conclusion, Breckman seems to accept the uncontroversial notion that "modern radical social theory" is oriented around the idea of a collectivism opposed to egoism. But in the immediately preceding chapter on Marx's 1843 essays, he raises, without realizing it, a subtly different issue. Here Breckman wants to identify modern radical social theory with current discussions that emphasize the opposition between the state and civil society, and he faults Marx for seeing that conflict in Young Hegelian terms of an alienation that should be overcome. For Breckman, the separation and opposition of the state and civil society constitute "political modernity" and hence the defining issue of a modern radical social theory. But this view of "modern" radical social theory is actually misleading in its confusing suggestion of continuity with Young Hegelian thought.

Within a year and a half of his 1843 essays, Marx abandoned the view of the state/civil society opposition to adopt a more thoroughgoing and recognizable version of historical materialism, which asserts that the state is not separate from but the instrument of economic interests, the servant of the dominant economic class. In this era of European industrialization, Marx's thought and most radical social theory was oriented by a spectacle of economic transformation, hence the common notion of the primacy of social and economic change. What Breckman identifies in his

chapter on Marx as the defining problematic of modern radical social thought was actually a central concern of conservative-liberal thought that addressed the emergence of the centralized state (from Alexis de Tocqueville on the French Revolution to the Germans Otto Hintze and Max Weber). The issue of the separation of the state from civil society returned to the center of radical social theory only in recent decades when Marxist historical materialist orthodoxy definitively exhausted itself, producing now "neo-Marxist" concerns with the "autonomy" (or "relative autonomy") of the state. Breckman's desire for strong continuities and definitive origins in Young Hegelianism thus leads him to treat a sharp discontinuity in radical social thought as if it were part of an uninterrupted and unproblematic tradition, to ascribe to an idealized radical tradition what is actually better located historically in the traditions of its enemies.

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MARCEL GAUCHET and GLADYS SWAIN. *Madness and Democracy: The Modern Psychiatric Universe*. Foreword by JERROLD SEIGEL. Translated by CATHERINE PORTER. (New French Thought.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xxvi, 323. \$29.95.

Following the appearance of Michel Foucault's *Madness and Civilization* in 1961, madness became one of the measures by which "progress" was measured. And since neither "madness" nor "progress" was clearly defined as either a "good" or "bad" thing, one could make a series of contradictory arguments using more or less the same evidence. Marcel Gauchet and Gladys Swain, in a concise and extremely well-translated version of their *La pratique de l'esprit humaine* (1980), continued the Foucauldian model of seeing in the history of madness the key to the "progress" of the West. For them, as opposed to Foucault, it was a progress that led to institutions with greater and greater inhumanity and less and less true freedom. But in their retelling, all of these institutions failed.

Beginning with Philippe Pinel's "freeing of the insane" as one of the projects of the French Revolution and continuing through the creation of the modern asylum by J. E. D. Esquirol, Gauchet and Swain sketch a detailed history of the institutional models for insanity. Their tale seems to end in the horrors of a totalitarian psychoanalysis under that other famous Austrian, Sigmund Freud. For them, this project, too, had failed, and they were writing (in 1980) now liberated by the shackles that Freudian psychoanalysis had put upon the freedom of the psyche.

In 1980, this might have read well, at least in France. The anxiety about American democracy as institutionalized rabble that had lost the war in Vietnam and the ordination of Jacques Lacan as the new priest of psychoanalysis, replacing Freud, meant that the argument in this book was a metacommentary on the positive nature of contemporary France. The anxiety

about the world as a totalizing asylum in which the rabble appoint the overseers runs through this volume. But Gauchet and Swain see their actions constantly overturned in a progress toward some type of utopian liberation.

As Jerrold Seigel points out in his introduction, the problem with this volume is that it bears the burden of French thought from Alexis de Tocqueville to Foucault. As such, it is truly a valuable addition to the literature on French philosophical sociology during the 1970s, but it has relatively little to add to the post-deinstitutionalization, post-Prozac, post-Cold War debates about the nature of madness.

Let me make the case for the moment that the book really does not even reflect the debates within the actual period from 1790 to 1870 in any compelling manner. This is a French study of a period in which we have the roots of European psychiatry. Esquirol's famed volume of systematizing essays was first published in German rather than French; the notion of moral management is an English notion coming out of the Quakers. Gauchet and Swain tell the tale of one "national" strand of this history in the light of the revolutionary history of France and the botched and spotty democracy that was nineteenth-century France. They miss the parallel but very different tales of fragmented Germany, which ends with the creation of the mega-asylums during the jockeying to form the German national state at mid-century, and the parliamentary reforms in Great Britain that altered the very notion of the state's obligation to the "mad." To this we could add the salutary history of the Philadelphia asylum and the postrevolutionary genius of Benjamin Rush, who actually spoke to and listened to his patients. Failures? Not really, even if each was flawed.

It was wise of Princeton University Press to frame this edited version of Gauchet and Swain with Seigel's stocktaking. It is a very good thing to have this volume available in English, but it must be used as what it is: a document of a French intelligentsia unable to come to terms with its own failed experiences of democracy in the madness of the Shoah and Algeria. We see how Gauchet and Swain look about to see how the past illuminates their anxiety, and how they displace it into the distant French past.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JAMES D. TRACY, editor. *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*. (Studies in Comparative Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 697. \$80.00.

Abd al-Rahman ibn Khaldun, the fourteenth-century North African historian, theorized that towns developed when and wherever humans took up agriculture. The most fundamental mission of towns, in his imag-

ining of human history, was not as hubs of commerce or purveyors of culture but rather to provide security for peasants from the depredations of either horse or camel-mounted nomads. That threat necessitated the construction of a surrounding wall to protect those within from those without. From his study of his region's often violent past, ibn Khaldun reached the theoretical, and he thought universal, conclusion that a town simply could not survive for long without a wall to guard it.

The essays in this volume, edited by James D. Tracy, confirm that his logic was indeed shared by many as townspeople across centuries and around the globe expended both ingenuity and money in the construction of bigger, and hopefully less easily assailable, enceintes. The contributions by Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt and Edward Farmer inform us that walls encircled Chinese cities almost from the dawn of history and that the Chinese character *cheng* can be read as both "wall" and "city," confirming ibn Khaldun's assumption that the two were inseparable. Richard Kagan's fascinating discussion of the "spiritual walls" of colonial Latin American cities suggests that the impulse to wall was not entirely universal. But for most of human history, it took a confidence born of religious conviction to leave a town open to its potential enemies. The defensive role of cities has often taken a back seat to issues of commerce, social organization, political elites, and cultural consumption in more recent urban historians' reconstruction of the past. This volume compels the reader to revisit the strategic and defensive roles of cities, which were undoubtedly at the forefront in the minds of those who built the walls. Simply put, urban life for much of human history would not have flourished without walls.

Beyond mere protection, however, walls were a projection of the wealth and power of the population who dwelled within and helped to instill in them pride and a collective identity. Wolfgang van Emden demonstrates the place of walled cities and citadels in the medieval European literary imagination, while Shatzman Steinhardt explores their place in Chinese artistic imagery. Walls marked the physical boundaries of the urban social community, demarcating those who were "civilized" from those who were not, as ibn Khaldun's stark dualistic vision of humankind would have it. Authors of travel narratives from the classic through the early modern periods got the message, and their accounts of any city invariably began with a description of its walls. Towns without walls were usually dismissed as hardly deserving notice at all. Walls as symbols of human ingenuity and progress could inspire creativity as well as instill fear in those who might be tempted to attack. This collection includes pieces that remind us that city walls held deep symbolic meaning for those who lived within, whether in China, medieval France, or medieval Diyarbakir. But walled cities, which had once been symbols of human progress, did not survive the transition into modernity as they ironically inspired

improved technologies to overcome them. With the continuing advance of siege weaponry and technology, walls became an expensive anachronism. The tearing down of city walls from Vienna to Delhi to Beijing marked a visible transition into the age of "modernity."

As walled cities were almost ubiquitous in human history, they provide an interesting starting point of comparison for historians of different cultures and periods. Tracy has assembled nineteen essays to that end. Although essays on aspects of the walls constructed by Europeans, both at home and abroad, comprise more than half of the total assembled for this volume, the editor has included representation from other regions of the globe, most notably China and the Islamic world. A casualty of that quest for diversity, however, is a lack of consistency in the intended audiences for the various pieces in this collection. For most of those written by historians of Europe, the audience base will be narrow, as their contributions are generally technical and accessible largely only to other historians of Europe. In contrast, the articles by George Milner and Graham Connah, respectively, on prehistoric eastern North America and tropical Africa provide useful introductions for the nonspecialist to the development of walled settlements and towns in two geographical regions that are often overlooked in comparative historical projects. In addition to geographical diversity, the editor has sought a diversity of historical perspectives and methodologies to explore the use of walls in human history. Archeology necessarily informs the research on pre-contact North America and the discussion of classical Greek fortified towns by Frederick Cooper. The contributions on Ottoman and European fortifications by Simon Pepper, Martin Elbl, and Geoffrey Parker restore military history as an appropriate subfield of urban history. The authors demonstrate with their different perspectives that military technology was quickly transferred from one cultural zone to another as Europeans extended their influence over ever more distant regions in the early modern period.

Despite the apparent disparity in the appropriate audience for the various contributions of this volume, all of the authors are to be commended for the scholarly quality of their individual pieces. This reader would also thank Tracy for providing an extremely cogent and useful annotated bibliography that further explores the role of city walls across time and geography. The book emerged from the proceedings of a conference on the place of walls in human history, held at the University of Minnesota. The organizers hoped that it would be both interdisciplinary and comparative in its geographical and historical scope. They succeeded, and this collection demonstrates that such dialogues on specific themes within our profession are both possible and potentially rewarding.

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MOLLY GREENE. *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. (Modern Greek Studies.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 228. \$32.50.

Molly Greene's book straddles a number of important terrains, both historiographic and geographic. It revisits longstanding debates over whether the early modern Mediterranean is best understood as a topos of cultural commonality and positive interaction or as one defined by the clash between a northern Christian front and a southern Muslim one, but it does so in a new way. Greene moves beyond the traditional matrices for theories of Mediterraneity, situating the action not in the basin's western reaches (the boundary between the Iberian peninsula and the Maghreb) but rather in the east, on the island of Crete. Methodologically, too, the approach is fresh: by using both Venetian sources and Ottoman ones, Greene is able to comment effectively on existing historiography, identifying the unintentional but unhelpful biases of studies that are strictly "Greek" or "Ottoman" or "Venetian."

"This [eastern Mediterranean] world," Greene argues, "had a dynamic all of its own, one that is not adequately conveyed by a focus on the struggle—or absence of one—between Christianity and Islam" (p. 4). By reintroducing a third element into the analysis—in addition to Latin Christianity and Islam, Greene rightly insists that Eastern Orthodoxy be considered a vital component of the religio-cultural mix—she soundly demonstrates that "Christians" and "Muslims" cannot properly be understood as binary categories that either succeeded in their interactions or clashed with one another.

To those unfamiliar with the region's history, it may come as a bit of a surprise that the fundamental conflict in the eastern reaches of the old Byzantine Empire was not that of Christians and an expanding Islamic world but the struggle for primacy between the Latin West and Orthodox East. While this struggle has been amply documented in its earlier stages (from the time of the "Great Schism" to the Fourth Crusade), its enduring power in the Ottoman period has been largely neglected. In 1170, Patriarch Michael III of Anchialos wrote: "Allow the Muslim to be my ruler in external things rather than the Latin rule me in spiritual things." Yet the sentiment is not best understood only in its twelfth-century context. For centuries thereafter, Orthodox leaders expressed similar views. The enduring power of the implication that Islam could be viewed as a potentially *positive* force for the Orthodox world points to a foundational cultural dynamic in the Mediterranean region that is far more important than earlier studies have led us to believe.

Greene's choice of Crete as the locus for her study is particularly critical. The island was an important site both of political and economic interaction and of the cultural complexities attendant upon the centuries-long triangulation among Latin Christianity, Ortho-

doxy, and Islam. Here the immense value of Greene's book lies in its providing a social history of the period of succession from Venetian rule to Ottoman rule. This history, as Greene reveals it, was characterized not so much by rupture as by continuity, a finding that she uses to particularly good effect in urging a new periodization that views both the Venetian and Ottoman periods as part of an *ancien régime*, an old world that in the early modern period came into increasing conflict with the "protosecular" world of northern Europe. Greene notes that, following the war, there was a period of "widespread chaos and abnormality," but she emphasizes that the overall effect was one not of tightened restrictions but of "a temporary relaxing of social boundaries and hierarchies" (p. 92), and that the period resolved itself into a situation not wholly dissimilar to that which had prevailed under Venetian rule. Not until the eighteenth century, and particularly the incursion of Russian influence in the region, did the overall character of Crete see dramatic change.

This book, then, is one of big ideas: new periodizations, revisions of longstanding theoretical paradigms, exploration of new geographies. Despite its title, it covers a period that begins in the late Middle Ages and stretches to the modern period. Yet this breadth and ambition are belied by Greene's detailed and traditional version of social history. She zeroes in not merely on one island but also on specific residents (particularly merchants) and locales (the city of Candia). The result is, for the most part, impressive: the reader is left feeling that Greene not only proposes bold ideas, but undergirds them with serious, and carefully interpreted, primary research. The core ideas that Greene puts forth, however, are so interesting, and so fresh, that this reader wishes only that the author had given herself even freer reign and had further probed the theoretical implications of her findings.

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ROBERTA WOLLONS. *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 301. \$35.00.

The eleven case studies that comprise this book are organized to follow the spread of the kindergarten from west to east and north to south. Their collective goal is to map the kindergarten's diffusion across time and space, to explain its function in various political settings as well as its agency in the formation of national identity. The authors focus particularly on how the kindergarten, defined as an institution based on Friedrich Froebel's educational theories and originating in mid-nineteenth-century Germany, was transformed and recontextualized at the local and national level. According to editor Roberta Wollons, as the kindergarten spread in the late nineteenth century, it produced a "complex global discourse on the child, education, psychology, and a newly evolving science of

child rearing and child development" (p. 10). Women's roles as advocates and personnel of kindergartens is another theme of the book: in the West, private kindergarten's adoption was linked to women's education and professional development, whereas government's central role in kindergarten's introduction to Japan, China, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam diminished the possibility for women's leadership. The editor also ties kindergarten's history to current postcolonial theory regarding Western culture's influence on national identity globally, arguing that local educators transformed kindergartens while they were also drawn "into contact with international organizations, movements, and ideas" (p. 3).

The book opens with a chapter on Germany that places Froebel's pedagogy in the context of Rousseauian and Idealist philosophies. Paradoxically, kindergarten was never fully accepted in Germany, first because it was associated with revolutionary liberal nationalism and subsequently because of persistent government distrust of an institution that brought childrearing out of the private sphere. Tracing the kindergarten's fortunes through the political shifts of the Weimar and Nazi periods, and through Cold War division and reunification, Ann Taylor Allen shows how government ideology shaped access to and the content of preschool education. The next two chapters examine the kindergarten's introduction to the United States and England by German immigrants fleeing the failed revolution of 1848. In both countries, the kindergarten's adoption was linked to the professionalization of middle-class women, to social welfare advocacy, and to the incorporation of the child development theories of G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey and Maria Montessori. Australia's kindergartens, borrowed from the U.S. and England, followed a similar trajectory, but with each state relying on different players—philanthropists, churches, or the government—for its organization.

Japan also borrowed the kindergarten from the West, but in the 1860s it transformed the kindergarten's culture and pedagogy "to suit a newly forming ideology of Japanese modernization" (p. 114). The kindergarten came to China via Japan, in part because of the latter's victory over China in 1895 and in part because Japanese vocabulary and philosophy could be translated fairly readily by Chinese scholars. The May Fourth Movement of 1919 brought a shift to interest in the child development theories of Dewey and other Americans. By the 1920s, the Chinese had achieved "the mature integration of modern theories and Chinese practice in preschool education" (p. 160). Unfortunately, Limin Bai does not explain the definition of China as "backwards" and Western ideas as "modern."

Kindergarten's history in Poland is tied to the country's eighteenth-century partition by Austria, Prussia, and Russia. In each of the partitioned areas, Poles viewed pre-school education as an opportunity to inculcate Polish national identity. Bogna Lorence-Kot and Adam Winiarz trace kindergarten's fortunes

through Polish independence, occupation, and the Cold War era. From the 1860s on, the Russian intelligentsia's embrace of kindergartens was linked to antiauthoritarian efforts to liberate children and women from domestic patriarchy. But when the Bolsheviks organized public kindergartens after 1917, the "contradictions and complications" of this radical legacy emerged (p. 205). By the 1930s, emancipation of women and children came into conflict with the desire to inculcate socialist values and to define childrearing as women's domain.

While the Vietnamese government's adoption of kindergartens from the Soviets after 1945 was an attempt at a clean break from the country's colonial past, continuity marked kindergarten's role in the transition from Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic. Both imperial and nationalist governments borrowed kindergarten from the West, but to further their policies of "combating western influence through increasingly indigenized versions of this form of schooling" (p. 252). This discussion of missionary influence is perhaps the most nuanced in the book, given Benjamin C. Fortna's attention to Western missionaries' contradictory notions of childhood as both universal and as racially and religiously marked. The final chapter examines kindergarten's integration into a new Israeli culture from 1899 to 1948 as part of the Zionist effort to create a nationalist childhood culture that would influence immigrant parents as well.

These case studies illuminate the processes of intellectual transmission of kindergarten pedagogy and its organizational implementation but are less able to trace how teachers actually implemented curricula or whether parents were influenced by their children's lessons in nationalism and other ideologies. Of course, this inability to trace the actual impact of kindergarten is partly due to the problem that educational sources usually capture the voices of policy makers but not of teachers, students, or parents. The book is also marked by unevenness in theoretical sophistication: some authors are more conversant with theories of colonialism and nationalism while others get stuck in institutional details. For example, the theme of cultural transformation is more clearly delineated in some essays than in others. Overall though, this collection does what few histories of childhood education have done: it places pedagogy on national and global stages and pays attention to how politics, national cultures, and international power relations shaped the adoption and implementation of kindergartens. Unlike many educational histories that find only a specialized audience, this one should interest scholars of colonialism and nationalism as well.

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MICHAEL BERKOWITZ. *The Jewish Self-Image in the West*. New York: New York University Press. 2000. Pp. 176. \$28.00.

Whatever this book is about, it is not about the Jewish self-image in the West. The author tells us what he thinks the book is about, each time with slight variations: "This book investigates modern Jewish iconography, especially pertaining to the Jewish experience with political movements in the United States, Britain and Western Europe from 1881 to 1939" (p. 11); "This study aspires towards the reconstruction of that internal Jewish visual discourse, as it developed in the West, over a half-century" (p. 14); "This study looks at Jews as creators and purveyors of culture, and as designers of their own paradigms in producing alternatives to the dominant discourse of politics and nation" (p. 15); "my aim is to illuminate the historical processes that are accessible through Jews' public self-representation over a period of several decades" (p. 19); "The study that follows is based upon a selection of what I have determined to be representative photographic and graphic images that for the most part correspond to real persons and events" (p. 19).

What follows, however, is a disjointed scrapbook or slideshow consisting of pictures of Jews. Since these Jews were real people, thumbnail sketches of their lives are included. Many of these Jews had interesting lives, as labor leaders, politicians, Zionists, and so on. But it is never made clear why pictures of these people can tell us something about their history, and rarely are we given information about what was intended when the photographs or portraits were conceived. This is unfortunate, as the years 1881 to 1939 were rife with clever manipulators of the graven image, from Kemal Atatürk to David Ben Gurion to Benito Mussolini. Many of the lasting images of that era were carefully staged. It is not enough to be told that "Weizmann's official portrait bears a striking resemblance to that of Lenin" (p. 79). The thing is, Chaim Weizmann actually looked a lot like Lenin: it wasn't his fault.

It would have been interesting to hear more about the most recognizable Zionist icon of all times, E.M. Lilien's photograph of Theodor Herzl looking over the Rhine Bridge at Basel during the First Zionist Congress (1897). The author writes that "the Rhine Bridge image might be used to illustrate the instability of supposedly realistic images, in that after Herzl's death this picture was imposed on a view of Jerusalem and other settings, which were used for Jewish National Fund stamps and other publicity" (pp. 58-59). Lilien was also an artist, however, and claims have been made for a good deal of retouching of this image of instability. Using this photograph as a basis for thick description, as an instructive example in the anthropological style, might have made the rest of the gallery more compelling. As it is, the book as a whole is reminiscent of the "Hello!" style of journalism, where celebrity pictures are mere signposts to bits of gossip text that have often have little to do with the printed image. The compulsive nods to every fashionable theorist from Walter Benjamin to Jürgen Habermas to Roland Barthes and onward help not at all.

Perhaps even more worrying are the unfounded assertions that litter the book. What can we make of the author's claim that messianic "hopes were stirred not only from religious traditions and modern ideologies, but through the engagement of specific Jewish countenances" (p. 52): that is, chaps with beards. Even more grotesque is his concluding claim that an "investigation of Jewish visual politics from the turn of the century through the 1930s may prompt a reinvestigation of the impact of the Holocaust on Jewish life outside the killing ground. This study suggests that the degree of Jewish integration in the West by the time of the outbreak of war in 1939, from the Jews' own perspective, was greater than that which is typically assumed. Therefore, the paralysis and shock of the Holocaust may represent an even deeper trauma" (p. 131). No doubt many assimilated Western Jews were surprised to find themselves lumped together by the Nazis with kaftan-wearing, Yiddish-speaking Jews from Poland, but how this can be connected to photographs of Jews with Eleanor Roosevelt is not made clear in this book (which does, however, contain many interesting pictures).

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HOWARD COX. *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco 1880-1945* New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxii, 401. \$58.00.

The cigarette was an American invention that became a worldwide commodity in the early twentieth century. Howard Cox charts how British American Tobacco Company (BAT Co.) emerged as one of the first major international corporations whose subsidiaries penetrated remote corners of the world, taking advantage of patents on the Bonsack machine, mass production, blending of different varieties of leaf, new methods of drying and curing, and aggressive marketing.

A significant background to the eventual monopoly of BAT Co. was the rapid expansion of American Tobacco Company (ATC) in the 1890s, which had captured the export market and was the first to manage the entire chain of production and wholesale distribution, employing local agents as far as Shanghai, India, and Kyoto. It outsold rivals in the United States through bold promotions, bulk distribution, tying of jobbers to depots, and the promotion of salaried representatives over middlemen. Wills, Britain's largest manufacturer, was not as ready for such corporate growth.

ATC expanded its horizons beyond Canada, Australia, and Japan and targeted the protected markets of Europe, beginning with Jasmazti in Germany, and, in 1901, J. B. Duke decided to invade the British tobacco cartel—now banded together under the Imperial Tobacco Company (ITC)—trying to acquire control of leading tobacco firms through the newly erected British Tobacco Co. The rivalry spread far beyond Britain,

with "wall-fights" breaking out over posters between contending brands in Jamaica, Australia, Calcutta, Singapore, Hong Kong, and other parts of the far-flung British Empire. What resulted from all this was a historic compromise between Duke and ITC whereby domestic markets, rights to brands, and selected board members came to be shared under BAT Co., founded with £6 million. Duke, hosting a dinner at the Carlton, proclaimed that together they would indeed "conquer the world" (p. 77). ATC would soon be dissolved because of antitrust charges brought against it in the U.S. Supreme Court, its equity passing on to British shareholders.

This joint-venture multinational corporation engaged in a modern, largely American style of management, but it was operated from London by a loyal and long-serving board of directors. It competed at home and overseas by constantly diversifying marketing and relying on local conditions and specialists, but it kept a tight grip on production and distribution facilities. Cox presents BAT Co. as a remarkable "hybrid" that continued to promote old and tested brands of cigarettes formerly in competition with each other; its expansion also coincided with the career of Hugo Cunliffe-Owen, who steered the corporation toward a paternalistic and less flexible system of top-down management, so much so that the vitals of BAT Co. would be jeopardized after his death in the aftermath of World War II.

Cox shows with painstaking and at times perplexing detail how BAT Co. pursued markets in the British Dominions, far outposts of the British Empire, and in particular, both British India, and China of the treaty-port era. The relationship between empire and corporation in the era of rising nationalism and fragmented, tariff-ridden economies in both Europe and Asia often proved mutually beneficial. It survived, and even thrived, during World War I, making common cause with the allies in both advertising and marketing on the front. In a politically turbulent China, BAT Co. played an important role in the fiscal restructuring that took place under European colonial pressure, plying the Guomindang with taxes. Later, during Chiang Kai-shek's more autocratic regime, in concert with the British government, BAT Co. managed to placate the demand for national tariff. In India, through its dominant subsidiary, Imperial Tobacco Co., it evaded severe taxation under a financially strapped Raj by encouraging the cultivation of leaf tobacco, leading to a degree of direct investment in agriculture. A vast prospective market for cigarettes was opened up in an Indian campaign that reached small towns and bazaars; cigarettes were being sold even through the nationalist boycotts of the Gandhian movement.

Cox is to be commended for a formidable compilation of facts and figures that lays bare some of the more intricate machinations of the financial world in which it sought supremacy; this should become a work of standard reference. While it presents an admirable entrepreneurial history of BAT Co. and its key figures,

the analysis stalls at times in an unexceptional conceptual framework driven by the standard explanations of "vertical" and "horizontal" integration, leaving less space for further discussion of labor, the global middle class drawn to nicotine, and the fascinating history of pioneering advertising in the heart of rural China and India.

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ROBERT BICKERS. *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism 1900–1949*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1999. Pp. xii, 276. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$29.95.

This mature and insightful volume could be considered under various rubrics: British history; Chinese history (was the knockoff British Raj in China a small scale successor to Mongol and Manchu regimes?); history of imperialism; and cultural history—not to mention "readable books to recommend to friends and students." The focus is not on institutional or diplomatic history, although there is substantial use of the literature in these fields, nor yet on political imperialism as such, although that context is also well sketched. Instead, we look at how the British cultural and political "presence" in China worked. Territorially, this presence comprised two British-dominated international settlements (Shanghai and Tianjin), the crown colony of Hong Kong, two leased territories, six concessions, and diverse outlying commercial or missionary networks reaching from Manchuria to Burma. The settler community of Shanghai was the spiritual capital, and "Shanghaianders" developed sweet self-important dreams of their own significance for Britain, China, and civilization, all to be defended by pomp and force. By the 1920s, however, Shanghai was caught between Chinese nationalism and British national interest, neither of which could tolerate a racist, blinkered Shanghai-stan whose constabulary fired into Chinese crowds, endangering sales, imperial prestige, and diplomacy. Ironically, Shanghaianders and testy anti-imperialists shared heroic myths of a roaring imperial lion that respectively either woke or raped the sleeping dragon. Robert Bickers's story carefully shows how fleeting and circumstantial was the effect of this "mock Raj" (p. 219).

The introduction nimbly places the study in the context of "studies of imperialism," the title of the distinguished series in which it appears. The second chapter, "China in Britain, and in the British Imagination," enterprisingly surveys popular British and American journalism, plays, and novels to show how they reflected, inflected, and reinforced the cultural basis of Shanghaiand in distance, difference, and oppositeness. Shanghaianders also lifted many notions from the Raj of India, Burma, and Malaya; its consciously exotic vocabulary (some of it even taken into Chinese, such as "coolie," "amah," "typhoon,"

and "mandarin") signaled that here was an autonomous place that was not Britain but not China either. Chapter three, "Britons in China: A Settler Society," turns more social and political, describing recruitment, socialization, and boundary maintenance of Shanghai culture, as well as challenges and changes in the Shanghai Municipal Council, the governing body of the International Settlement—and in passing deflates the urban legend about the sign on the Shanghai Bund proclaiming "no dogs or Chinese allowed." Bickers examines various constituencies: "settlers" with an "illusion of permanence" and a primary allegiance to an imagined autonomous Shanghai; "expatriates" who worked for global enterprises or the government, who could and did move on, regarding Shanghai as a useful and exotic base, but not a home; and missionaries, who saw themselves as responsible to a higher power and lived among their constituents in the boondocks.

When the Chinese state attempted to project its power into Chinese society and control Shanghai in the 1920s, the London Foreign Office focused on their "settler monster" (p. 162). Bickers's fourth chapter, "Dismantling Informal Empire," and chapter five, "Staying On: the Localisation of British Activity in China," analyze in telling detail how savvy big business and liberal missionary enterprises prudently started to decolonialize. They indigenized, expanded inland, integrated, and co-opted educated Chinese professionals; in the process, they become more efficient, modern, and profitable. The fresh recruit to Shanghai was now more likely to read Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* (1931) or even Edgar Snow's *Red Star over China* (1938) than Colonel Blimp's memoirs, presaging the passage of the imperial torch to the Americans. The final chapter, "After Colonialism," aligns Bickers with those historians who see classic treaty port imperialism not as sovereign, unidirectional, and coherent but as particular, joint, and evolving; he agrees with those who argue that commercial success in China depended more on market sensitivity than on treaty power and that British communities were "cooperative Sino-British ventures" (pp. 219–20). Acknowledged but less distinct are the Chinese participants who, Bickers points out, paid the price for but also profited most from the British presence—sometimes as scavengers, compradors, or running dogs, at other times variously as hosts, opportunist investors, backstage controllers, silent partners, eager students, and inheritors.

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BARBARA BUSH. *Imperialism, Race and Resistance: Africa and Britain, 1919–1945*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. xviii, 394. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.99.

Barbara Bush's book examines the many strains of thought and action regarding colonialism and white supremacy in Britain and parts of Britain's empire in Africa, from the end of World War I to the end of World War II. After a general assessment of the state

of the African empire after the Great War, she provides three substantial chapters on West Africa (mostly Nigeria and Gold Coast/Ghana), three more on South Africa, and three on Britain itself ("into the heart of empire"). She therefore takes on large chunks of territory indeed, both literally and in subject matter. In her terms, colonial and white supremacist "dreams of power" evoked countervailing "dreams of freedom"; there ensued an ongoing dialectic between the two, with reformulations of one leading to reconfigurations in the other. In itself this is obvious enough; as Bush acknowledges disarmingly, she "make[s] no claims to any path-breaking approaches" (p. xii). Still, the outlines of this dynamic are useful as historical survey; I can imagine assigning chapters of this book to undergraduates, for instance.

The real value of the volume lies in the details. Bush has read widely, as her topic demands—particularly in secondary literature, but also in some revealing private paper collections. (Her bibliography runs to some thirty-two pages, and her endnotes to fifty-six.) She has culled from these sources some quite revealing and occasionally fascinating material on moments, situations, and, especially, personalities. Some of the last are well known—Leonard Woolf, Lord Hailey, Clements Kadalie, George Padmore, Margery Perham—and some less so. In particular, Bush, who devotes considerable attention to gender aspects of colonialism, racism, and dissent, introduces us to some remarkable and largely forgotten women. Eslanda Goode Robeson, for instance, was married to the legendary Paul Robeson but was a quite formidable figure on her own, and as an African-American woman travelling and studying in Africa wrote about it in ways quite outside of the era's mainstream. Winifred Holtby, the English liberal and feminist, devoted enormous energies to critiques of colonialism and support for its victims. And Nancy Cunard, the hard-living shipping heiress who scandalized Britain as a "negrophile," emerges as a scintillating original.

This can be a difficult, even irritating book to read, mainly because of some regrettable stylistic and editorial weaknesses. Bush rarely gives us so much as a full sentence quotation from a source; instead she constantly injects a quoted word or phrase—often several in a single sentence—into her own composition. The result is not only a feeling of disruption and lack of flow, but the reader wonders which terms are being quoted ironically—or were meant that way by the original authors. There are too many typographical, spelling, or minor factual errors. The scholar Jan Nederveen Pieterse, for example, is referred to throughout the book, including the bibliography, as "Pietersie." At one point, the Nigerian nationalist Nnamdi Azikiwe—already mentioned properly several times—is rendered, jarringly, as "Azikiwe Nnaindi." General Hertzog is given as Herzog, and King Sobhuza of Swaziland is given twice, as Sobhenza. Finally, in the book's latter stages Bush uses the qualifier "arguably" with astonishing frequency. The word appears four-

teen times between pages 236 and 247; four times on page 245, three times each on pages 250, 255, and 269. Not only is this unacceptably repetitive, it reflects a certain tentativeness in presentation.

Nevertheless, the book is a legitimate guide to the many shades of ideology and practice that both underpinned and undermined colonialism and white supremacy in the period. Although the empire clearly survived the period intact, Bush analyzes the growing stresses on it, some due to world events (competition with fascism, for instance), some to rethinking the imperial mission in the metropole, and some to rising opposition at home and abroad. Bush examines the tensions and overlaps between liberalism, Marxism, and pan-Africanism with subtlety. In some ways, the most satisfying part of the book is a brief closing essay, where Bush reflects on the meaning of her story in today's era of globalization. The contemporary world may be postcolonial, but it is hardly a place where questions of national and corporate power, race, and resistance are irrelevant.

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DOUGLAS A. BORER. *Superpowers Defeated: Vietnam and Afghanistan Compared*. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 261. \$57.50.

For Douglas A. Borer, history matters. The origins of American defeat in Vietnam and Soviet failure in Afghanistan can be traced in large part to questions of legitimacy of the local regimes, and these can be traced to the history of the two countries. Given their notions of a "civilizing mission," the French in Vietnam and later the Russians in Afghanistan imposed on themselves a burden of assimilation that made it almost a certainty that they would fail. The British Empire ruled India, he reminds us, with about 3,500 administrators. The French needed many more to rule Indochina "their way." The United States inherited the problem the French created and tried to find a way out of the dilemma in Vietnam. But the more it sought to preserve democracy and stop communism, the more it committed itself to an increasingly antidemocratic regime. The Russians went into Afghanistan in the Soviet era, he suggests, out of pride and opportunity, and became entangled in propping up a communist regime that had willy-nilly grown out of military aid programs.

Borer also suggests that by the very act of extending large-scale military aid to the Vietnamese regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, the American government encouraged the Soviets to help Ho Chi Minh—the very reverse of the stated objective of limiting communist opportunities. For the Russians, Vietnam was on the periphery of its geopolitical map of the world—until the American intervention. For the Americans, Afghanistan was of little interest—until the Soviets signed a massive arms agreement with Kabul in 1955. Thus did Cold War competition produce (and seduce)

the great powers' interest in far away battles for legitimacy. Borer provides a telling quotation from Leonid Brezhnev that makes the point perfectly. When the United States overturned Salvador Allende in Chile, the Soviet leader feared a similar result with disastrous consequences to a Russian-supported regime close to home. "To have refrained from intervention in Afghanistan," he quotes the Soviet leader, "would allow aggressive forces to repeat here what they were able to do, for example, in Chile" (p. 136).

In a final summary chapter, Borer explores the question of how Vietnam and Afghanistan affected the legitimacy of the superpower governments at home. In the American case, of course, the Vietnam experience made citizens suspicious of their government, impacted on its psyche in various other ways, but did not undermine the basic institutions beyond repair. No doubt the situation would have been much worse were it not for the rapid decline of the Soviet Union and its final collapse. More than the Gulf War, which, Borer rightly notes, served to clarify the differences between wars like Vietnam and wars fought under favorable circumstances to restore a traditional government as in Kuwait, the disintegration of the Soviet empire provided a great boost to American thinking about its institutions and has revitalized in many ways Wilsonian universalism.

For Moscow, however, Borer feels Afghanistan was a fundamental cause of the Soviet meltdown. To argue this way, he cites the impact of the withdrawal as a driving force in Mikhail Gorbachev's reform program. Probably even that formulation is not strong enough: Afghanistan became the force that drove the reform agenda. Economically, it cost the Soviets much more than Vietnam did the United States. Gorbachev's ability to aid the other nations under Moscow's wing was damaged. Psychologically, the impact on Eastern Europe was electrifying, especially in Poland, where the example of Russian troops returning home stimulated demands for freedom. And the reverse effect occurred in Russia itself, where, Borer argues, any attempt to suppress these demands in the Warsaw Pact countries would have undermined the legitimacy of perestroika and glasnost. In the end, the author argues, the Soviet Union is best understood as a "transition regime" between premodern and modern states. "The claim of superiority and infallibility could only be maintained in time of military success" (p. 238). Afghanistan was not Russia's Vietnam, he concludes; it was a much more fundamental turning point.

This book will provide historians with a lot to chew over. The usefulness of analogy and counterfactuals has become increasingly apparent for teaching purposes and has perhaps taken the place of the old problems books of another era. This book picks up on sociological theory, primarily that of Max Weber, but is never weighted down by jargon. Borer's theses about Afghanistan and the quest for independence from Moscow, and the legitimacy of the Soviet state, will

command attention for both Cold War scholars and international historians.

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ASIA

SUSAN NAQUIN. *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xxxiv, 816. \$80.00.

The subtitle of this book indicates its distinctive method: Susan Naquin shows how the temples in and around imperial Beijing helped to define urban life, in sacred aspects and secular, as nodes of social action, venues for public activities, and channels for the court's interaction with its subjects. Through the lens of Chinese religion in its social context, she projects a richly detailed history of imperial Beijing.

With temples as the focus, here is a five-century urban history that reveals the full range of political and cultural factors that defined the capital: the fifteenth-century founding of the city by the Ming usurper Yongle; the wrenching transition after the Manchu conquest, when all Chinese were forced to move to what became an "outer" city south of the Ming wall; the gradual emergence of a distinctive Peking self-awareness; the evolving physical structure of the city and its administration; and the changing relationship between the imperial city and its concentric surroundings.

Did temples define a "space" between state and family that did (or could) serve as a medium for something like a "public sphere?" Naquin immediately calls attention to this question but shows that it cannot be settled. The picture is ambiguous. Only hazily and episodically did anyone perceive a religious "space" beyond the regulatory grasp of the state, and any such perception was embedded in practice rather than theory. The Ming state had a more systematic approach to the regulation of religion, whereas their Qing successors both patronized and regulated religion more selectively. Although temple life had its own distinctive effects on society, nobody assumed it to be part of a realm immune to state authority. On the other hand, the thousands of temples in premodern Peking did in fact serve as gathering places for both public and private groups. Many such places and groups were tolerated or even patronized by the rulers, and the structure of public life was therefore not defined by the state in any strict sense. Yet the state was never unconcerned with popular ritual associations, nor lacked the will to regulate them.

Public space was of course unavailable to sects that the government had labeled "heterodox" and targeted for persecution. These were perforce private rather than public, hidden rather than open. Like communicants of the "house-church" movement in today's China, devotees might have preferred a public site but were forced to resort to secret worship in private

places. Foreign faiths, too, such as Catholicism or Lamaism, were strictly controlled; in the case of Catholicism, such controls led to extinction by the mid-eighteenth century. Imperial policy toward devotional groups was thus selective and embodied no overarching principle that defined the relationship between state and religion. Thus Naquin's study suggests that the public had "spaces" but no "sphere."

"Temple" (as a place where a deity was enshrined, a space for "making contact with the supernatural") is defined here broadly to include not only buildings specifically dedicated to deity cults but also the sites of such institutions as occupational guilds and native-place lodges, which Naquin seems to characterize as quasi-temples (not her phrase) by virtue of their shrines to patron deities. Actually, the bold inclusiveness of her "temple" category has led to an overarching vision of how secular and sacred interpenetrated in urban institutions of all sorts, a unique contribution of this book.

Indeed, the grand picture presented by this work reveals the underlying basis of Chinese urban life: particularism of many types (sojourning compatriots, ritual associations, occupational groups, foreign ethnics) formed a colorful mosaic of communities, whose identities usually were marked by specific ritual observances. Whether in a "temple," pure and simple, or a native-place lodge, the worship of deities was fundamental to every community in the city. Sacred and secular functions were thus interdependent. In this mosaic of particularism, both inclusive and exclusive forces were operating through temples: those temples that brought disparate groups together, and others that bounded and defined their distinctiveness.

Naquin's sources include imperial archives, a broad array of private contemporary essays and memoirs, guidebooks and gazetteers, and (most prominently) stela inscriptions from all over the city. These inscriptions have enabled her to trace the intimate details of temples' histories, including particularly their patrons. Besides these primary sources in Chinese, the author has consulted numerous firsthand Western perceptions of imperial Peking. The result is both a landmark in our understanding of imperial Chinese urban life and an excellent introduction to the imperial institution in its social setting.

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BENJAMIN A. ELMAN. *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xlii, 847. \$75.00.

This is an important book on a major institution of late imperial China: the civil service examination system in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) periods. Its strengths lie in its meticulous presentation of information on change in the curriculum, grading practice, and results of examinations based on metro-

politan and provincial examination records. It documents clearly that the civil service examination was not a monolithic instrument of late imperial governments. The book successfully conveys a sense of the complexity of the civil examination in terms of its linguistic, social, political, and intellectual aspects. In response to criticism leveled at the structuralist approach of his earlier article on the same topic, Benjamin A. Elman has made an effort to include discussion of the tension and struggle between the imperial state and the literate elites in their control over this "cultural arena" (p. xxiv). He also argues convincingly that topics on astronomy, mathematics, and music were not unimportant in the training of literati in the late imperial period.

What is less successful and convincing is his construction of the "cultural history" of the examinations and his conclusions about their impact on social stratification and intellectual change in these periods. His "cultural history" approach is meant to go beyond studies that focus only on the question of whether the examinations produced a more fluid society in the late imperial period. But he takes the side of those who argue that they did not increase social mobility. His argument is built on the idea that acquisition of "classical literacy" required an extended period of linguistic and literary training. This is a valid point, but he overstates his case by insisting that the "unequal social distribution of linguistic and cultural resources" "culturally excluded" common people like artisans, peasants, and traders (p. 372). It can be argued that Elman's position is undermined in two ways by the evidence he provides. First, in the beginning of the book he uses terms like "gentry-official," "gentry literati," "elite degree-holding gentry" to characterize the elite groups that monopolized success at the examinations. Increasingly, he prefers terms like "gentry-merchants" and, finally, "gentry, military, and merchant elites" (pp. xvii, 12, 141, 126, 376, 422, 625). Elman's logic, placing a premium on resources, does allow expansion of the literate elites to include merchant and military families. If the merchants could use their resources to acquire classical literacy for their sons, so could military families (pp. 253–56). But why would commoners not take advantage of the examinations that provided the most coveted access to wealth and power in this period? In fact, Elman does provide evidence for the possibility of sons of poor commoner families to acquire classical literacy. He mentions support from lineage schools. Despite the dominance of gentry and merchants in lineage leadership, sons from peasant and artisan families were allowed to attend lineage schools, sometimes with grants from lineage trusts. One cannot understand why the fact that more than sixty percent of the over 22,000 metropolitan graduates were from commoner families is considered insufficient evidence for a fluid society in the Ming and Qing. The explanation is that they were already members of local literati elites. The denial of mobility to these graduates is based on the idea that

the unit of mobility is not the individual but the lineage and even cluster of lineages created through marriage ties. Since the lineages were already local elites with officials among its membership, the success of the individual graduate is not reckoned as a movement up the social ladder. By this "unique" method of registering mobility, there would be little mobility for the individual in the lineages as long as he had a remote relative—agnatic or affinal—who had earned the highest degree. Never mind that his lineage/s had hundreds and even thousands of members who had not. This strange notion of mobility or "social mobility of lineages," as Elman aptly calls them, however, is fundamentally flawed and analytically useless (p. 246). How do we classify lineages and measure their movement up and down the social hierarchy, if there was one, when lineages included families with members in different occupational and economic conditions?

The second problem concerns Elman's attempt to argue that the "conceptual root" of *kaozheng* (evidential) learning and its specific form—Han learning—was evident as early as the mid-Ming! Although he points out that interest in *kaoju* (investigation based on evidence) in policy session on statecraft topics in the Ming is not the *kaozheng* (investigation based on proof/evidence) interest in phonology, etymology, and paleography during the Qing, Elman nonetheless considers the two intellectual trends sharing the same "conceptual root" (pp. 451–59, 509). This view conflates two disparate intellectual practices, ignoring the fundamental difference in their assumptions about the nature of evidence and the specific method of proof. His reductionist dichotomy between Han learning as "classical studies" versus "Ch'eng-Chu moral philosophy" continues to ignore the complexity and the critical role of the latter in reviving classical studies in the Qing.

"Culture" is very important in Elman's book, as is evident in the profusion of terms like "cultural resources," "cultural prison," "cultural reproduction," "cultural control," "cultural project," "cultural fears," "cultural orthodoxy," "cultural health," "cultural scope," "cultural autonomy," "cultural conservatism," "cultural genres," "cultural solidarity," "cultural loyalty," "cultural luster," "cultural clash," "cultural maintenance," "cultural system," and "cultural elites" (pp. 41, 65, 107, 173, 361, 371, 408, 422, 423, 505, 506, 532, 533, 569, 623). Despite the many meanings of the term "cultural" (literal, linguistic, social, ideological, symbolic, and civilizational), the significance of these many terms is taken to be self-evident. Elman does not explain their specific usage in the many different contexts in the book, and his reference to Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "cultural production" cannot be used as a guide to Elman's polysemic use of the concept of "cultural." Readers are left to ferret out for themselves what the terms are intended to mean. But the most important meaning of "cultural" appears to be the one in the concept "cultural prison," which Elman uses to characterize the civil service examina-

tion in Ming-Qing China. When he refers to the Han learning and Song learning as the "cultural dimension" of the civil examinations, one cannot but conclude that by "cultural prison," he means Confucian culture in particular and Chinese classical learning in general, which had incarcerated the examinees in Ming-Qing China (p. 520). Even though this unequivocal rejection of Chinese classical culture in the late imperial period—including Elman's beloved Han learning—is occasionally countered with caveats against modernist prejudice, his "cultural history" is no less modernist than that of those he criticizes. Despite rhetorical disclaimers regarding his treatment of the examination system as an "unmitigated totalistic, and social, political, and cultural reproduction of the status quo," Elman never fails to convey the sense that it reproduced Chinese culture, its elites, and its imperial system (p. xxix). It was a cultural as well as an educational regime whose termination in 1905 brought with it the demise of the imperial system and its literary elites in 1911.

Despite its disappointing treatment of the impact and significance of the civil examinations, with eighty-two tables and an impressive bibliography of primary and secondary sources on the subject, this book is necessary reading for all China scholars, especially those studying literary elites and their cultures in late imperial China.

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TIMOTHY BROOK and BOB TADASHI WAKABAYASHI, editors. *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 444. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.95.

EDWARD R. SLACK, JR. *Opium, State, and Society: China's Narco-Economy and the Guomindang, 1924–1937*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 240. Cloth \$59.00, paper \$29.95.

The impact of opium on China is a dramatic topic that has received a good deal of scrutiny from historians over the last 150 years. But much of this research has focused in the realms of diplomatic history (and to some extent economic history), and it has been strongly colored by the moral stances toward addiction held by the investigators and by nationalist and anti-imperialist points of view. Only over the last decade has a wider set of approaches within political and social history to the problem of opium in China emerged, drawing on a rich range of newly available archival resources. The new book edited by Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi marks a major breakthrough in the study of opium as a theme in Chinese history between the 1830s and the 1950s and contributes an essential foundation on which all future studies will be able to build.

In their cogent introduction, which admirably sets the nonpolemical tone of this collection of seventeen essays, the editors explain that they use the term "opium regimes" to incorporate a range of organizations such as the East India Company, provincial Chinese anti-opium elite groups, the League of Nations, the National Anti-Opium Association active in China between 1914 and 1937, and the Japanese army in Manchuria. The concept of "regimes," the editors emphasize, allows them to "highlight the systematic and comprehensive character of drug-control structures and to stress their capacity for operating in the political realm and their awareness that it was necessary to do so" (pp. 4–5).

Perhaps unusually in the case of such edited volumes, each of the seventeen essays makes a significant contribution to the historiography of the topic. In the opening essay, Gregory Blue points out that "the long nineteenth-century opium trade can be seen as a multinational, collaborative institution that bound Indian peasants, British and Indian governments, a vast mass of Chinese consumers, and an array of Western, Parsee, Sephardic, and most of all Chinese merchants together in an immense revenue-generating system" (p. 45), and some version of this broad approach to opium is attempted by all of the other contributors. As a result, every one of these essays meshes with other areas of research that are currently giving much energy and liveliness to the field of modern Chinese history. For example, Wakabayashi's essay on the perceptions of the opium trade in China as seen through nineteenth-century Japanese eyes flows naturally into the stream of recent studies of Japanese "Orientalism" in its various guises; the essays by Carl A. Trocki and David Bello provide new pieces to the puzzle of China's relationships with its peripheries in the later Qing and early Republican period; Alexander Des Forges's analysis of the urban economics of opium consumption in Shanghai fits seamlessly with the numerous studies of civil society in its various Shanghai guises that have recently been appearing. Joyce A. Madancy's essay on "Poppies, Patriotism, and the Public Sphere" is especially vivid in showing the extraordinary intrusive power into people's homes and daily lives exercised by nonbureaucratic Fujian elites in their moralistic assaults against opium. Her analysis perfectly complements the broader considerations of nationalism in the same province just published by Ryan Dunch in *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857–1927* (2001). Other essays intersect either with recently published analyses of Shanghai's criminal and police structures, or with new studies of the Japanese collaborationist regimes in the 1930s and the early 1940s, once virtually a taboo topic.

The last essay, by Zhou Yongming, on the anti-drug crusade in the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1952, answers a historiographical question that has intrigued many scholars: why are there so few Chinese sources on the Communists' own early and successful opium suppression campaigns? The answer, as Zhou

clearly shows, is surprisingly simple. The outbreak of the Korean War meant that the United States was assembling every shred of evidence it could find on Chinese perfidy, to bolster its own and the United Nations' claims to rectitude during that bitterly fought contest. In this propaganda war, Chinese leaders realized that, however hard they praised themselves for eradicating the narcotics scourge, the use made of their data in the United States would emphasize statistics on the levels of drug addiction in China and ignore China's moral arguments. For this reason, the Chinese authorities conducted their huge and draconian drug suppression movement without leaving a paper trail of documents, memos, or reports. Instead they acted by loudspeaker, by rallies, and by means of neighborhood watch groups and performed their mass executions in public places but without written public announcements.

Given the high level of research demonstrated in these essays, one can be confident that a number of these authors will publish full monographs on the topics they covered in brief in this particular volume. Edward R. Slack, Jr., has already done so. The more spacious format of the monograph has enabled Slack to develop his analysis across numerous conceptual (as well as geographical and chronological) areas. Slack does not let the reader forget the scale of narcotics with which the Guomindang (GMD) authorities were contending. He provides his own estimate that some 15,000 tons of Chinese-grown opium were circulating annually within China, servicing some ten million "addicts" and countless more social or recreational users, but he keeps most of his analysis tightly linked to the sources he has located in the GMD archives in Taiwan and in the Nanjing "Number Two Archive," which has its focus on the Republican period. Slack provides a tightly documented analysis of why and how the nationalist government came to rely so much on opium revenues despite its own professed intentions to the contrary, and of how the opium revenue was parceled out among competing recipients; how the government portions were spent; and what the role of the Chinese banking system was in processing—and in some instances "laundering"—the sums available. Opium revenue was the key to many warlords' power bases, as Chiang Kai-shek well knew; hence Chiang's focus was on slowly drawing individual warlords into a system of GMD control that would make them ultimately dependent on his political organization rather than their local bases.

Slack points out the differences between the "Yangzi River corridor" for opium flow in central China and the "Guangxi corridor" routes in the south and shows how the GMD struggled to control them both. He also shows why the GMD government had to work so closely with criminal syndicates like the Green and the Red Gangs. The scale of operations was indeed massive: opium tax farming netted Chiang around \$15.4 million for his anti-Communist military suppression campaigns in 1927. Soon after, H. H.

Kung in Hankou was able to feed some \$32 million in opium revenues to Chiang. Shanghai's criminal bosses were accumulating for themselves anywhere from \$5 million to \$30 million a year. Throughout this period, as Slack shows, there continued to be passionate opposition to GMD opium exploitation policies. He presents Garfield Huang, long-time head of the Nationalist Anti-Opium Association, as being a man of immense courage and tenacity.

On the role of opium within the larger context of the national economy, Slack also offers some striking figures. Opium-related revenues probably provided between 11.2 percent and 9.5 percent of the GMD's annual revenue in the 1930s. Opium revenues, however, remained lower than revenues from two other sources: maritime customs and the salt monopoly. The revenues from opium as a crop in 1933 seem to have been around five percent of GDP. Certainly this was a huge amount, but does it justify describing China as a "narco-economy"? One could ask the same question about the point made by Brook and Wakabayashi that "the British empire could not survive" without its injections of opium-induced capital (p. 6). Both these absorbing books show that opium was profoundly important in the overall scheme of things between 1830 and 1950, but they do not prove that without opium there would have been no British Empire, or no state building and anti-Communist victories by the GMD. Both regimes were larger and more enduring than the juice of the poppy that in part sustained them.

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RANA MITTER. *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 295. \$45.00.

In this well-researched and cleverly crafted book, Rana Mitter offers us a detailed account of the events occurring immediately after the Manchurian Incident of September 18, 1931, an important event in the history of modern China and the Sino-Japanese relationship. This incident not only marked the initial step of Japan's military aggression against China but also redirected the course of Chinese politics: having recently unified China by defeating the warlords on both military and monetary terms, the Kuomintang (KMT) under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership was distracted from its campaign against the Communists. In studying the incident and its impact on the future development of Chinese history, many scholars, especially those in the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC), have pointed out that Chiang's "non-resistance policy" after the incident cost him popularity and contributed to his ultimate defeat by the Communists in 1949. The Manchurian Incident triggered a strong tidal wave of Chinese nationalism. Chiang, however, stood in its way.

To Mitter, the Chinese resistance to Japan's occu-

pation of Manchuria in the 1930s is a myth of twentieth-century Chinese politics. To debunk this myth, he has conducted detailed and careful research into initial Chinese reactions to the incident. He pursues two aims: one is "to examine the reality of the occupation during the period when the Japanese-created state of Manchukuo was established and stabilized (1931–1933)," and the other is "to demonstrate the importance of the events of the early 1930s in the formation of modern Chinese nationalism" (p. 2). These two aims help structure the book. By noting the various ways in which the Manchurian Chinese reacted to Japan's invasion—especially the collaboration of both the provincial and local elites with the Japanese, to which Mitter obviously wants to draw readers' attention—he questions the "resistance" narrative prevailing in previous scholarship. To help readers understand why these elites opted for collaboration, he offers a succinct description of Zhang Xueliang's largely unsuccessful social and political reform in Manchuria during 1928 and 1931, when Zhang became the ruler of the region after his father's untimely death in the hands of the Japanese military. Zhang's rather heavy-handed reform caused misgivings among some power brokers in the region, including Xi Qia (misspelled as Xi Xia in the book), Zhang Jinghui, and Yu Chonghan, who were co-opted one after another into the government established by the Japanese in 1931. While Mitter did not do a statistical study of the percentage of Manchurian officials and generals who collaborated with the Japanese, he has provided enough evidence, I think, to challenge the readily accepted and overarching "resistance" narrative in describing the Chinese response to the incident.

There was, of course, resistance, as Mitter demonstrates. His interest is focused on the activities of the Northeast National Salvation Society (NNSS) and Ma Zhanshan, a Manchurian militarist who unsuccessfully resisted the Japanese invasion. His examination leads him to conclude that, while the NNSS activists successfully used the Manchurian Incident to rally the Chinese to their country's defense by adopting nationalist ideas and terminology formulated decades earlier, their actions were also motivated and shaped by many local and temporal factors. A more telling example is Ma Zhanshan, whose oscillation between resistance and defection to the Japanese was, Mitter argues, more the result of political calculation than ideals; hence Ma is not the nationalist hero that the "resistance" narrative portrays. In analyzing Ma's redefection, however, Mitter attributes it to the influence of nationalism. This shows that what actually happens in history is more complex than either the nationalist "resistance" narrative or its critics can explain.

In sum, Mitter's study represents a pioneering effort at reevaluating the importance of nationalism in modern Chinese history in general, and the significance of the Manchurian Incident in particular. However, the value of his book lies more in telling a hitherto untold story of Chinese collaboration with the Japanese than

in debunking the “resistance” myth, for there really has been no myth but rather choices made by historians. Japan’s rule of Manchuria entailed some level of collaboration from the Chinese, which ought to be common knowledge. But some historians in China have chosen to ignore it and focus instead on the resistance. What differentiates Mitter and his Chinese colleagues is this: for the former, “to be nationalist is not, after all, a question of merit or morality” (p. 12), whereas for the latter, it is very much the case, even to this day.

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WANG FAN-SEN. *Fu Su-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics*. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 261. \$59.95.

Fu Su-nien, founder and director of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (1927–1948), and president of Taiwan National University (1949–1950), was a fascinating figure in the history of modern China. He began as a cultural iconoclast and May Fourth protestor in his student days at Beijing University, later rising to prominence as a historian of Chinese antiquity and an advocate of an “academic society” for Chinese scholars. In politics, during the Nationalist period, he was a “third kind of man” walking a path between the two major parties before eventually being driven to the Nationalists by his anticommunism. Late in 1948, he followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan, where he died two years later, a different man from the cultural iconoclast that he once was.

The book under review is the first in-depth biography of Fu. Drawing on an impressive array of archival material, including Fu’s private papers, Wang Fan-sen portrays Fu as a man steeped in history and politics throughout his life, and one who had made significant contributions as a historian, educator, and political and social critic. Fu was particularly well known for his advocacy of a new kind of historiography emphasizing monographic studies and the use of primary archival sources, as opposed to general history that provided excessive interpretations and overgeneralizations. He believed in research for research’s sake, irrespective of the social and political needs of the time, a policy he pursued in his institute. He advanced the controversial theory of the plural origins of Chinese antiquity. He critiqued the introspective moral philosophy of the Confucian tradition, and, in the spirit of the New Culture Movement, advocated wholesale Westernization and radical cultural change prior to political engagement.

The greatest contribution of the book lies in the insights it provides into the kind of dilemma in which modern Chinese intellectuals found themselves. China’s postimperial intelligentsia was divided over culture and politics, and the likes of Fu who began as

cultural iconoclasts in the May Fourth era were soon torn between conservatism and radicalism, between right-wing fanaticism and left-wing extremism, as well as between anti-imperialist nationalism and anti-Chinese traditionalism. The dilemma was posed by the national crisis brought to a head by Japanese aggression in Manchuria that culminated in an eight-year war. During the crisis, Fu found himself to be “a bundle of contradictions” as he was torn between his innermost Chinese self and his Western frame of mind. But he was not alone. In this, he typified a whole generation of post-May Fourth intellectuals caught in the national crisis feeling compelled to reconcile Western values with the claims of Chinese patriotism and national identity. What Fu demonstrated was that being “a bundle of contradictions” was quite natural for those who operated within a framework of common concerns. Despite their differing views on culture and politics, it was possible for them to be at once a liberal, a conservative, a radical, and a patriot, and to revise their views as circumstances changed. Thus, for all his academic integrity, Fu, behaving like a nationalist, had no qualms about publishing in 1932 a poorly researched first volume of *An Outline of the History of China’s Northeast* in an attempt to refute the Japanese claim that Manchuria historically was not an integral part of China. Not surprisingly, following the Communist accession to power, Fu, taking refuge in Taiwan, reappraised his views on Chinese traditions and introspective moral philosophy.

Considering the subtitle of the book, Wang’s biography of Fu is long on history and short on politics. Although we are told about Fu’s role as a delegate to the wartime People’s Political Council, his brief visit to Yen-an, and his criticisms of H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong that led to their dismissal as premiers in 1945 and 1947, respectively, the coverage of Fu’s political life is limited. Wang is more interested in culture and history than politics. Noting that Fu did not like to call himself a liberal, Wang characterizes him as a “hybrid liberal and socialist” but fails to probe his liberal and/or socialist thought. I wanted to know a bit more about Fu and company’s meeting with Mao Zedong in Yen-an and more about his relations with the minor political parties and groups such as the Chinese Democratic League, as well as with other nonpartisans. I gained the impression that Fu was more progovernment than independent.

These imperfections apart, this eminently readable book deserves the attention of all those interested in modern Chinese cultural and intellectual history.

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MASUDA WATARU. *Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era*. Translated by JOSHUA A. FOGEL. New York: St. Martin’s. 2000. Pp. ix, 298.

This collection of twenty-eight detailed bibliographic essays by the erudite Japanese scholar of modern

Chinese literature, Masuda Wataru (1903–1977), provides extraordinary glimpses into the complex intertextualities of Japanese attempts in the nineteenth century to make sense of China. Masuda addresses four areas: the earliest forms of knowledge of the West that Japanese gleaned from Chinese books (chapters one through six), Japanese and Chinese documentary evidence regarding the Opium War (chapters seven through fifteen), Japanese knowledge of the Taiping Rebellion (chapters sixteen through twenty-two), and materials on Japanese piracy on the China coast in the seventeenth century (chapters twenty-three through twenty-eight). He tackles these topics in order to settle important questions in Sino-Japanese history, but also to reflect on the epistemological dilemma that Japanese faced in trying to understand events in China as one country outstripped the other in adapting to the new global environment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Specialists engaged either with this problematic or with the particular historical events Masuda addresses will find his careful bibliographic reconstructions and multifaceted analyses worth pursuing through the dense details that would have delighted his Japanese readers when the essays were first published in the 1970s.

This is what the book does well, and Joshua A. Fogel has accomplished a major feat in bringing these essays into English. What the book does not do is live up to the monumental title, or even the intriguing subtitle, of the English edition. Anyone wanting to understand the relationship of mutual perception that took form between Japan and China in the last two centuries would not want to start with this book, and indeed would be better advised to read Fogel's own *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862–1945* (1996) before plunging into the often arcane textual thickets that Masuda loves. It is a pleasure following Masuda as he works so meticulously to establish the authority of sources and pursue mutations of ideas and arguments through later sources, and he is well served by his translator, who matches Masuda's erudition and thoroughness with his own. But the reader who picks up the book on the strength of its title will find that it demands a foundation of specialized knowledge, and that Masuda emerges only intermittently from the thickets to convey the larger picture.

One of the very few references that stumps both author and translator appears in a preface to an 1849 manuscript account of the Opium War (p. 81). The author of that work, Nagayama Nuki, observes that, now that the British have taken Hong Kong, their access to the newly opened treaty ports will "be but lands of the skin of oxen." The reference is to the Spanish occupation of Manila in the 1570s. According to Chinese (but not Spanish) accounts, the Spanish bribed the Moro ruler Soliman into granting them a piece of land no bigger than an ox hide. As chapter 323 of the Ming dynastic history tells it, "the Spaniards tore the ox hide into strips and joined them end to end

to a length of a dozen kilometers, which they used to mark out a piece of land, and then asked the ruler to fulfil his promise. The ruler was shocked, but he had made a promise and had no choice but to grant permission." Soliman was assassinated shortly thereafter. "Ox hide" thus stood for the thin edge of the colonial wedge that within a few years reduced the Philippines to a Spanish colony. By using this image to open his book, Nagayama warns that Chinese leaders have been duped into making concessions they should have refused, thereby rendering China vulnerable to British colonization. The reference shows nicely that, while history may not exactly repeat itself, the language of Sino-Japanese historiography did, as Masuda himself so well understood.

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JOHN E. VAN SANT. *Pacific Pioneers: Japanese Journeys to America and Hawaii, 1850–80*. Foreword by ROGER DANIELS. (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 191. \$37.50.

The study of Japanese-American history has long been dominated by work on the Nisei, or second generation. It has focused particularly on the tribulations they faced in internment camps and on the heroic exploits of Japanese-American soldiers during World War II. Their parents, the Issei, who also were in those camps and who had lived several decades in the United States before the war, have been slighted in historical writing. Part of the problem is that few scholars know sufficient Japanese to work in Japanese-language archival materials, which are abundant yet almost untouched.

John E. Van Sant has the language skills to do archival work, coupled with a solid grasp of Japanese history. He has produced a small but important book to supplement recent work by Yuji Ichioka, Mitziko Sawada, and Linda Tamura, and perhaps to point toward future scholarship that might be undertaken by these and other scholars.

Van Sant's interest is not in the mass immigration that began in the 1880s and continued into the 1910s. Rather, he focuses on a very small number of Japanese subjects who came to the United States as individuals between the 1850s and the 1880s. They were various and unrelated to one another. He includes chapters on Joseph Heco, a castaway who became an American citizen; the Yokoi brothers, who went to Rutgers University; the stowaway Nijima Jo, who went back to Japan as a Christian missionary; builders of utopian communes; early contract laborers on Hawaiian sugar plantations; and refugees from the Meiji Restoration, who planted an agricultural colony in the California hills.

Van Sant has made efficient use of Japanese archives and printed sources. He does a good job of relating the fundamentals of late Tokugawa and Meiji political culture to the emigrant enterprise. He has

gathered in one volume stories that had previously been told in a variety of places. Van Sant does not offer interpretive innovations so much as the implicit comparison of having the stories told together. He tries to place these stories in the context of other, similar stories, for example, by telling us not only about Heco but also about another famous stowaway named Manjiro. He does less, however, to relate the lives of these precursors to the later mass migration that formed the Issei generation, or to inquire into their possible relation to the changing U.S. racial order of their era. Van Sant's writing is sturdy if seldom elegant. His book is thus a small brick in the edifice of Japanese-American history, but a worthy one.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON. *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 177.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 1999. Pp. xviii, 363. \$40.00.

This study of the politics of Japanese foreign policy making during World War I is both a stimulating examination of new material and a provocative reinterpretation of familiar data. Frederick R. Dickinson situates the formulation of Japan's wartime policies toward China and the Great Powers squarely in the context of competing domestic conceptions of Japan's national identity, or national essence. This perspective suggests that Japan's leaders were designers of their own nation, and creators of their own destinies, rather than being able only to react defensively to the external dangers (and humiliations) posed by Western imperialism and great power relationships.

Dickinson sees a fundamental political cleavage between two competing visions of Japan's identity. One, held by the senior statesman Yamagata Aritomo and his faction of military and civilian bureaucrats, defined Japan in terms of empire, a large army, and oligarchic rule. This national identity was patterned after imperial Germany and required continental expansion, large armed forces, and, almost inevitably, war in order to maintain its legitimacy and the legitimacy of oligarchic rule. But peace eroded the nation's commitment to the maintenance of such large armed forces and nourished yearnings for lower taxes, greater political rights, and access to participation in government. Yamagata's position was shaken severely in 1913 by the Diet's refusal to fund new army divisions, and by a dramatic overturning of his decision to reinstall one of his protégés as premier.

By 1914, according to Dickinson, Foreign Minister Kato Takaaki had articulated the main alternative conception of Japan's national identity in the political and foreign policy realms. A career diplomat, Anglophile, and political party leader, Kato was determined to reify his vision of Japan's essence as a traditional

nineteenth-century imperial power allied with Britain. His conception of Japan also posited armed forces harnessed securely within the established "rules" of great power competition for influence in China, and a parliamentary form of representative government supplanting the authoritarian rule of the oligarchy. Kato's foreign policy initiatives, including adherence to the Anglo-Japanese alliance and submitting the Twenty-One Demands to China, are seen here as conducing to the establishment of his conception of Japan's national identity. Likewise, his political style, featuring an assault on the extracabinet informal power of the oligarchic senior statesmen, sought to establish the primacy of the cabinet, and the foreign ministry in particular, in the formulation of foreign policy.

Once Kato left office in 1915, Yamagata's faction was able to reassert its view of the national essence through aggressive and ambitious foreign policy initiatives that ultimately required larger armies, territorial expansion, and the perpetuation of oligarchic rule. Dickinson traces these initiatives, including plans to overthrow Yuan Shih-kai in China, align China with Japan in preparation for a racial Armageddon between East and West, supplant Britain with Russia as Japan's strategic Western ally, utilize wartime prosperity to expand Japan's continental influence through the Nishihara loans, and, finally, embark enthusiastically on the Siberian intervention. Each policy was drawn, in his view, to legitimize further the Yamagata faction's vision of the national essence. Each, therefore, aimed at expanding the empire, enlarging the armed forces and their sphere of operations, and justifying the perpetuation of oligarchic rule.

Dickinson contends that the Siberian venture marked the final opportunity for Yamagata's faction to exploit the wartime situation to advance its view of the national essence. With peace, this view was vigorously challenged by the political resurgence of men like Kato, and by the powerful ideologies of democracy and internationalism embedded in Woodrow Wilson's redefinition of the model state as the very antithesis of Germany's empire, arms, and authoritarianism. But, the author notes, the Yamagata faction and its heirs by no means surrendered their beliefs about the toxicity of internationalism, arms limitations, and democracy, and they continued to resist and criticize the institutions and practices of party government, constrictions on military expansion, and international cooperation. In this way, they anticipated the reemergence in the 1930s of a new definition of the national essence, wherein empire, arms, and authoritarianism again comprised the nucleus of Japan's national identity.

Dickinson's account highlights often overlooked themes and individuals, and expands conventional notions of contemporary diplomatic history. His bold efforts to extend the thematic analysis backward into the Tokugawa era and forward to the present offer new and valuable, if not always fully persuasive, perspectives on the relationship of domestic politics to foreign relations. As a bonus, the book is wonderfully

illustrated with contemporary cartoons and, for the reader of Japanese, fascinating “ranking charts” of Japan’s most important leaders of the World War I era.

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MICHAEL LEWIS. *Becoming Apart: National Power and Local Politics in Toyama, 1868–1945*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 192.) Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 2000. pp. xviii, 340. \$45.00.

The title of this book by Michael Lewis nicely captures the tensions that run through the study between national integration and regional marginalization, between the pull of central funding and control and the push for genuine local autonomy. One of the author’s main arguments is that what caused Toyama and other prefectures on the periphery to lag economically behind Pacific Coast areas after 1868, and to become part of the subordinate “backside of Japan” (*Ura Nihon*), was not some kind of geographical or environmental determinism but, rather, conscious policy decisions by central government officials and metropolitan businessmen. A corollary theme is that local elites and party politicians, in the course of “supplicating” the government for resources primarily to control Toyama’s raging rivers, tended over time to put the centralizing priorities of the state ahead of those of their home region. To fill the resulting void in local political representation, ad hoc groups of Toyama residents periodically resorted to public protests and riots in opposition to central initiatives that harmed their interests. Such outbursts of resistance made for a much more contested process of nation building than standard accounts suggest, one that rendered post-1868 Toyama “both a part of the greater nation and a distinct section apart from it” (p. 5). With the rise of “grassroots imperialism” in support of Japan’s growing empire, the local populace ultimately came to embrace national priorities, especially after the Japanese takeover of Manchuria beginning in 1931, even as the prefecture itself remained ironically an internal “colony” of sorts. Lewis concludes by examining postwar legacies of Toyama’s pre-1945 relationship with the center, ranging from continuing perceptions of the prefecture as Japan’s domestic “other” to continuities in patronage politics and dependency that originated with the determined efforts of local “river politicians” to tap the national treasury in the Meiji period (1868–1912).

Each of the substantive chapters, especially those on “river politics,” popular protest, and local imperialism, is a gem of information and insight. The fascinating analyses of these subjects make signal contributions, showing the late nineteenth-century antecedents of the

well-known pork-barrel politics of the twentieth century, the stunning variety and premodern heritage of local protests, and the popular basis of prewar Japanese imperialism. These chapters will make for lively reading in topical courses such as the ones I teach for undergraduates on protest and rebellion and on colonialism and imperialism in modern East Asia. Lewis enlivens the text with excerpts from satirical newspaper articles and illustrations of contemporary posters and advertisements. And by supplying detailed and often colorful vignettes of local worthies responding to metropolitan initiatives, he effectively personalizes the story of regional-central interaction and restores human agency to the local level in what historians have typically portrayed as a top-down process viewed from the center.

Offering an important corrective to overly positive assessments of Japan’s post-1868 modernization, critical analysis of culture and politics “on the margins” has become fashionable in Japanese studies. Working from that perspective, Lewis gives compelling examples of actions by state ministries and private business monopolies that contributed to the “creation of backwardness” (p. 71) in Toyama. But at least some of the evidence he presents points more to market and environmental forces than to policy choices as having driven the peripheralization of that prefecture. For instance, he suggests that the local decline of textile industries, which spearheaded industrialization in Japan as a whole, stemmed from a lack not of local initiative but of capital, both from private and state sources, but he does not explain fully why the productive and diversified economy of pre-1868 Toyama failed to generate sufficient private capital for a sector that went largely unsubsidized by the government elsewhere.

Historians of modern Japan will recognize the study’s significance in providing a richly textured local perspective on such key issues in prewar Japanese history as state formation, Diet politics, and empire building. But for the benefit of the uninitiated, the author might have placed the book more fully in historiographical context, relating it, for example, to the pioneering studies of Andrew Fraser on local-central connections in Meiji Japan (e.g., *National Election Politics in Tokushima* [1972]) or to more recent work on the peripheralization of certain Japanese regions and localities. He also could have addressed more explicitly the comparative implications of his study by exploring parallels between his case and underdevelopment in places like Appalachian America and southern Italy. Still, Lewis has furnished a wealth of suggestive material for others to draw such comparisons and has markedly deepened our understanding of the process of nation-building in prewar Japan.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

BOB REECE. *The Origins of Irish Convict Transportation to New South Wales*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xx, 373. \$69.95.

The history of the transportation of convicts remains an ongoing source of fascination to Australian historians. This is a colorful and intriguing past of individual and collective endurance, heroism, tragedy and social mobility. The tales of travel during the eighteenth century are characterized by the glamor of visiting faraway and exotic places, but under horrendous and life-threatening conditions that saw many lose their lives at sea. In more recent times, the experiences of convicts themselves have been spotlighted by historians as the class, gender, and occupational profile of the men and women sent to exile has come under scrutiny. Bob Reece's meticulous and significant study of Irish transportation to New South Wales is situated within both earlier and more recent debates in this field. In considering the discussions of the press, judiciary, and Parliament that took place for and against Irish transportation, Reece engages with ongoing debate about the reasons for convict transportation to New South Wales. But this is not a dry political history, and Reece's accounts of the personal experiences in the stories he conveys enliven the text and engage the reader.

Reece is right in his claims that Irish transportation has been largely overlooked by Australian scholars and Irish historians alike. Little consideration has been given to Irish transatlantic transportation, or to the ways in which it was a controversial social and political issue in Ireland during the late eighteenth century. Reece aims to address this absence by documenting a history of Irish transatlantic transportation during the period and considering the ways in which New South Wales was a destination for the Irish.

Ireland, like England, has a long history of exporting its vagabonds and criminals to the West Indies and North America, dating before 1783. There was a demand for cheap indentured labor, and from the early eighteenth century, transportation to the Americas was instituted within the Irish criminal justice system. The labor value of Irish as well as English convicts and their cheapness in relation to newly imported African slaves meant that they continued to be in demand. This labor question associated with transportation is a fascinating aspect of convict history that Reece develops and explores with flair and erudition.

No separate study has been made of Irish convicts in the American colonies either. What Reece calls the "tragicomic story" of the nine shipments of Irish convicts who arrived between 1784 and 1789 constitutes a part of the Irish diaspora. This study makes significant cultural links between Ireland, North America, and New South Wales, the legacy of which endured in shaping the histories of those places of punishment. For example, enacting a piece of legislation that

dispatched to New South Wales a body of Irish Catholic petty criminals in effect prevented the erection of "any new Protestant ascendancy in the antipodes" (p. 235).

The other context within which transportation is placed is that of the history of Irish crime and punishment. Focusing on Dublin, where most criminals were sentenced to transportation, Reece recreates the underworld with color and depth. Although it is not right to speak of a "criminal class" as such, Reece shows the ways in which pickpockets were a common phenomenon, where whole gangs converged on busy city thoroughfares. Stories of celebrated professional thieves in Dublin, such as the colorful character George Barrington, add a fascinating dimension to this study. Barrington was a thief and pickpocket who was finally caught and dispatched to New South Wales, where he subsequently became chief constable of Parramatta. Reece's description of prostitutes who often robbed their customers and were involved in picking pockets and shoplifting brings the narrative to life. The author's discussion of efforts to establish a new prison system during the eighteenth century situates this important work within histories of incarceration as well.

This book certainly complicates our understanding of the nature of Irish convict transportation to New South Wales. In attempting to cover such themes as indentured labor, prison reform, the Dublin working classes, Irish transportation before 1783, and the Irish diaspora, at times the narrative becomes fragmentary and disparate. Some of the detail of public debates is definitely for the benefit of the specialist. What keeps the reader engrossed is Reece's powerful documentation of the human experience of chance, fate, and adventure in a world when transportation reinvented the lives of generations of Irish men and women.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ANDREW C. HOLMAN. *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 243. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Andrew C. Holman's purpose is to describe and account for the formation, the structure, and the values of the Canadian middle class between 1850 and 1890. To accomplish his task, Holman has adopted Anthony Giddens's model of "structuration," which attempts to account for class formation in terms of both objective criteria (for example, evidence of social mobility) and subjective definition (for example, class "awareness"). Holman applies this model to the populations of two Ontario towns: Goderich, a lakeport and local administrative center largely bypassed by significant industrial and commercial development, and Galt, a busy manufacturing center that epitomized Ontario's mid-

Victorian industrial revolution. The resulting case studies lead Holman to conclude that middle-class formation in Victorian Ontario was an urban phenomenon; that the structure of the middle class reflected the nonmanual occupational structures peculiar to each limited, local society; and that workplace relations were the essential building blocks of a broader middle-class culture. Its local hegemony ultimately was promoted through the activities of voluntary associations, through common perceptions of—and attempts to control—the other two classes (the “vulgar” rich and the “barren” poor), and through shared assumptions about the nature of private and public moral and social respectability.

Holman postulates that Ontario's middle class was fundamentally the product of nonmanual work through which workers shared a common occupational identity defined by actual or potential socioeconomic success, independence, authority, and public spiritedness, and by an awareness that they were neither fettered by the constraints that limited the social mobility of the working class nor susceptible to the materialistic excesses of the very rich. Holman makes clear, however, the relationship between the discrete functions of these dissimilar towns and, consequently, the unique personnel of their emerging middle classes. In Goderich, the administrative seat of Huron County, it was the lawyers, doctors, clergymen, public officials, and shopkeepers who became the visible local bourgeoisie; in industrializing Galt, the merchants, manufacturers, master artisans, bank managers, and white collar clerks did so. Nevertheless, Holman argues, in both towns occupational confraternity sustained a common middle-class culture rooted in shared beliefs—in capitalism, social mobility, separate gender spheres, the sanctity of family life, and the primacy of public order—that were pursued and broadcast to the other two classes as prescriptive values. In both places, these activities took place through the towns' voluntary associations (fraternal lodges in particular), self-improvement societies, churches, and movements of social and moral reform (especially the temperance movement). Middle-class culture was a public culture sustained by private exemplification of the meaning of domestic harmony and, above all, by individual respectability as evidenced in the middle-class concern for fashion (discreet), manners (good), personal habits (clean), grooming (meticulous), comportment (circumscribed), demeanor (modest), discourse (elevated), and conduct (affable). These traits, says Holman, were the essential rungs of the urban bourgeoisie's narrowly defined “ladder of life” (p. 158).

This book is a convincing, articulate, skillful, even graceful, marriage of theory, historiographical explication, and primary evidence. It deserves to be read in conjunction with David G. Burley's *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario* (1994) and Sara Jeanette Duncan's Victorian novel, *The Imperialist* (1904), for a full appreciation of the progressive conservative

impulse that defined, promoted, and sustained the hegemony of middle-class culture in late nineteenth-century urban Ontario. If I have any reservations about Holman's argument, it is a niggling perception that this process must have reached out from metropolises large and small into the rural hinterland, where independent agrarian capitalists promoted the Country Life movement and joined the Patrons of Industry to validate their own assumptions about occupational identity, class, gender, and culture. At any rate, Holman has succeeded in transforming a much-overworked adjective into a meaningful noun. His next task, one hopes, will be to use this conception of the middle class to help resolve the historiographical dispute over the meaning—altruism or control? optimism or fear?—of its critical intervention in the public sphere during the subsequent era of moral and social reform in Canada.

DAVID GAGAN

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AKHIL REED AMAR. *The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction*. Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 412. \$17.95.

Akhil Reed Amar's brilliant study of the American Bill of Rights demonstrates that, despite two hundred years of intense scrutiny, fresh insights can be unearthed from a document deeply encrusted with glosses upon glosses. Amar's originality lies in his two distinct lines of attack. First, he reminds us that “our constitution is a single document, and not a jumble of disconnected clauses,” a fact easily lost sight of in the “clausebound approach” that dominates modern constitutional scholarship as well as law school education (p. 125). Insisting that the document is more than its parts, Amar points out how much is lost in the clausebound approach: it “misses the ways in which structure and rights mutually reinforce. It misses interesting questions within amendments . . . It misses thematic continuities across different amendments . . . It misses the many linkages between the original constitution and the Bill” (p. 125). His holistic vision goes a long way to provide these missing elements.

Amar's second line of attack, as the book's subtitle indicates, is to present the Bill of Rights as it was understood at its creation and then in its predominant modern incarnation, refracted through the lens of the Reconstruction-era Fourteenth Amendment. Many lawyers tend to lose sight of the bill's original context, he cautions, and view it from a twentieth-century vantage point where states seem to threaten, and the federal government to protect, individual and minority rights. This warning against anachronistic assumptions is, one hopes, unnecessary for historians. To underline his point, Amar divides the book into two sections, one dealing with the Bill of Rights at its creation, the other with its reconstruction. In addition to this ambitious agenda, the book is chock full of fascinating accounts of unratified amendments, the changing role of juries,

early exponents of states' rights, and those who believed from the outset that the first ten amendments were meant to apply to the states. Amar's two major approaches, however, deserve closer attention.

Part one, the creation, is especially fruitful. Amendments are grouped by general theme: military; searches, seizures, and takings; juries; and popular-sovereignty amendments. Juries are given special prominence, for Amar sees the jury at the core of the entire bill, no less than "[t]he dominant strategy to keep agents of the central government under control," a second branch of the judicial system (p. 83). He provides a fascinating account of the case for jury, as opposed to judicial, review and tracks the shrinking role of juries in criminal trials.

True to his holistic vision, Amar suggests a great variety of links, such as those between juries and the militia, which involve citizen participation; connections between the First Amendment's protection of speech and the Fifth Amendment's protection of grand jurors from the libel laws; and numerous connections between particular amendments and particular articles and sections of the Constitution.

With all these riches, it seems crass to find fault. But Amar's ready acceptance of Lawrence Cress's theory that when the framers intended an individual right they used the term "man" or "person" but switched to "the people" when a collective right was meant makes for a strained and unconvincing interpretation of many amendments. This demands a collective interpretation of the First, Second, Fourth, Ninth, and Tenth Amendments. It leads Amar to ask, for example, whether James Madison's use of the phrase "the people" was "simply sloppy draftsmanship, or is there a way of understanding the phrase as a collective noun even in the Fourth Amendment," with its protection against unreasonable search (p. 65). Certainly all our rights have a populist echo, a collective benefit, but to insist that persons and people had sharply different meanings and to force that distinction on clearly individual rights flies in the face of Chief Justice John Marshall's rule that the meaning of the Constitution "must be collected from its words; that its words are to be understood in that sense in which they are generally used by those for whom the instrument was intended."

The section on "Reconstruction" expounds and weighs the three main theories on the extent to which the Fourteenth Amendment incorporates, or extends, Bill of Rights protections to the states: Felix Frankfurter's view that only conceptions of fundamental fairness and ordered liberty were incorporated; Hugo Black's insistence on total incorporation of at least the first eight amendments; and William J. Brennan's "selective incorporation," which leaves the courts to decide clause by clause and right by right which rights are fundamental and, therefore, protected against state intervention. Amar offers us his own framework of "refined incorporation."

In sum this is a grand book, broadly and originally

conceived, written in clear, jargon-free prose; it is a treat for the layman as well as the specialist.

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MIT Security Studies Program

DAVID E. KYVIG, editor. *Unintended Consequences of Constitutional Amendment*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2000. Pp. 260. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$20.00.

Texas Supreme Court Historical Society board meetings spark when veteran justices recall "unintended consequences" stemming from the unsystematic 390-plus amendments to the state's creaky Reconstruction-era constitution. Twice older but amended only twenty-seven times, the U. S. Constitution has inspired far more scholarship than states' analogs. Nevertheless, when introducing this important volume, editor-contributor David E. Kyvig notes correctly that it "offers the first focused and extended consideration of the unintended consequences of [national] constitutional amendment" (p. 5). An intended consequence of able scholarship and firm editing, essays in this coherent compendium complement others, an uncommon feature of such efforts. The commendable result offers teachers, students, and researchers ideas to use and analyses to exploit.

Of ideas, Richard Hamm worries if the "focus on unintended consequences of amendments is to begin to walk down the perilous path of originalism" (p. 165). Similarly concerned, Suzanne Marilley asks, challengingly, whose intentions should measure the unintended consequences of an amendment? She asserts also that "The concept of 'unintended consequences' is itself politically charged and . . . as developed . . . by neoconservatives, encourages negative judgments about liberal reforms, particularly the reforms that have aimed to make the American polity more inclusive" (pp. 204-205). Other contributors opted not to question the unintended consequences theme. All these richly detailed and engagingly emphatic essays build reasonably context-sensitive interpretations from diligently assembled ascertainable facts. For example, Kyvig states correctly that the Constitution's framers incorporated calendared elections and amendments, both risky for a shaky, state-centered infant nation, because since 1775 Americans had already "engaged in a great continuous experiment in constitution making" (p. 15). Continuing experiments, amendments since 1865 reflected sometimes temporary but always deep shifts in race, gender, and political moralities. Some amendments, Kyvig suggests, inspired both compliances and evasions, a theme stressed in several complementary essays, and the accreted compliances and evasions ultimately confounded Carter-Clinton efforts to preserve the New Deal's "third American constitutional revolution . . . [because it] was built on far less secure foundations than the first in 1787 or the second after the Civil War" (p. 39).

Enriching criminal law history, David Bodenhamer agrees that "The newness of their enterprise took the framers beyond history in specifying the protections required by liberty" (p. 48). But the states' seemingly insurmountable primacy in criminal law matters kept Bill of Rights protections virtually irrelevant, especially for minorities. Reconstruction's amendments and implementations diminished this irrelevance only temporarily, as emphasized also in companion essays. For far too long, in practice neither federal nor state bills of rights protected individuals against localities' unreasonable searches, double jeopardy prosecutions, or self-incriminating practices, much less against statutory and customary bigotries. Surveying case law, Bodenhamer finds the most troubling consequence, possibly unintended, of the present Supremes' skewed views on history and federalism to be "the suggestion that the goal of criminal justice, indeed its sole standard, is convicting the guilty. This attitude makes rights of the accused subject to experimentation, dependent on the will of a popular majority. But rights are fundamental" (p. 69).

Attending to presidential selections and successions, a popular topic in 2000, Richard Currie analyzes what went haywire in 1800 with the Constitution's Article II provisions for electing the president. Readers will relish his clear description of how, unexpectedly, Amendment XII's intended correctives affected other sections of the Constitution, requiring tweakings. Disputed elections in 1876 and 2000 triggered few calls for further corrective amendments, a desirable inaction, Currie concludes, for the bottom bricks of our constitutional edifice should not be casually disturbed. Currie's suggestion (p. 76) that an unintended but foreseen consequence of XII was to make unlikely the selection of vice presidents truly qualified to be president will interest admirers of Teddy Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dick Cheney.

Making summation of his lucid essay superfluous, law dean Richard Aynes suggests that Amendment XIV's unintended consequences "include the effect of the citizenship clause . . . the unintended impotency of the privileges and immunities clause; the unintended neglect, for almost a century, of the equal protection clause to offer protection to African Americans; the unintended effect upon the rights of corporations" (p. 111). In only thirty pages, Aynes expands cogently on all these complex core topics. Implicit is a sense of how unfinished the Constitution was in 1861, a sense explicit in Attorney General Bates's 1862 lament to Lincoln about "the fruitless search in our law books and . . . courts for a clear and satisfactory definition of the phrase: citizen of the United States . . . Eighty years of practical enjoyment of [national] citizenship, under the Constitution, have not sufficed to teach us the exact meaning of the word or the constituent elements of the thing we prize so highly" (U. S. Attorney General, *Opinions*, X, 383). Of the Lincoln Republicans' search for the prize, Aynes eschews conspiracy theses and concludes that XIV's framers "simply did

not anticipate . . . [and] could not foresee" consequences (p. 132).

Concerning Amendment XV, Mary Farmer and Donald Nieman retell effectively how "Force Acts" implementations harassed the Klan but unintentionally fed racism, fueled the 1876–1877 political crisis, and led to the army's exit from the South. Unintended by its framers but foreseen by critics, including disappointed white women, XV's race-gender-servitude focus also bred hypocritical race-neutral practices that *Plessy vs. Ferguson* ultimately sanctioned. Supplementing especially Aynes's and Kyvig's analyses, the Farmer-Nieman essay examines succinctly states' and communities' exclusionary tools against would-be black balloters: literacy tests, poll taxes, property minima, gerrymandered districts, harsh local police, and lurking vigilantes. If, by excluding both blacks and illiterate and poor whites, such practices fostered populist resentments in the not-so-New South, by 1900 black belt Democrats successfully skirted XV, suppressed interracial politics, and institutionalized Jim Crow.

Hamm, on Amendments XVIII and XXI that, respectively, prohibited beverage alcohol and then recanted the policy, exploits the duo's rich documentation. His "Short Euphorias Followed by Long Hangovers" traces XVIII's antislavery and temperance roots and dismaying unintended consequences, the rise of unprecedentedly profitable and vicious crime hierarchies in liquor, prostitution, gambling, and, fatefully, narcotics. Snowballing anti-crime statutes and budgets for local, state, and national police, prosecutors, and prisons blurred federalism's boundaries and sapped Amendment IV's fitful vitality. Criminals' countermeasures corroded political processes and officials' integrity. By the early 1930s, jurists and politicians discerned in changing cultural attitudes and voting patterns reasons to repeal XVIII by adding XXI. But like racism, slavery's progeny, thriving despite XIII–XV, XVIII's bad seed, organized crime, survived XXI.

Asking why few immediate consequences aside from white women voting followed adoption of Amendment XIX, Marilley applauds its strategists though regretting the racial exclusions. Deep differences divided pioneers of the "votes for women" movement from those who won XIX. Marilley analogizes the prize, political inclusion for women through "political bargains made by the leaders of a powerless political group" (p. 201), to comparable pragmatic trades in enacting XIV and XV. Her views on women's self-imposed constraints on political participation except voting, and on contesting glass ceilings in business, government, or, by extension, academe, will provoke discussion. But, she insists, historians should not evaluate women's rights activists of the 1920s by goals little perceived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, goals still not fully achieved.

Kyvig's succinct afterword surveys other amendments, especially those setting term limits and succession of presidents and vice presidents. He concludes correctly that "Those who read these historical assess-

ments must consider whether the essays are merely interesting vignettes to be safely ignored or whether their insights should provide a foundation upon which to build with care and caution" (p. 242).

Yes, indeed. Texas's constitution next, please?

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NANCY BERCAW, editor. *Gender and the Southern Body Politic*. (Chancellor's Symposium Series.) Jackson: University of Mississippi Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 259. \$35.00.

In 1997, the Porter L. Fortune Symposium in Southern History at the University of Mississippi brought together eleven scholars who have, individually and collectively, shaken the pillars of southern political history by viewing everything from Bacon's Rebellion to the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) through an interpretive lens focused strongly on gender. The common assumption of the authors of the book under review is that an expanded definition of politics—one that views women and the disenfranchised as political actors, that marks the interconnections between the world of public life and households, that ponders the relationship between domestic violence and the power of the state, that considers the gendered responses of workers to integration—can reshape our understanding of the central events of southern history.

Like many published collections, this book's essays were produced originally as conference papers. Unusually, editor Nancy Bercaw has also published the comments of the respondents. The inclusion of the comments is pedagogically interesting: not every book includes a critique of its basic premise. This is provided by Winthrop Jordan, who seems to consider gender analysis the intellectual equivalent of inserting a quarter into a machine at the end of the bed: it may shake up interpretations in the short term, but it won't change anything in the long run. As he puts it, "No matter how powerfully persuasive a gender-oriented argument can be . . . it does not shift gears easily into other, and especially broader, levels of generalization" (p. 60). Reading this book, students may come to their own conclusions about whether or not gender is more inherently limited than other categories of analysis, including race, religion, ideology, and class.

The six essays cover a broad sweep of time, from the colonial era through the 1970s. The book begins with Jacquelyn Dowd Hall's conference keynote address, "'You Must Remember This': Autobiography as Social Critique." This essay explores the politics of history, by which Hall means "both the use of history as a technique of power and the search for a past that provides a sense of agency and a lever for critique" (p. 3). Tracing both through the interwoven lives of Elizabeth and Katherine Lumpkin, Hall calls for a reconceptualization of history and, just as important, of historical writing. Writing with her characteristic

grace and clarity, Hall seems likely to accomplish both goals.

Of the five remaining essays, three are freestanding and two are linked thematically. The essays by Kathleen Brown on Bacon's Rebellion and by Stephanie McCurry on the Confederacy may be profitably read together as meditations on the manufacture of political obligation in time of social transformation. Bacon's supporters defended their actions primarily as their duty as husbands and fathers; by the end of the rebellion, "the duty to protect one's household and provide for one's dependents had become not just the mark of manhood, but the mark of Englishness, defined by an identity that coursed in the 'blood'" (p. 54). Both concepts were crucial to secessionists, who tried to convince non-slaveholders to "strike as men strike, who strike for their hearths and firesides" (p. 99) while warning that failure to act would result in the forfeiture of white racial privileges (p. 101). Demonstrating the malleability of the definition of the household and its relation to broader civic rights, both essays show how changes in the one could force alterations in the other, particularly in moments of social revolution.

In "Law, Domestic Violence, and the Limits of Patriarchal Authority in the Antebellum South," Laura F. Edwards focuses on the connections between "private" violence in the domestic sphere (generally directed toward white women and slaves) and the broader southern social and political order. Faced with a legal system that intervened regularly on the side of white men, slaves and wives constrained the power of husbands and masters through churches, peace warrants, and the public exhibition of their masters' cruelty. Although both slaves and white wives were often at the mercy of the white men in their lives, Peter Bardaglio sounds a cautionary note in his comment against the homogenizing assumptions of Edwards and other feminist historians anxious to equate marriage with slavery. Wives and slaves may have been, as Edwards argues, "legal extensions of another person" (p. 74), but not in identical ways: in Bardaglio's words, "the auction block left far less room for negotiation and contestation than the altar" (p. 88).

In a remarkably fresh, clearheaded, and thoroughly enjoyable essay, Bryant Simon considers the gendered assumptions and goals of the CCC. Founded in the spring of 1933, by early summer 250,000 unmarried, mostly white male "tree soldiers" were busy building erosion control dams, planting trees, and fighting wildfires. At the same time, argues Simon, they were restoring "the nation's flagging manhood and virility," which was besieged by unemployment and immigration. The greatest achievement of the CCC, wrote one booster, was "the preservation of American Manhood" (p. 144). As Simon recognizes, however, that preservation was also a usurpation: an appropriation of the bodies of young men by the state as the United States, along with Germany and the Soviet Union, steeled itself for the coming conflict.

Between 1960 and 1970, African-American women

workers were hired at an unprecedented rate by southern textile manufactures. Why, asks Nancy McLean, did white mill workers who had a reputation for open racism offer so little resistance to integration? McLean offers several answers, including federal affirmative action laws, the acquiescence of management to them, and gendered dynamics of the industry's almost all-woman workforce. Textile mills could be integrated relatively calmly, McLean argues, because of the boundaries that white women drew around other areas of life, particularly sexuality. Because the rights of women were not defined to include access to men in the way that manhood has been defined as including the right of sexual access to women, white women workers could accept integration of their workforce while still insisting that they were against "mixing, marrying and intermingling" (p. 185).

The work collected here is remarkable for its erudition, its interpretational sophistication, and, often, its style. The latest work of an extremely talented group of historians, this book should be read by anyone interested in the core questions of southern politics.

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ERIC H. MONKKONEN. *Murder in New York City*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 238. \$29.95.

In this important new work, Eric H. Monkkonen continues his exploration of the history of violent crime and urban life. The book is a longitudinal study of murder in this largest of U.S. cities from the early nineteenth century to the present, and, like his earlier work, it is based on extensive quantitative analysis. Long recognized as one of the deans of urban and crime history, Monkkonen has undertaken a significant task: to document the history of murder in New York City through a comprehensive statistical analysis, and to integrate that numerical data with a variety of printed accounts and sources, including newspaper stories and police and court records. He accompanies the primary narrative about crime in New York City with a fine essay comparing the American experience with murder to the European, especially the English. This is a study that validates several of the assertions of recent work on the history of crime in Western society, namely that: violent crime has decreased as we have moved into modern times; violent crime is not necessarily characteristic of urban (as opposed to rural) life; and men have been far more likely to settle their disputes through acts of personal violence than women. Indeed, with the exception of an unusually violent period in the late twentieth century, the number of violent crimes has been low during several critical decades in New York and U.S. history: the turbulent 1830s and 1890s, and the 1950s.

Monkkonen's first chapter, "The Long Sweep and Big Events," raises, and then challenges, many common myths about the history of crime, particularly

murder. Among these are the notions that: "cities are cauldrons of murder," the "social forces of mass society cause deviance," "poverty explains murder," and "young men recently returned from war cause violence." His subsequent chapters treat a series of related issues: the history and role of weapons; the significance of gender, age, race, and ethnicity in the social profiles of murderers and their victims; the circumstances within which crimes have historically taken place. Each chapter is framed around a statistical study supplemented by case studies of particular crimes culled from a range of text-based sources.

The sources for this work are extensive and a glance at them reveals much about the process of writing crime history: its interdisciplinarity, its concern with the social life of ordinary people rather than elites, and, most importantly, the way the history of crime provides a broad window for understanding social and cultural history generally. Monkkonen has long believed in the importance of statistical analysis for grounding social history, and indeed in this work he demonstrates how statistical and nonstatistical sources can complement each other to provide a rich picture of urban life.

In this project Monkkonen faced the formidable task of teasing numbers out of notoriously uneven sources. For the antebellum period he has depended primarily on coroners' reports (often informally obtained) to study about 1,800 murders; for the period after 1875, he uses vital statistics that include violent death as a cause of death to help make the picture clearer. Working with a method known as "capture recapture," the numbers substantiate much of what historians have concluded using less "objective" data: namely, that the rise of metropolitan cities did not necessarily increase levels of violent crime (at least not until the late twentieth century) and that the United States has a far more violent past than Western European nations for the same period.

In a fine concluding essay, Monkkonen places the American experience against the European context. This interesting analysis reflects his long-time collaboration with scholars of European crime history, particularly those associated with the International Association for the History of Crime and Criminal Justice (based first in the Netherlands and more recently associated with the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris) and with the Social Science History Association in the United States. Here Monkkonen lays out several theoretical assumptions about declining violence in Western industrial societies, assumptions that incorporate traditional notions about urbanization and state formation as well as the theoretical ideas of Norbert Elias on the "civilizing process." Rooted in a comparison of statistical studies of New York and English cities, especially Liverpool, Monkkonen's discussion here is broad and suggestive, reflecting the author's range and receptivity to a variety of critical approaches.

In corroborating recent work in the field, and in

providing a rich statistical study that complements Monkkonen's own extensive bibliography, this work will prove a basic reference for all of those who study cities and crime, as well as for those who seek to understand how the crime of murder has changed over time. The primary data for the study will be archived at the University of Michigan and will constitute an invaluable scholarly resource. Monkkonen proves that statistical studies and theoretical constructs are not antithetical: they are merely separate paths to understanding the history of social behavior, especially the violent kind.

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KARAL ANN MARLING. *Merry Christmas! Celebrating America's Greatest Holiday*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii. 442. \$27.50.

Karal Ann Marling's book poses a challenge to historians. The author proposes to collect the "lost objects" of the "visual and material culture of Christmas in America" (p. vii), in order to restore them to the "ongoing saga of American life" (p. xii). Presumably, that saga is historical, yet from the very beginning Marling declares her mission "less an effort to plug the contents of the national Christmas stocking into the socket of orthodox historical discourse than it is an attempt to recover the truths inherent in the things themselves" (p. xii). Never describing this orthodoxy (would anyone argue that there is just one?), she loosely bundles together a cornucopia of artifacts, ideas, and images of the American Christmas.

Marling chats amiably as she presents this fascinating array of cultural memory and nostalgia, addressing nearly every aspect of the modern Christmas from the problem of too many street corner Santas to a scarcity of Tickle Me Elmos. She includes gifts, cards, gift wrap, ornaments, lights, window displays, Charles Dickens and charity, Christmas trees, Santa Claus, "Somebody Else's Christmas," the Grinch, Bing Crosby, and a personal meditation on baking Christmas cookies. In nearly every case, Marling supplies careful descriptions, photos, and microhistories. An art historian, she perceptively analyzes magazine engravings of black Christmases by artists such as W. L. Sheppard and Walter Satterlee and finds a "discernible change in attitude toward African-Americans" (p. 267) in the post-Civil War period. She also insightfully compares these illustrations with French and Dutch genre paintings. She tells us about Christopher Radko's recent success in reviving a mania for collecting blown-glass tree ornaments. She even reveals what kind of tree Elvis preferred in 1956 (it was a white Frosty-Glow artificial pine).

While Marling's book would, as she writes, "make a great present for your Mom" (p. xiii), it holds history at bay. Its rich stock of images and objects have not been situated in the historical contexts that, in fact, provide so much of their meaning. In part, this is because

Marling allows the objects themselves to dictate the order of their stories. She often begins her pursuit of a "lost object" in a near time, wends to an earlier moment, then moves forward with no particular end date in mind. In search of Santa, for example, we journey backward from Norman Rockwell to Clement Moore to the earliest nineteenth-century images of Santa, forward to Thomas Nast and ("Yes . . . ") Virginia O'Hanlon, then quickly into the 1950s.

For some pieces, this strategy works well, but cumulatively the book's topical arrangement restricts our opportunity to see how changes in one aspect of Christmas relate to others. Coca-Cola ads probably did codify our image of Santa but, despite hints along the way, the reader must intuit the connection that might lead to a better understanding of Santa within the broader development of American culture. Examining gift wrap, Marling broaches the topic of the relationship between the market and the home, but finally she concludes that "We wrap because Christmas is an extravaganza and mystery and feeling, just like a pretty package with a sprig of holly tucked under the bow" (p. 42). In a short essay on Christmas window dressing, we discover that G. R. Dean designed Dayton's department store's window in 1921 with mechanical cutouts of scenes from the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyām*. Why the *Rubaiyat*, a reader may ask; after all, it is Christmas.

Shunning a historical perspective, Marling diminishes her ability to find what she seeks, "the inherent truths about the objects themselves." It is refreshing to read a book so widely researched and written with such energy and directness, free of theoretical jargon and ideological attitude. However, in excusing herself from developing sustained themes the author has deprived us of the pleasures and engagement of watching the historical development of these parts into a textured and full-width picture of the holiday. Of course, to do so might reroute her original purpose, but it seems disingenuous for Marling to claim her celebration of this American ritual as a history and at the same time to turn her back on *Clio*.

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VIRGINIA SCOTT JENKINS. *Bananas: An American History*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 2000. Pp. xiii, 210. \$16.95.

Food studies is a hot field in academia these days. Historians, sociologists, anthropologists, folklorists, and others are looking at food and food practices to see what they tell us about American culture. The result is a rich account of class, race, gender, ethnicity, ideology, and commerce.

Virginia Scott Jenkins tries to put her work squarely in this context. She has read the right theoretical literature, has creatively mined a rich collection of sources, and tells the reader some fascinating facts

about bananas. The result feels thin, however; the reader does not end up learning much about American culture.

The book opens promisingly; in the introduction, Jenkins proposes to present a cultural history of the banana in America, including the politics and economics of the banana business, the technology of the banana trade, and the role of the banana in American music and humor. The narrative begins by describing the biology of the banana, an Asian plant introduced into the Western hemisphere to feed slaves. Ship captains brought the first bananas to North America in the middle of the nineteenth century; originally featured on fashionable tables, bananas were the country's most popular fruit by the end of the century. To supply the demand, American corporations—notably United Fruit (now Chiquita) and Standard Fruit (now Dole)—developed massive Central American plantations, as well as new technologies for shipping the fragile fruit and creative ways to market it. Jenkins concludes with the history of the Fulton, Kentucky Banana Festival and the multiple meanings the fruit has carried in popular culture.

Unfortunately, this account ends up feeling superficial. Only occasionally does Jenkins get into the analysis the topic cries out for. She shows that, despite their popularity, bananas have an exotic image. What does this attraction to the exotic say about the American diet? She makes a few brief mentions of the Latin American “banana republics” but does not discuss how the banana importers and the American government worked together to control those countries. The growth of multinational fruit companies foreshadows current debates over globalization. Meanwhile Jenkins delves deeply—too deeply—into failed attempts to grow bananas in the continental United States and the controversy over a banana tax proposed in 1913.

Jenkins has written a fun book. It is amply illustrated—featuring a wonderful collection of often bizarre banana advertisements—and has an entertaining (and sometimes arch) tone. It is stuffed with fun facts. Did you know that bananas were the country's most popular fruit, surpassing apples? That the Fulton Banana Festival featured a two-ton banana pudding? Unfortunately, the book feels like a collection of facts put together; it is educational, but somehow insubstantial. It does not live up to its promise.

DANIEL SACK

Associated Colleges of the Midwest

JOYCE E. CHAPLIN. *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 411. \$45.00.

This book examines pre-1676 literature on technology, body, and science—broadly conceived—in the English colonies of North America. Joyce E. Chaplin is keen to explore what the sources can reveal about Native American points of view on these topics, but no

sources exist from the Native Americans themselves. Their points of view are necessarily mediated by literate English.

Chaplin tells a fascinating story of “bodily imperialism”: by the second half of the seventeenth century, the English used both Native Americans and Africans to identify their own bodies as optimally suited to rule America. Native American corporeal frailty allowed and justified their subjugation; African corporeal strength affirmed their proximity to beasts. According to Chaplin, three developments secured the English claim of physical and cultural superiority over Native Americans: the emergence of modern concepts of race, identification of technology as a distinctive part of English culture, and a Weberian “disenchantment of the world” (the celebration of English reason over and against native ignorance and superstition). She traces these developments in establishing her thesis that “early modern science was the foundation of English colonization of North America” (p. 10).

Central chapters trace how the English came to see their bodies as more native to America than those of the Native Americans. For Chaplin, a pivotal moment is the emergence of notions of race as based in inherited physical differences. Caught between two worlds, English colonists in North America sought to argue that they were not inferior to the English (they had not been weakened by the climate) and that they were superior to the Native Americans and hence deserved to inherit dominion over the land. Sixteenth-century racial theory did not aid the English in explaining their superiority to the indigenous peoples of North America. It taught that the peoples of the earth were of the “same blood, birth, bodies,” that they were all descendants of Adam and Eve or Abraham and his wife Sarah. Differences in *complexio* were seen as products of cosmography and climate, custom and diet (age, gender, and, in later centuries, class). The English in the New World did not doubt that their bodies were superior to those of the native inhabitants. Had not the colonists prevailed where Native Americans succumbed to epidemics? Had not their populations increased and flourished where Native Americans had declined and done poorly? Settlers saw Amerindians’ suffering as resulting from some innate constitutional failings that could not be explained by purely climatic conditions.

Several features mar this otherwise fine book, the first of two projected volumes on science and empire in Anglo-America. Chaplin argues repeatedly with anonymous “scholars.” One would prefer a clear and honest critique of other historians’ work. Second, central concepts like “science” are not themselves historicized. What kind of science shored up the English conquest of North America? Scientists today jealously guard their enterprise from the tarnishing *artes*. The author’s ahistorical use of “science” makes me question her possibly anachronistic use of other terms, such as “inheritance” (the physical transmission of racial qualities), with whose history I am less familiar. And

were the *artes* used to subdue indigenous populations in North America European, or were Europeans merely clever in turning other people's innovations to Europe's own advantage? Gunpowder, after all, came originally from China. How technologies, medicines, and sciences traveled globally in this period is itself a fascinating topic. Finally, particular theories that have been often questioned serve as analytic categories in this book. The notion that "childbirth, giving life, was the inversion of war, the female counterpart of the male function of taking life" (p. 266), for example, has been shown to be reductionistic and historically incorrect.

Much of what Chaplin discusses concerning bodily strength and race holds, I suspect, most particularly for North America. European death rates in North America were considerably lower than in the Caribbean or Africa, where Europeans were seen as the delicate and weak of body, if not spirit. In these areas, Europeans remained desperate for indigenous and slave medical intelligence, which they recognized as superior to their own deep into the eighteenth century. When and how Europeans came to see their own medicines as superior to all others and turned them to tools of empire is a story that still requires elaboration, as does the relation of that development to widely accepted European theories of race.

LONDA SCHIEBINGER
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JOHN T. MCGRATH. *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2000. Pp. 239. \$49.95.

This book by John T. McGrath is an excellent addition to Spanish Borderland literature. McGrath had done a splendid job presenting the basics of a story essentially known. Yet the author has revisited the documentary sources, compared them as to the likelihood of accuracy in critical areas, and constructed a credible account as to what occurred in the period 1562–1565. He has placed the events squarely in the context of the religious wars that ravaged France in particular but that spilled over to affect other areas such as the Netherlands.

France experienced a good deal of political instability in the sixteenth century. The presence of a sizable number of Huguenots under the leadership of Gaspard de Coligny and strongly influenced by John Calvin in Switzerland certainly complicated matters, and, not surprisingly, this Protestant element tended to locate especially in Norman cities such as Dieppe, Le Havre, and La Rochelle. Their influence in the maritime community was especially strong. At the same time, there was considerable tension in the ruling circles of France. Factions headed by notables such as the Prince of Condé, Constable Montgomery, and the Duke of Guise caused Catherine de Medici considerable anxiety. There was also the real threat presented by Philip II of Spain.

Coligny, a Huguenot of considerable ability, managed to navigate the troubled waters of French politics with real skill for many years. In particular, he provided considerable support to Catherine, and he played an important role as a peacemaker among the ambitious threats to peace. In the process, he acquired formidable enemies, and he eventually fell to an assassin's scheme in 1572. Coligny wanted to establish a New World outpost beyond the area of Spanish occupation. His goal in the Americas was not so much a Huguenot presence but rather a French sphere of influence that involved some Huguenots.

Accordingly, the admiral dispatched Jean Ribault in 1562, and he established the outpost Charlesfort in present South Carolina. In so doing, Ribault developed a new route to Florida. He sailed directly from about 45 degrees north latitude to the southwest, which enabled him to avoid the Caribbean-Gulf of Mexico route and to arrive in Florida undetected by the Spaniards.

The Ribault colony had poor leadership and inadequate supplies as well as low numbers, problems exacerbated by Ribault's return to Europe. Renewal of the civil-religious wars in France prevented Ribault from getting supplies to the colony in a timely manner. In consequence, there was a mutiny, and the would-be colonists abandoned the site. René Laudonnière came to the St. Johns River in 1564 in a second effort to colonize Florida. The French constructed Ft. Caroline, but a host of problems bedeviled the settlement from the outset. The French made little effort to produce their own food, preferring to obtain it from the Timucuan. They did, however, spend time searching for gold and involving themselves in tribal disputes between the forces of Outina and Saturiowa. Food resources continued to dwindle, and there was a mutiny against Laudonnière's leadership. Rebellious groups executed raids on the coast of Hispaniola and Cuba. Laudonnière, desperate to flee Florida, began to disassemble Ft. Caroline. His intent was to construct vessels for a return to France. However, Ribault arrived before he could abandon the site.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards had organized an attack force commanded by the able Pedro Menendez de Avilés. This squadron arrived in Florida in August 1565 and prepared to search for the French. Ribault had superior forces and equipment, for Menendez had encountered severe weather enroute to Florida. Ribault, who should have hurried to Ft. Caroline and offloaded much needed supplies, instead wasted valuable time exploring the coast. He did not have time to unload his ships and decided instead to pursue Menendez. A hurricane struck Florida and blew Ribault's ships south of St. Augustine. Menendez decided to attack Ft. Caroline while the storm raged, surprised the fort, and captured it. Ribault himself fell victim shortly afterwards to Menendez, and the Huguenot threat was, for the time, over.

FRED LAMAR PEARSON, JR.
Valdosta State University

RICHARD ARCHER. *Fissures in the Rock: New England in the Seventeenth Century*. (Revisiting New England.) Hanover: University Press of New England, for the University of New Hampshire. 2001. Pp. x, 230. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Over the past half century, scholars have approached the elephant that is New England's early history from different directions, probing variously into the life of its minds and the condition of its bodies, human and politic. Recent cultural studies—of New England's orality, devotional practices, intellectual aristocracy, and popular belief—have given new vigor and direction to a scholarly tradition made famous by the work of Perry Miller. But they have also inadvertently reinforced an image of the region as one set apart, holding to a distinct "New England way" and hence less consequential than English colonies further south for exploring such major themes of subsequent American history as race relations, labor practices, and the embrace of religious and political pluralism. Richard Archer's compact and engaging book disagrees. Grafting his own extensive research onto the findings of a generation of social historians, he argues that, despite sharing many strands of a common culture, seventeenth-century New England was a place of marked diversity and difference.

In pursuing this argument, Archer stops some way short of providing the "comprehensive history" (p. 4) that his subtitle and introduction promise. Readers seeking a balanced survey of the first century of the New England colonies' diverse foundations, internal and external relations, and institutional development should still refer to Francis J. Bremer's *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (rev. ed., 1995). Archer's two opening chapters centering on the relations between the Wampanoag Indians and the Plymouth colonists and the Antinomian conflict of 1636–1638 in Massachusetts give only a limited taste of race relations and religious diversity within New England. And we learn little of New England after mid-century. Instead, the book's core rests on Archer's deployment of a mammoth database of the life records of 22,212 people who either migrated to New England before 1650 or were born there between 1620 and 1649. From it, he compiles chapters assessing the demographic history, social structure, wealth distribution, and office-holding patterns of some fifty New England communities, often with striking results. Modifying our picture of migration as occurring in a string of interconnected family units, he finds that one-third of adult males arriving were single young men without family connection in their new home, outnumbering single females four to one. Partly in consequence, women married significantly younger than their counterparts in England. Building on Edward Cook's typology of New England towns, he groups communities measured according to family structure and wealth distribution into five categories ranging from the commercial towns of

Boston and Salem to frontier villages such as Deerfield and Stonington. Archer dances the social historian's customary quickstep between lumping and splitting gracefully, interweaving aggregate analysis and categorization with specific examples of individuals and episodes and employing town records and genealogies in conjunction with contemporary correspondence. These core chapters provide an excellent portrait of the societies established in the first two generations of New England settlement.

In a concluding chapter, Archer seeks to "put 'Puritan New England' to rest" as a concept that is "not . . . wrong . . . but only partly right" and one that has reinforced a tendency to define American culture by a single narrow orthodoxy (p. 152). In "the complex New England stew"—an image more fluid than his title's monolithic rock—Puritanism formed but a single and not the defining ingredient: "demographics, climate, and soil rather than virtue made the difference" (pp. 152, 155). The contrast seems unnecessarily stark: Archer could have strengthened his case for diversity with a fuller recognition of the religious and political conflict inspired by New England's spectrum of orthodoxies—variant visions of virtue's path. Such conflict surely contributed as much or more than social and demographic factors to making regions such as Rhode Island and the land east of the Merrimack distinct from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Here, however, the book's greatest strength—its depiction of New England by mid-century—imparts a static quality that glosses over the forces for change and difference, from within and without, already at work. Archer's study augments our understanding of both the structuring of early New England's societies and their place in the larger Anglo-colonial world; its focus on condition rather than motive and belief still leaves space—additional fissures—in which to graft recent analyses of New England's cultural life and thereby provide a more fully rounded account of how and why these societies differed and developed.

RICHARD R. JOHNSON
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LOUISE A. BREEN. *Transgressing the Bounds: Subversive Enterprises among the Puritan Elite in Massachusetts, 1630–1692*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 292. \$45.00.

In this book, Louise A. Breen offers a binary interpretation of seventeenth-century Massachusetts culture. According to Breen, Massachusetts's elite was divided into "opposing factions, insisting on the one hand on isolation from [the outside] world and on the other on involvement in its growing diversity." This division was "fixed during the antinomian controversy [of the late 1630s]" (p. 9). Massachusetts's transatlantically oriented merchants, centered in Boston, had a sense of the market as boundless and irrational, according to Breen. That sense made them sympathetic, to varying degrees, to antinomianism in the 1630s, which, by

Breen's reading, strongly encouraged toleration and private, subjective spirituality. But by 1638, the other faction, the "orthodox" party, had established its dominance over the "antinomians" and "specifically mandated" "the predilection for isolationism and the fear of transatlantic projects" that, according to Breen, predominated in Massachusetts for the rest of the century (p. 143).

This outcome pleased ordinary colonists, for whom, like the merchants, economic and religious preferences went hand in hand; they "were content with orthodoxy because they were satisfied with modest gains in their economic and spiritual lives, so long as such small gains were widely accessible and relatively evenly distributed" (p. 54). Orthodoxy, with its communally verifiable and accessible standards of visible holiness, reinforced local communities and provided them a "comforting sense of stability" (p. 55). However, this provincial orthodox center and the transatlantic-oriented elite dissenters continued to clash throughout the century.

Breen's generalizations are bold, but how well they work is another question. Take her "antinomian" dissident party. Breen's expansion of the term "antinomianism" to encompass tolerance is dubious enough—Boston's radicals were not notably more tolerant than their opponents—but she is even capable of finding "antinomian accents" in simple respect for legal procedures (p. 37), which is fantasy. Breen provides no evidence that anyone in Massachusetts even used the term much at all; familism, not antinomianism, was the bugbear of the 1630s. Her expansiveness, however, is foundational to giving her "antinomian" party coherence; it allows her to assert that a wide range of elite colonists "variously sympathized with, embraced, or appropriated antinomian themes" (p. 50), which would have been news to most of them. Boston merchants' attraction to radical doctrines in the 1630s may have simply been due simply to their residence in the town where those doctrines were promulgated, rather than their hypothetical semi-mystical understanding of the transatlantic market.

The existence of a coherent isolationist party is also problematic. Breen takes elite opposition to ventures not necessarily in Massachusetts's interest as proof of isolationism, which is a debatable proposition at best, while militant clerics like Thomas Weld, John Norton, and Increase Mather were hardly provincial isolationists. Breen offers little evidence to suggest that middling colonists resented transatlantic merchants as a group; merchant John Leverett, for example, according to Breen, was "feared" and religiously out of touch with the ordinary people (pp. 125, 161), yet he was repeatedly reelected governor. While Breen is probably right that most colonists in the 1630s found Boston's radical spirituality inaccessible, orthodoxy was not noted for its comforting sense of stability, while the limited number of people who became church members suggests that its "small [spiritual] gains" were not widely available.

Doubt about Breen's parties is heightened by her convoluted attempts to save them in her accounts of the Halfway Covenant controversy and King Philip's War. Moreover, her documentation is frequently thin and too often assertion passing as fact. There is no evidence, for example, that when Israel Stoughton pressed John Winthrop to follow legal forms at Anne Hutchinson's trial, "Stoughton's interest in legal niceties seemed elitist and ungodly" to the "'middling' colonists" (p. 28); no evidence that there was a "specific mandate" for isolationism in 1638; that the General Court ordered John Eliot's *Christian Commonwealth* burned in 1661 in part because it attacked Massachusetts norms (pp. 154, 156); or that the "common people" found the religiosity of Boston's First Church alarming in the late 1660s (p. 161). Having decided that merchants, along with soldiers, leaned to antinomianism, Breen discovers incipient antinomianism in their most conventional religious platitudes (pp. 35, 95–6).

Although its specific claims are often tenuous, this book is stimulating in its adventurous, wide-ranging speculation. Moreover, it vividly shows once again the fallacy of conceiving of the Massachusetts elite as a single "New England mind."

MICHAEL P. WINSHIP
University of Georgia

RENATE WILSON. *Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 258. \$37.50.

The title of this handsomely produced book by Renate Wilson highlights an important but much neglected component of the charity practice of the Francke Foundations in North America from 1730 to 1810. Seeding the American mission field with ministers, medicines, and Bibles was an expression of the success of the philanthropic enterprise that August Hermann Francke established in Halle, Germany, in the beginning of the eighteenth century and also a contribution to its lasting reputation. Halle's transatlantic trade in medications and books constitutes the major focus of the study.

The book is divided in two parts, reflecting the German and American sides of the endeavor. The first half deals with the innovations that characterized the Francke Foundations' philanthropy. It outlines the Protestant evangelical reform of the late seventeenth century that provided the underpinning of Francke's visionary entrepreneurship and also the bond among ministers and laymen and women who formed the Halle Pietist networks along which information flowed and with whose help charitable contributions were collected and distributed. If Francke's ways of gaining the support of the country's ruler and other patrons for building and expanding the orphanage were new and audacious (chapter one), the role of novel, "gentle" medicine and medications as crucial elements in the

complex financial structure of the foundations that occurred primarily under his successors was similarly unusual and venturesome (chapters two and three). The exploration of how the Halle Orphanage medicines were first developed, tested, and used locally and then manufactured and marketed for worldwide distribution is the central theme of the book.

How proceeds from the sale of those pharmaceuticals and the accompanying medical tracts produced profits that could boost the foundations' operations and, most importantly from the American perspective, how the charitable and for-profit dispensation of the tinctures, salves, and printed instructions for their purpose and use were critical for the success of the Pietist missionary venture in North America makes up the study's second half (chapters four through eight). As Wilson outlines the nature of the transatlantic networks of Halle's philanthropic trade in pharmaceuticals and books, it was the pioneering generation of German-speaking Lutheran ministers in Georgia and in the greater Delaware Valley who promoted the practice of Pietist medicine and establishing a learned culture that flourished especially among the second and third-generation pastors and also among the educated German-speaking lay public well past 1800, and that became the basis for the new commerce of pharmaceuticals and medical practice later in the nineteenth century.

This is a book largely for specialists because of its multidisciplinary topic and its reliance on familiarity with technical terms, multilingual sources, and European and American history. For American historians, Wilson's description of the philanthropic trade of the Francke Foundations will be new, and her characterization of the Halle Pietist ministers as medical clergy will provide fresh insight even for those familiar with the history of German speakers in the American colonies and the early republic. Most intriguing may be Wilson's findings about the roles women played in this transatlantic network: as benefactresses supporting Pietist philanthropy, as workers in the production of the pharmaceuticals, as charitable dispensing and retail agents of Halle Orphanage medications in North America, and, probably most importantly, as trusting and loyal consumers of the "gentle" elixirs and powders, several of which were specifically formulated to treat conditions connected with reproduction and childbirth.

The great value of this book lies in its showcasing of the riches of the Francke Foundation archives, in particular the institutional, medical, and financial records of the Halle Orphanage. For those who are not medical historians, the carefully culled, assembled, and analyzed data from those archival sources will prove particularly useful (for example, the tables about Halle Orphanage medications that systematically describe the medicines, their ingredients, use, dosage, and efficacy, pp. 72–74, 75–76, 179). Given this wealth of new information, it is puzzling that Wilson often leaves it up to the reader to contemplate the significance of

her insights for advancing current interpretation and for shaping future research. The scholars who build on Wilson's findings will have to pursue those questions that are raised but not fully addressed in the book.

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GILBERT C. DIN. *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763–1803*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 356. \$49.95.

The history of Spanish rule in Louisiana has been the object of Gilbert C. Din's close attention for many decades, and this book is his most ambitious and interesting entry on a long list of publications. It is an administrative history directed at specialists, but the work reflects Din's attentive reading of the recent social and cultural explorations of slavery in Louisiana. The result is a well-written, meticulously documented, often vivid account, one with a provocative general thesis that will fail to convince some readers.

Resolutely chronological to compensate for the sharp turns in Louisiana's imperial history, Din examines the law of slavery under French rule before the Spanish took over the colony in the 1760s. In a close analysis of the Code Noir, he shows that its supposed protective features were of little weight in the lives of slaves, who were subject to a typical plantation-style production routine under the constant threat of corporal and psychological discipline, although it may have been most harsh in New Orleans in the early days (the 1720s) and somewhat less so after Louisiana became a crown colony in 1731.

Din devotes the rest of the book to contrasting conditions under Spanish rule with those in the earlier period. While he acknowledges the long debate about Frank Tannenbaum's thesis that the Spanish dehumanized slaves less than the English and French, he does not engage it directly. Instead, Din is intent on refuting several specific arguments by recent historians of Louisiana.

My evaluation of Din's argument requires some delicacy because up to a point he and I share a similar general conception of early Louisiana, and he cites my work on the subject generously. By contrast with the views of some of our colleagues, we agree emphatically that New Orleans was a slave society from its inception between 1718 and 1731, rather than developing into one later; that race relations in French Louisiana were not more "fluid" or significantly different from those in other North American slave societies; that no fortified maroon villages existed in Louisiana; that there was no major turning point in the development of slavery, in 1795 or any of the other dates suggested by some historians; and that the Spanish rulers did not expand the free black population in order to create a counterweight to the white Francophone colonists.

As for Din's argument that Spanish laws improved

life for slaves to some degree, I have argued the opposite, and this book does not change my mind. Din admits that most of the Spanish governors married into the local Francophone planter class and sided with the locals on major issues of slave regulation. In contrast to his treatment of the Code Noir, he does not lead the reader through the specifics of the Spanish Laws of the Indies, which simply do not offer anything to compare to the Code Noir's protective features. It is true that the Spanish introduced judicially guaranteed freedom purchase, a policy with the force of a law, but Din acknowledges that freedom purchase was impossible for all but a few slaves. He cites no evidence that the policy was based on a humane motive, as opposed to a cynical one in the context of the Spaniards' main economic policy, which was to expand slavery by stimulating the African slave trade to the remote province: the slave population had grown vastly when Spanish tenure ended in 1803. Nevertheless, Din's interpretation will be welcomed by those who adhere to the Tannenbaum thesis.

Among Din's original contributions, perhaps the most successful is the demonstration that individual administrators regulated slavery with personal styles. He shows how governors ignored imperial instructions or even laws, or interpreted them as they saw fit. He treats with knowing skepticism the reliability of administrators' reports, emphasizing the primary goal of these men to promote or protect themselves. Finally, Din advances an intriguing argument that small slave-owners were at odds with the wealthiest planters over the policing of slaves, the latter insisting on more strictness. He might be more persuasive if he did not claim that the large planters were concentrated in New Orleans and the smallholders outside that parish, an assertion he does not and probably cannot document. Still, he does reveal antagonism between New Orleans and the planters of other parishes over slavery.

Although he has to deal with a dizzying array of French, Spanish, and African names and nouns, Din presents a text with few errors. I should like to take this opportunity, however, to exhort those who study this colony to render the names of Francophone Louisianians in French in their texts rather than Spanish. This book makes an original contribution to our knowledge of slavery in Louisiana and Spanish administrative practices more generally. The author's well-documented arguments deserve to be taken seriously by everyone working in this field.

THOMAS N. INGERSOLL
University of Montreal

RUTH WALLIS HERNDON, *Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England*. (Early American Studies). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 243. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

Sarah Gardner should have left faint footprints upon the eighteenth-century landscape. As a single mother, Gardner resided beyond the pale of respectable soci-

ety, rearing twelve children without benefit of legal marriage; as a Native American, she inhabited the margins of white society, the descendent of a once numerous, indigenous people now reduced in size and circumstance. Gardner would appear an unlikely candidate for the record books, her status too shadowy to furnish a document trail. And yet, as Ruth Wallis Herndon shows, appearances can be deceiving, since poor people such as Gardner commanded attention in early Rhode Island. Providence town officials considered Gardner an unwanted presence, ordered her removed on five occasions, and threatened physical punishment if she disobeyed. Hauled before local authorities, Gardner and her children left a noticeable imprint on the records, a scenario that other destitute individuals would repeat.

Herndon's book targets Rhode Island's dependent classes by focusing on a rich treasure trove of welfare documents. Despite a plethora of poor relief studies, much of the scholarly literature has examined the institutional framework of public welfare—the intellectual and evolutionary dynamic behind the almshouse, for example—or the economics of poverty, and not the very real people the system handled. Herndon addresses this omission. Indeed, Herndon spotlights forty destitute persons by means of capsule biographies to construct a series of tableaux about life and work cycles that ends, appropriately enough, with advancing years and death. Under colony and later state law, officials could examine and warn out people who lacked a legal settlement; these individuals, whether actual or suspected dependents, furnished testimony to town clerks that permits Herndon to plumb their life experiences in rich detail. As such, we see the poor up close, observe their conditions, note their travels, and assess sometimes heavy-handed official actions toward them. This gives the book a certain cachet.

Herndon's poor folk are a varied lot. If some of the usual suspects appear among the ranks of laboring-class white women, blacks, and Native Americans, people with limited options at the best of times, others surprise us, such as John Treby, a goldsmith, whose expertise in a highly regarded craft attracted customers in Newport and Providence until unidentified "misfortune" (p. 110) prompted his removal from the latter town in 1775. Perhaps estranged from his wife and children—they were not subject to the order of removal—Treby began a downward descent, a reminder, as Herndon aptly notes, of the vagaries of life and simple subsistence. Even the seemingly secure could plummet. Yet reduced circumstances, although crushing, could also elicit compassion from concerned officials: Bristol Rhodes, an ex-slave who acquired freedom by revolutionary army service, had been maimed during the war and was dependent on government pensions. White patrons and supporters championed Rhodes's cause and pushed for the monies due him. When complaints mounted against Rhodes for turning his home into a noisy meeting place for fellow African

Americans in 1794, Providence authorities refused to remove him to Cranstown, his legal residence. Rhodes had become a recognized member of the community, a wounded war veteran who merited consideration, not expulsion.

Other accounts compiled by Herndon describe calous officials, beleaguered transients, and defiant paupers. Parents might lose children to apprenticeship. Removal orders occasionally divided families who ran afoul of residency requirements. The operation of poor relief, although contoured by legal strictures, could sometimes be thwarted by marginal people who relied on relatives and friends within local communities to bedevil officials and escape penalties. Officials might even forget their threats, perhaps consumed by other, more pressing issues. In short, some of the poor could evade sanctions and exert a degree of autonomy.

The book's dependence on capsule biographies does prompt some mild concerns. Giving the poor a voice is essential and important, but overreliance on this method occasionally overwhelms the reader, as biography after biography unfolds. The economic and political turmoil that characterized eighteenth-century Rhode Island society warrants greater coverage to flesh out the changes in the public welfare system. The poor could still have the starring role, yet the scenery around them—poor houses, pauper auctions, home relief—would provide a more dramatic backdrop to the removal orders lodged against them. Nevertheless, these questions are raised more as friendly amendments than objections, since Herndon's book provides a solid perspective on the poor of early Rhode Island. It merits appreciation.

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Montclair State University

MARK S. SCHANTZ. *Piety in Providence: Class Dimensions of Religious Experience in Antebellum Rhode Island*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 280. \$45.00.

In this well-written and finely textured study, Mark S. Schantz argues that "religious culture played a decisive role in the process of class formation in antebellum Providence" (p. 2). Covering the years from 1790 to 1860, Schantz narrates Providence's evolution from a harmonious, inclusive (albeit paternalistic and hierarchical) community to a bifurcated city of industrialists and entrepreneurs on the one hand and workers and plebeians on the other. At the center of this development is a complex story of individuals and social groups whose religious convictions, motivations, and behavior both shaped and were shaped by the economic transformation of Providence and its surrounding villages. A rising market economy, accompanied by disparity in wealth and increasing class-consciousness, became the new materialist reality, while religion supplied the ideological grid through which the inhabitants of Providence filtered these new realities.

Providence emerged from the American Revolution

as a socially stable, thoroughly Federalist and Protestant community. Revivals, religious associations, civic groups, antislavery societies, and new church construction testified to the all-encompassing role of religion. In nearby textile mill villages, reform-minded missionaries, teachers, and tract distributors reached out to the unchurched proletariat with the message of moral uplift and redemption. Simultaneously, new forces of individualism, equality, and the market economy challenged notions of an organic society knit together by the bonds of religion and social deference. For example, the sale and auction of church pews not only "profaned" religious space but also demarcated the wealthy from the humble and intensified the power of men (as purchasers of pews) over women in the affairs of the church.

As industrialization advanced, first in the mill villages and then in Providence around the outbreak of the revival of 1820, two cultures of religious life emerged: plebeian and bourgeois. Schantz argues that "the revival of 1820 was the crucible in which laborers, artisans, and small shopkeepers forged a plebeian religious culture of their own making" (p. 82). Rather than draw new converts into existing churches in the city's center, the revival had a centrifugal effect. New churches (Methodist, Baptist, Universalist, African Union) sprouted up on the perimeter of the city and exhibited the classic characteristics of popular Protestant religion. All were vehemently anti-Calvinist and, excepting the more staid Universalists, reveled in emotional exuberance, female preachers, itinerants, and lay exhorters.

Francis Wayland and Seth Luther personified this bifurcated religious culture and in their own way represented a culture increasingly defined by gendered notions of class. Wayland, the Baptist president of Brown University, defended the "masculine" bourgeois ideal (i.e. rational and decorous) of a godly, unfettered pursuit of wealth as the means to progress both in his influential writings on moral law and in his efforts to inject a vocational emphasis in Brown's curriculum. Luther, a Providence carpenter, labor radical, and suffrage activist, excoriated as un-Christian the exploitation of the true producers of wealth, the workingmen. Indeed, true Christianity belonged to the working poor, not to avaricious capitalists. Luther exemplified the ambiguities of plebeian culture regarding gender: he combined a rugged, bombastic male rhetoric with "feminine" traits of emotion and belief in miracles. "In carrying with it a strong feminine component," suggests Schantz, "plebeian religious culture distinguished itself from its more manly bourgeois counterpart" (p. 196).

The abortive Dorr Rebellion of 1842 marked the height of conflict between these two religious cultures. This political rebellion over property requirements for voting (fifty-eight percent of Rhode Island's white males could not vote in the 1840 presidential election) was inseparable from religion. Plebeians and, ironically, several influential bourgeois women who sup-

ported the cause (the issue was not women's suffrage) expressed political convictions in religious rhetoric, arguing that Christianity supported democracy, freedom, and the right to vote. Bourgeois interests countered with their own Christian rhetoric emphasizing obedience of citizenry to divinely constituted authorities.

The bourgeoisie triumphed over the radical threat, but not without a chastened sense that something had gone wrong. Perhaps, Wayland and others queried, Christians of means had betrayed their ideals by failing to practice benevolence and charity and allowed material gain to compromise their faith. So ensued the transition, Schantz observes (borrowing John Higham's terminology), from the "boundlessness" of an earlier era to the "consolidation" of the years 1845–1860. Class lines crystalized further as bourgeois evangelical men and women united in concern over "worldliness" and the troubling increase in unchurched workers. In an effort to reach the poor and yet keep them at a safe distance, they introduced reform institutions and free churches; at the same time, their efforts to bring Protestant unity to the city omitted the growing and increasingly vibrant Irish Catholic community.

Schantz's book, which takes its place among a growing body of works examining the relationship between evangelical Christianity and the rise of the market economy, is impressive on several counts. First, its statistical analysis, accompanied by twenty-three tables, is sophisticated without intruding on the narrative. Second, religion figures into people's lives not as a derivative phenomenon but as a fundamental source of class identity and action. Third, the "winners" are not portrayed as wide-eyed champions of unfettered capitalism but express ambivalence, questioning whether the benefits of a market economy outweigh the costs of encroaching secularism and the demise of social harmony. As such, Protestantism acted as a stabilizing force, holding in check unrestrained self-interest. One may quibble with Schantz's assertion that he is challenging the reigning interpretive paradigm of a monolithic Second Great Awakening (earlier studies have challenged this thesis), but this slight criticism should in no way detract from the force of his overall argument.

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CATHERINE ALLGOR. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000. Pp. 229. \$29.95.

In the 1790s, when Martha Washington, clad in a simple white dress that symbolized this generation's idealized concept of republican virtue, met the public, she sat on a raised platform; a servant introduced the callers, who curtsied to her. Ten years later, in the newly relocated capital in Washington, D.C., when the

British foreign minister Anthony Merry first met Thomas Jefferson, the latter was wearing slippers "down at the heels." Twenty years later, Louisa Catherine Adams entertained more than two hundred Washingtonians at her elegant Tuesday soirees, thereby providing a setting for political conversation at the same time that she advanced her husband's presidential chances. In 1828, Martha Jefferson Randolph turned to Margaret Bayard Smith in order to get a patronage position for her nephew. And at Andrew Jackson's inauguration in 1833, an unruly crowd insisted on shaking hands with their leader (something unimaginable in George Washington's time) and in the process nearly crushed the republic's seventh president.

Such episodes form the evidential basis for Catherine Allgor's engrossing book. Allgor's is the world of etiquette and gossip, entertainment and politics, mixed together in behaviors previously demoted to female frivolity. But as Allgor convincingly argues, social events advance political intentions. Style is cultural substance, and historians neglect the link between society and politics at their peril, especially during a period when there were no precedents and when the idealized concepts of hierarchical authority, republicanism, and democracy awaited incorporation into the body politic. In such circumstances, in Allgor's words, "Here Washington women—both well-known and not—appear as political actors in their own right, using social events and 'the private sphere' to establish the national capital and to build the extraofficial structures so sorely needed in the infant federal government" (p. 1).

What these elite white women did was to create "an unofficial space" in which social events, gossip, the patterns of exchanging calling cards, and Mrs. Adams's Tuesday nights provided a third sphere—somewhere between a Habermasian male public world and a domestic female private sphere. There is, argues Allgor, a symbiosis between the incorrectly perceived polarities of society and politics. Hence the activities of the Washington ladies merit the same kind of thick description accorded documents, speeches, and legislation. Because politics involves values, manners, morals, gossip and what has been disdained as "petticoat politics" are essential evidence toward understanding the changing political culture of the early United States.

Two of Allgor's best examples of the interaction between the fluid categories of the social and political are the charismatic Dolley Madison's tenure as First Lady and the "Peggy" Eaton affair in Jackson's administration. In the first instance, a charismatic First Lady's appreciation of a republican style is demonstrated by her contacts with local elites, her social functions in a redecorated White House, and even her rescuing of Washington's portrait during the British invasion in 1814. Overall, Dolley Madison's display of "vernacular gentility" installed a stylistic substance appropriate to a nation state bursting its bonds with royalist Great Britain. While Allgor may exaggerate the influence of the "Republican Queen" beyond

Washington as well as to a shy husband, incontestably this First Lady gave a sense of legitimacy to a still experimental government.

Allgor's argument is also demonstrated in the ruckus over the refusal of the Washington ladies to accept the controversial Margaret Eaton, the wife of the secretary of war. Eventually the entire cabinet resigned in an affair that displayed the president's ignorance of just how integrated the worlds of politics and society were. Yet the Eaton affair, the high-water mark of the authority of Washington women, also revealed the clash within American culture between an aristocracy picturesquely displayed by Martha Washington on a dais and a democratizing political culture permitting handshaking with the president. Soon new attitudes about private spheres as well as the development of organized political parties frayed the connections established by the ladies of Washington between society and politics.

Occasionally Allgor overstates her case. Was Jefferson really the most hands-off president in American history? Did Madison have the worst Congress? Can the American middle class be reified into a conscious entity intent on retaining the "perquisites of aristocracy?" Is there evidence that the "Clay bargain" in 1825 came "at the end of a long process which blurred the social and political, the public and private" (p. 186)? And surely the linking of society and politics did not remain mostly unexploited until after the Civil War; Mary Todd Lincoln understood it well. But such assertions should not detract from the historical significance of Allgor's study, nor from the need to replicate its central point in other studies that break down the barriers between the social and political worlds. As stylish and elegant as Dolley Madison's turbans, this book is persuasive, witty, and full of insight.

JEAN BAKER
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ELIZABETH REITZ MULLENIX. *Wearing the Breeches: Gender on the Antebellum Stage*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. viii, 373. \$45.00.

This book, well-researched and densely argued, looks at the rise and fall of female transvestism on the nineteenth-century American stage. Elizabeth Reitz Mullenix establishes a framework of gender-based critical approaches to prove that cross-dressing actresses threatened to usurp traditional male roles and upset Victorian notions of "True Womanhood." She mines a wealth of primary newspaper sources and treats her subjects with empathy and respect. The book tells us *what* the actresses were doing, *why* Mullenix thinks they were doing it, and *how* theater critics responded.

The book's critical apparatus, sometimes confusing in its loose terminology, does not overwhelm the captivating stories of the actresses themselves. A reader may be skeptical of using modern critical theory

to tell historical individuals what they meant by what they said, but Mullenix generally lets the actresses' lives and art, and the critical responses to them, speak for themselves. She describes, at length, the fascinating careers of Clara Fisher, Adah Isaacs Menken, Charlotte Cushman, and several others.

The leading light of the breeches phenomenon was the great Cushman (1816–1876), and her story dominates the book. Cushman's offstage lesbian lifestyle and her onstage acting confidence (chapter four) are profiled in incisive and original ways. Critics, for example, took Cushman's many performances as Romeo seriously, and, as one noted, her impersonation was that of a "creative, a loving, breathing, animated, ardent human being" (p. 211). Mullenix's discussion of Cushman cleverly captures the nineteenth-century male critical mind and exposes the underlying tensions between the notion of "True Womanhood" and Cushman's own notion of female emancipation.

The point that male clothing (and actions associated with that clothing) represents a potentially liberating force is persuasively argued, if sometimes driven home to the point of repetition. A second argument, that breech acting was not conceived and performed to tease and sexually titillate, does not take into account audience motives for attending performances. It is true that male critics were confounded by, and by implication fearful of, these actresses—from their stage performances to their personal lifestyles—and they often wrote about these women in insidious, approving, insulting, laudatory, and, by today's standards, unintentionally humorous ways. But these were critics and mostly New York critics at that, and they, along with the rebellious actresses themselves, many of whom served as their own managers, account for only two-thirds of the theatrical triangle. The third azimuth, the audience, other than an occasional "drew big audiences" and "drew crowds," is covered in less detail. Critics and performers may have drawn distinctions between "high" and "low" art, but audiences may have been less discriminating. Relying on artists' intentions and critics' responses does not tell the whole story about the underlying popular public reception to the breeches phenomenon, whatever the motive for its presentation. The problem, of course, is that little primary evidence exists on audience response other than how the critics and reviewers tell us they responded. The book offsets this problem somewhat by a careful examination of several play plots that give the reader some insight into what the audience saw and heard, and it provides newspaper accounts of audience response whenever possible.

Nineteenth-century breech performers progressed from boy roles that personified feminine attributes to classical male roles that embodied challenges to the patriarchy. As the century drew to a close, however, female stage bodies became sexualized and eroticized. The likes of the great rebel Menken and her equestrian dramas replaced classical dramas and serious melodramas as the chief venues for exploring feminine

roles. This shift and the resulting strain within the theatrical profession itself, represented by the "anti-breeches" actress Olive Logan, are scrupulously interpreted.

The book lays out onstage feminism within a wider social context and the narrative weaves in the interplay among the actresses, critics and male fears about suffrage and feminist organizations, lesbianism, and androgyny. This work, then, stands as something more than a conventional theater history. Mullenix writes engaging prose that often surpasses the inelegant language of the befuddled critics she quotes. Her book is a good read, fitted out with appropriate illustrations and photographs (even more would have been helpful). The bibliography is substantial, the endnotes are engaging, and the appendix, a "sampling" (p. 354) of eighteenth-century breech performances, is interesting.

JOHN HANNERS
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JOHN LAURITZ LARSON. *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 324. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

John Lauritz Larson's book, whose title represents a clever play on words, looks at the political and philosophical machinations that convulsed America from 1789 through the post-Civil War era as politicians defined governmental responsibilities. Analyzing internal improvements debates, Larson ably traces the roles of leading men from George Washington to Jay Gould, costumed in their ideological plumage, particularist desires, and personal ambitions as they acted their parts in national and state dramas. Political leaders everywhere initially supported publicly financed internal improvement projects. Only after many false starts and much wasted national treasure did the political players turn internal improvements over to private capitalists. In telling this story, Larson's book is a welcome extension of Charles Seller's work, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (1992).

Larson sees a complex, evolutionary political process at work in the new republic. Almost everyone agreed that the need for internal improvements was acute and that only government had the legitimacy and wherewithal to finance them. Improvement schemes at all levels, however, foundered on questions of class, political ideology, local interests, and federalism.

Washington assumed that *national* transportation improvements would mute arguments. He believed that his Potomac River improvement scheme fit that definition, but many in Congress were horrified at the thought that such an investment would empower the national government at the expense of the states.

Republicans captured power by exploiting fears that Federalist elites were pushing improvement schemes

for their own enrichment and raised questions about the constitutionality of their activities. The sage of Monticello, swept to power in part because of his strict constructionist views of the Constitution, sought an amendment to allow the federal government to satisfy the growing public clamor. Failing that, his secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin, in 1808 proposed a plan for a national system of improvements that gave every section something to allay local and sectional opposition. His scheme "faltered" in what Larson characterizes as the "want of discipline and authority in the national arena" (p. 63).

War suspended such debates. Afterward, however, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun supported a "Bonus Bill" to distribute federal improvement funds to the states, thereby preserving the patina of state sovereignty. After James Madison vetoed the bill, states assumed responsibility for improvement plans; New York stole a march with its canal and drove other states to imitate its success. The ongoing democratization process brought men into the fray anxious to win special considerations for their constituents. Congress became a market place where favors were traded in the quest for federal largess.

The "electoral fiasco" (p. 151) that brought John Quincy Adams to the White House did little to break the congressional logjam. An enthusiastic supporter of internal improvements, Adams was a weakened chief executive. Andrew Jackson ousted Adams by championing the common man but could do little because of sectional jealousies and overheated congressional rhetoric. His veto of the Maysville Pike Bill painted the old general as an enemy of internal improvements, but he distributed federal money to the states to fill the void.

Jackson's presidency straddled the fault line that divided the canal and railway eras. When he took office, the politicians still pushed for large-scale public works because they believed they would prevent the rise of monopolistic private powers. For almost a decade, states, particularly those on the frontier, gambled their slim treasuries on wide-scale canal building, most of which failed thanks to the hard times that followed the Panic of 1837.

A half century after the nation's founding, Larson believes, Congress still could not agree on its constitutional role in the economy. Its debates from 1844 to 1863 over building a Pacific railroad called forth all the old arguments, many of which dated to Washington's time; the transcontinental bill passed only after the South's secession. Legislators' failure to agree on improvements was a sign of the deep problems inherent in the federal system that led to civil conflict and to the decline of the "language of republicanism" (p. 255).

In his final chapter, "Designs of a New Monied Gentry," Larson brings his tale the full circle. Government abandoned the field to a new unfettered class of capitalists, men such as Gould, who subordinated the public's welfare to their own; the earlier generations'

fears of monopolistic power were realized and eventually forced the government to adopt regulatory policies to protect the public.

Larson is not a revisionist. He deftly expands the story of the rise of capitalism against the background of the political imbroglios that made such a portentous change possible. He focuses on the crucial interplay of politics and economic development and reminds us that in the process of discarding concern for the common weal for private gain the new nation abandoned its republican emphasis on community.

JAMES A. WARD
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DONALD J. RATCLIFFE. *The Politics of Long Division: The Birth of the Second Party System in Ohio, 1818–1828*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 455. \$65.00.

The complexity of both national and state politics in the 1820s has never been more evident than in Donald J. Ratcliffe's study of Ohio in the years surrounding the rise to power of Andrew Jackson. Ratcliffe maintains that the decade has long been neglected by historians bent on describing the dramatic political changes of the 1830s. They have paid too much attention to the political tumult of the Bank War, the Nullification crisis, and the emergence of the Whig Party, with the result that they have misunderstood the previous decade. Ratcliffe makes a valiant effort to correct this distortion and successfully shows how, at least in Ohio, the 1820s were a significant bridge connecting the first party system of the pre-War of 1812 Jeffersonian era with the bitter struggles of the Jackson presidency and after.

This book is a logical sequel to Ratcliffe's 1998 monograph, *Party Spirit in a Frontier Republic: Democratic Politics in Ohio, 1793–1821*, in which he analyzed the transition from elitism to egalitarianism and the rapid decline of the Federalist Party in Ohio. The loyalties and structures of the first party system lay in apparent ruin during the Era of Good Feelings only to be reborn with the presidential election of 1824. Signs of such a revival were evident as early as the crisis of 1818–1822, which included economic panic and collapse and the controversy surrounding slavery in Missouri. In describing these events, Ratcliffe is most interested in answering the questions of how, why, and when partisan differences emerged among Ohio politicians and voters. In finding the second party system's origins in the 1820s, he takes issue with such prominent historians as Ronald Formisano and Richard P. McCormick who have argued that the 1820s were merely a pre-party decade, a prelude to the partisanship of Jackson's presidency. Instead it was the disputed election of 1824 that established the second party system. Ratcliffe also maintains that there was a surprising degree of continuity in leadership, ideology, and organization connecting the two systems, and here

again, he finds fault with earlier interpretations. The second party system began in the 1820s, says Ratcliffe, not when Jackson sought reelection in 1832, as some maintain.

The author recognizes that what happened in Ohio cannot automatically be applied to the rest of the country, yet he maintains that Ohioans reacted much as did their counterparts throughout the North. Central to the interests of many in the state was Henry Clay's American System, which endorsed protective tariffs and federal aid for internal improvements. With their economy rapidly expanding, Ohioans like the prominent Cincinnati lawyer and journalist Charles Hammond argued that such federal assistance was critical to the state's future. This had become obvious when federal monies helped to build the National Road then crossing the state from the Ohio River to Columbus and beyond. These concerns were central in the voters' support of Clay and John Quincy Adams over Jackson in the 1824 election. Yet the Jackson movement surged during the Adams presidency as Democrats seized on the rhetoric of the Jefferson years to exploit the controversial tactics used by Clay and others to put Adams in the White House. The revival of party competition and the possibility of the spoils of office gave the Jacksonians new energy and strength. By 1828, Ohio voters eagerly endorsed Old Hickory.

In describing the Democrats' rise to power in Ohio, Ratcliffe downplays the significance of ethnocultural, social, and religious tensions as significant factors. There were intense feelings against the wealthy and well-educated, but these typically did not become partisan issues or decisive factors in voter alignment. The Jacksonians did sometimes benefit from such divisions, but there were too many countervailing pressures for this to be decisive. Moreover, it was easy for Jackson's partisans to attack Adams and his party as representing Federalism revived. This was especially true in the southeastern counties around Marietta, where the Federalists had been strongest in the early days of statehood. Ratcliffe concludes that many chose their party in the late 1820s, influenced by their pre-1820s ties. For them, the issues, interests, and loyalties were similar to earlier days, and Democratic politicians could successfully appeal to these memories. Ratcliffe concludes that those who claim that developments then had little relevance to the 1830s and 1840s are ignoring important carryovers from the previous years.

Ratcliffe has provided an important description and evaluation of Ohio politics and their relationship to the national scene during these critical years. His research is thorough and meticulous, covering every conceivable newspaper and manuscript source as well as relevant secondary accounts. His study of the extreme complexity and partisanship of Ohio politics, however, is not for the casual or general reader who might quickly lose interest in the excessive detail. But for serious students of the era, Ratcliffe provides a

welcome and enlightening view of antebellum politics in a key northern state.

FREDERICK J. BLUE
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DONNA J. RILLING. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1850*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 261. \$45.00.

This impressive work focuses on builders in antebellum Philadelphia. Donna J. Rilling's study is especially welcome since the construction trades have been understudied by historians. She examines in great detail the process by which structures were assembled, from initial raising of capital to the final plastering. The great strength of her book is its ability to unravel the complexity and dynamism of the industry; the author has a gift for explaining even the most elaborate developments clearly and succinctly. The antebellum construction industry turns out to be considerably more articulated and sophisticated than I would have suspected.

This book is based on monumental research in a wide range of sources. Rilling is completely in control of the evidence. I can think of few, if any, works of history that so closely recreate how work was organized and carried on; it is a masterpiece of historical reconstruction. One feels that if Rilling were set down in antebellum Philadelphia, she could supervise the construction of a building with little difficulty.

The key to the way the Philadelphia construction industry was carried on was the legal procedure of ground rents. In contrast to New York and Boston, where purchasing lots was the rule, in Philadelphia the prevailing arrangement was to transfer ownership of property in exchange for a rent paid in perpetuity. By keeping the initial capital requirements low, ground rents allowed men of modest means, including mechanics, to become builders. After describing the ground rent system, Rilling looks at the city's master builders, the men who oversaw the construction. Most were mechanics. Whether building themselves on speculation or for a client, the master builder coordinated construction. He quite often designed the structure (many became skilled draftsmen) and always was in charge of obtaining the raw materials, setting the schedule of work, and hiring the necessary craftsmen. The ease of entry into building did not ensure success. Risks were high, economic downturns were common, and the prospect of overbuilding was real. The chance of failure was significant, but with adeptness and often a little luck, success was possible. When a builder failed, he usually returned to being a carpenter, bricklayer, or other skilled craftsman. As remains the case today, the line between boss and worker was fuzzy. Many artisans were contractors when the economy boomed and returned to being craftsmen when times were bad, waiting their chance to become builders again.

Rilling examines the raw materials used in construction and how the builders obtained them. Lumber was the greatest expense. Sawmills from all over eastern Pennsylvania supplied Philadelphia's lumberyards. The other principal building materials—brick, lime, and marble—are also discussed in detail. Rilling devotes a chapter to carpenters and carpentry work, the principal element of building construction. By the 1840s, stairs and window frames were prefabricated and purchased from subcontractors. Rilling describes the actual process of building from digging the foundations to the completion of the interior work and the sale. Quite often, the builder worked on site alongside the artisans he had hired. The ground rent system and the city's dynamic builders, Rilling believes, made Philadelphia the city of homes, perpetuating the row house, a dwelling for ordinary citydwellers that was superior to the tenements of New York.

Change came slowly to the building trade. By the middle of the century, there was more subcontracting and prefabrication, yet the mechanic-builder continued to flourish in Philadelphia. The picture presented is complicated, but the overall assessment is clear. These were not stalwart artisan republicans defending the traditional workshop lifestyle against capitalist transformation: Rilling's construction workers are out for the main chance. Most mechanics, she argues, endorsed the marketplace, encouraged rather than opposed the transformation of their crafts, and manipulated the system to their own advantage. The impetus for subcontracting came from below as well as above, new technology did not diminish wages, growing specialization of work did not lead to less reliance on skilled labor, and artisans in construction retained lawyers to defend their interests in court, often successfully. "Men in the Philadelphia construction trades were aggressive and ingenious operators who wholeheartedly plunged into the dangers and rewards of capitalism" (p. vii). While I find Rilling's attempt to move beyond the tragic narrative of artisan decline convincing, her rosy picture might have been qualified if she looked more at laborers, a group that plays little role in this book, and also labor conflict, a topic she feels has been investigated sufficiently by other scholars. Nevertheless, the impression that remains is admiration for the work's extremely impressive scholarship rather than disappointment in its failure to address these issues.

RICHARD STOTT
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JOHN MAJEWSKI. *A House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia Before the Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Studies in Economic History and Policy.) 2000. Pp. xvii, 214. \$49.95.

John Majewski here contributes to the time-honored debate over the regional divergence of the antebellum North and South. Focusing on the funding and devel-

opment of internal improvements (turnpikes, canals, and railroads) in Albemarle County, Virginia, and Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, Majewski explores how certain southerners and northerners viewed and participated in "market development." Majewski excels at explaining complex economic processes and theories in straightforward terms, and the result is an informative, provocative book.

Majewski works to debunk stereotypes of how the two regions diverged. He argues that Virginians were neither precapitalist nor opposed to state intervention in the economy. Virginia, in fact, was home to more banking capital and more railroad track per capita than was Pennsylvania in 1860. The North, for its part, also defies easy characterization: not all Pennsylvania artisans were transformed into workers, for example, nor were merchants' and artisans' interests always at odds. Moreover, populations tended to settle where there was industry, not vice versa. While not without historiographical precedents, these arguments, when taken together, form the basis of a well-structured, creative approach to understanding the era's economic culture.

Majewski finds that, generally speaking, white Virginians and Pennsylvanians shared an equal enthusiasm for internal improvements, but Virginia's ability to create an effective transportation system was increasingly hampered by its centuries-old commitment to slavery. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the "essential similarities" between the two states outweighed the differences, such as the existence of slavery, the size of the white population, and the extent of the average landholding. In both states, early internal improvements were funded by developmental corporations, which were more interested in the indirect benefits of transportation (e.g. rising land values, increased access to markets) than in direct returns on their investments. But with the advent of railroads in the 1830s, slavery's influence was thrown into sharper relief. In Pennsylvania, a small group of urban capitalists underwrote the "Mainline"—a combination of canals and railroads—in an effort to secure Philadelphia's market position by connecting it to its western hinterlands; unlike the earlier corporations, these men sought direct benefits—i.e. dividends—from their investments. In Virginia, meanwhile, slavery had discouraged the creation of a "central city" (because a sparse free population in the countryside meant a small market for industrial products), so municipal and state governments, rather than private capitalists, became the biggest investors in railroads. The state proved less efficient than Philadelphia's urban elite, as politicians became embroiled in local rivalries, resulting in legislative logrolling that created a meandering, ineffective rail system. Ultimately, the Confederate war effort would pay dearly for this shortcoming.

White Virginians, Majewski concludes, had the will but not the way to develop economically, and the comparison between Pennsylvania's and Virginia's transportation systems illustrates how the two regions

had developed very differently by mid-century. That contention leaves unsettled, however, the questions of how thoroughly such commercial values permeated the deeper South and why the nation tore apart in 1860–1861. Although Majewski makes a clear case for how the South's ill-developed transportation networks hindered its war effort, he does not show explicitly, despite the book's title, how transportation contributed to white southerners' decision to secede, or take up arms, in the first place. Why did the economic differences between the two regions prove more decisive than the cultural similarities to which Majewski points, such as shared commitments to modernization, community, and republicanism? An expanded exploration of ideological and social factors, particularly in relation to slavery and free labor, might have helped explain what pitted the two regions against one another despite their mutual dedication to economic progress.

Still, a wide readership will benefit from the book's numerous strengths. Advanced undergraduates will profit from Majewski's clear explanations of historiographical debates, while graduate students will find a model of careful research. And scholars of antebellum America will find not just a thought-provoking argument but also a treasure trove of data that deepens and complicates our understanding of the era's economic development.

CAROL SHERIFF
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SALLY E. HADDEN. *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 138.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 340. \$35.00.

This comprehensive study of slave patrols in Virginia and the Carolinas from 1700 through Reconstruction appropriately combines Sally E. Hadden's two areas of expertise. Her initial premises are that historians of crime and law enforcement have neglected the American South (a premise easily challenged) and that by studying slave patrols we can learn more about how southern society actually enforced the laws of slavery (a very valid premise). Hadden also argues that nineteenth and twentieth-century southern law enforcement institutions were descended from the system of slave patrols with its features of racism, violence, and brutality.

Without question, this is a valuable study. Hadden begins with a textbook account of the evolution of patrols in the three colonies mentioned above. Their purpose, pure and simple, set down by law, was to regulate the behavior of slaves. Early on, the various methods established by southern communities to control their slave population—curfews, militia, night watches—came together into the institution of the slave patrol. Its composition and responsibilities changed over time, always responding not just to the threat, real or perceived, of slave revolts but also to

foreign and Native American attacks. In each of the three colonies and states, the patrols had distinct features—some patrollers were compensated, for example, but not all—yet their objectives were essentially the same. They were generally free to decide where to patrol and when.

Hadden takes considerable time to examine the composition of the patrols. She challenges the old argument that only poor whites served as patrollers. Significant data from two Virginia counties show that, at least in the eighteenth century, patrollers were “middle class.” Although the argument here is compelling, its basis is weak. Hadden’s conclusion could be strengthened by a similar look at tax records in other colonies. The best part of this study, and the one that Hadden herself suggests fills a gap in the literature of slavery, is her focus on how slaves themselves reacted to the patrollers. Here she relies on the traditional sources: WPA slave narratives and slave autobiographies. Her study makes it clear that patrols could be brutal and violent. They operated largely at night. They checked slave passes, broke up meetings, and entered slave dwellings. The punishment for misbehavior was usually a whipping. Patrols were not exactly vigilante groups. Their actions were restricted by law. But they were not a conventional police force either. Slaves patrols, for example, operated without search warrants. Evidence that Hadden provides shows clearly that slaves hated the patrollers. Here she might have dug more deeply into slave memory of the patrols, since one of her objectives is to show how this particular southern institution can provide some insights into slavery itself. Within slave commentary on the patrollers is a striking number of references to parents, children, relatives, friends, and homes. This leaves the impression, worth pursuing, that slave families very much existed and were victimized by the patrols.

The last section of the book, which follows the patrols through the Civil War and related Klan activity during Reconstruction, is the most interesting as well as the most controversial. Hadden argues that the Klan was the “next incarnation of slave patrols” (p. 202). The main difference, of course, was that the Klan operated outside of any legal framework. This spelled big trouble for free people, who at least in earlier years could benefit from some protection: a slave carrying a valid pass might not be harmed by a patrol, for example, or when the law would not protect a slave from a cruel patrol, his or her master might. Hadden proposes that the slave patrols with their inherent racism, their close ties to the militia, and their tendency toward violence laid the foundation for a unique southern form of law enforcement. Even their day-to-day methods—their language, their use of stakeouts, their tendency to work unsupervised—served as a model for the modern police.

This is a fine book. It is extensively researched, and it has something important to add to the already rich literature on the institution of slavery. In the end,

despite the author’s very good intentions, it has more to say about how whites regulated slave behavior than about how slaves reacted to that regulation. But that is a function of available resources and an issue that first-rate historians such as Hadden continue to address.

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DAVID F. ERICSON. *The Debate over Slavery: Antislavery and Proslavery Liberalism in Antebellum America*. New York: New York University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 241. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.00.

When I think of the major American historians of the post-World War II years, names like Merrill Jensen and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Kenneth M. Stampp and C. Vann Woodward, Oscar Handlin and Richard Hofstadter come to mind. What does not come to mind is conservative “consensus” history. To concoct a consensus school, you have to iron out all of Hofstadter’s subtlety, pretend that he and Louis Hartz were not profound critics of American political culture, impute far more influence to Daniel Boorstin than he ever actually had, and then close your eyes to the deeply consensual elements in the work of their radical successors, say William Appleman Williams or Eugene Genovese. It won’t work. There was no consensus school of American history in the late 1940s and 1950s; there is only the myth of its prevalence. Yet that myth was potent enough that beginning in the 1960s, a long parade of historians puffed their chests in proud opposition to the intellectual misdeeds of the postwar generation and professed themselves to be shocked—shocked!—by the demon consensus. Now comes another generation, represented by David F. Ericson, a political scientist who is trapped in the historiographical mythology and determined to defend the consensus interpretation against its critics.

Taken on its own terms, the argument Ericson lays out seems reasonable enough: in antebellum America, he writes, both the abolitionists and the proslavery intellectuals were “liberals.” By this he means that their arguments appealed “to personal freedom, equal worth, government by consent, and private ownership of property as core human values” (p. 14). To demonstrate this ideological consensus, Ericson samples some of the writings of both abolitionists and slavery’s defenders, with particular attention to the antislavery logic of Lydia Maria Child, Frederick Douglass, and Wendell Phillips and the proslavery reasoning of Thomas R. Dew, George Fitzhugh, and James Henry Hammond.

Ericson has a fairly tight scheme for classifying his material. Both pro and antislavery arguments could be either liberal or antiliberal, although he finds little of the latter. The writings of both abolitionist and proslavery liberals fall into three distinct types. “Deontological” arguments appealed to first principles (fundamental human equality, for example, or inherent black

inferiority—though Ericson sees racism as antiliberal); “consequentialist” arguments focused on the good or bad consequences of slavery’s continued existence or of its abolition; “contextualist” arguments—the vaguest of Ericson’s categories—emphasized the appropriateness or inappropriateness of slavery in the context of American politics and society. The most popular contextualist argument was the “house divided.” Both sides used it, claiming either that the house was or was not “divided” over slavery, or that the reason for the division was either slavery itself or abolitionist agitation over the issue.

Historians are apt to find Ericson’s scheme rather . . . schematic. But it has the virtue of highlighting a general shift over time away from deontological arguments and toward contextualist ones. Eventually the house-divided argument became definitive. Ericson’s specific readings are generally reliable and occasionally insightful. He is particularly good at spotting internal contradictions in Fitzhugh and inconsistent swerves over time in Hammond. In other cases, however, Ericson’s categories trap him. Given how clearly historians have established the link between racial ideology and democratic egalitarianism, is it proper for Ericson simply to define racism as antiliberal? Having thus banished racism from the liberal tradition, Ericson is forced by his central thesis to play down the importance of racism in proslavery thought. Similarly, when confronted with a writer like Fitzhugh, who struggled to repudiate liberalism but was unable to do so completely, Ericson must suppress the antiliberal elements in order to keep his categories intact.

But the largest problem with this book is its inability to transcend dubious orthodoxies. Ericson defines liberalism in an utterly conventional way, a way that leaves too much out. The distinction between public and private, the elevation of human happiness, the critique of cruelty—all were central to liberalism, all were central to the debate over slavery, yet Ericson mentions none of them even in passing. In a concluding chapter on Civil War causation, he invokes Hartz, arguing that liberalism established “boundaries” on the debate over slavery. But the evidence suggests precisely the opposite. Far from establishing boundaries, liberalism opened up—for the first time in human history—a ferocious and ultimately deadly debate over the morality of slavery. There are different ways to characterize that debate, but “consensus” is not one of them.

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CHARLES B. DEW. *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War.* (A Nation Divided: New Studies in Civil War History.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. x, 124. \$22.95.

This slender volume targets contemporary neo-Confederate polemicists, who insist the South fought the Civil War entirely to sustain the abstract principle of states rights. Charles B. Dew’s antagonists have, in his view, swept under the rug antebellum white southerners’ visceral commitment to slavery and racial hierarchy.

The evidence presented is drawn entirely from the secession winter, the five-month interval between the election of Abraham Lincoln as president in November 1860 and outbreak of war in April 1861. Within weeks of the election, it became apparent that several states in the Deep South would withdraw from the Union and attempt to establish an independent nation. The radical impulse was strongest in Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina; before long it swept across the entire Gulf South. The most ardently prosecession states appointed commissioners to spur the cause elsewhere. An important initial target was Georgia, which did indeed secede and then enlisted its own commissioners. The Upper South was a tougher sell. There, hopes for a Union-saving compromise persisted into late winter and early spring. The commissioners gravitated especially to Virginia, the greatest prize in the tense struggle for allegiances.

What sorts of appeals did these commissioners make? Time and again, Dew demonstrates, they argued that the Republican Party would revolutionize the slave South’s economic and social status quo. Lincoln’s election was “nothing less than an open declaration of war.” He would appoint abolition agents to federal office, undermine the value of slave property, and insist upon the “political and social equality” of blacks and whites. As “the dark pall of barbarism” spread, white southern wives and daughters would be threatened by “pollution and violation to gratify the lusts of half-civilized Africans” (p. 54, 80, 98). Only by seceding and claiming independence could the white South avert racial apocalypse.

Historians will be predisposed to judge Dew the winner even before reading this book. Two generations of rich scholarship has established beyond all doubt or question the centrality of slavery and racial hierarchy in the Old South. Nonetheless, Dew correctly recognizes that neo-Confederate fantasies have a wide following. As a native white southerner who grew up believing that a sanctified Confederate nation was the product of some kind of immaculate conception, Dew feels obligated to set the record straight.

This book also contributes to scholarship, because nobody before has ever systematically studied the role of the secession commissioners. Dew assumes that his alarmists meant every word they said. There was “too much fervor and raw emotion to leave much room for doubt” (p. 80). He may well be correct, but his case is asserted more than proven. Racial hysteria could be used in calculating ways, and secessionists faced a daunting task in persuading the Upper South’s non-slaveholders to board the bandwagon.

Dew’s purposes here are served by too narrow an

emphasis on the messengers. J. Mills Thornton III (*Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800–1860* [1978]) struck richer pay dirt by focusing instead on how such messages were received. To many in Alabama and the Lower South, it all made compelling sense. To many in the Upper South, however, it all seemed a mass delusion, fanned by those who had surrendered their judgment to the mob. Antisecessionists there said that disunion and war were the only real threats to slavery. In retrospect, they better understood reality than the principals in this book.

The secession commissioners insisted that the Lower South would never return to the Union. In so doing, they had a chilling effect on the Upper South's would-be Union savers, but the chill was far from decisive. Sending projectiles into Fort Sumter proved a far more effective way to push the Upper South off the fence than sending commissioners. Even then, the Upper South was not quite ready to secede. The Rubicon was crossed only when Lincoln's proclamation for 75,000 troops forced the Upper South to choose sides in a war.

DANIEL W. CROFTS
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WILLIAM C. DAVIS. *The Union that Shaped the Confederacy: Robert Toombs and Alexander H. Stephens*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2001. Pp. xi, 284. \$29.95.

William C. Davis admits in his preface that this book was not intended as a full biography of either Robert Toombs or Alexander H. Stephens. Rather, he explains, it is "a 'biography' of their friendship" (p. x). Toombs and Stephens were both Georgians, born two years apart and coming of age together in the Jacksonian-era South. They were a study in contrasts: Toombs, born to wealth, brash, impulsive, egotistical, physically imposing; Stephens, born poor, of diminutive stature, sickly, thoughtful, and scholarly. But the two men met as young rural lawyers in 1835, and their friendship lasted, with only brief interruptions, for the next fifty years. Davis's book follows them from their days in the Georgia legislature to the U.S. House of Representatives, where they became leading figures in the drama that led to the Civil War. Although both were Whigs, Stephens became a leading "cooperationist," or opponent of secession, in 1860, whereas Toombs was outspoken in his support for southern independence. Their differences led to a brief estrangement during the secession crisis, but once the Confederacy was a reality, they mended their fences. Both played leading roles in the formation of the Confederate government. Toombs became secretary of war and later a brigadier general, while Stephens was elected Confederate vice president. For most of the war, the two friends were united by their bitter opposition to Confederate president Jefferson Davis.

Davis makes no pretension of offering bold new interpretations of southern or Confederate history

with this book. Instead, the book is one of those little gems that tells an intriguing story and offers a multitude of small insights into the personalities of its subjects and their times. Davis's great strength lies in his eye for detail and his ability to write clearly and gracefully. Many scholars, for example, have studied the 1861 Montgomery convention that gave birth to the Confederate government. But Davis takes us into the ill-heated second floor senate chamber in the Alabama statehouse, where "Little Aleck" Stephens dazzled the delegates with his brilliance as a constitutional theorist, and then guides us from there to the bar at the Exchange Hotel, where much of the real work was done over cigars and juleps and where Toombs exerted his considerable charisma until the liquor turned him into a blabbering fool. Along the way, the reader takes in the sights, sounds, and smells of a bygone era and comes away with a better overall "feel" for the world of the southern slaveholding elite.

As a writer practiced in the biographer's craft, Davis maintains an admirable objectivity toward his subjects. Of the two Georgians, the intellectual Stephens clearly emerges in these pages as the more sympathetic figure. The overbearing and combustible Toombs, by contrast, is frequently hard to bear, as he makes himself both foolish and obnoxious with drink and delusions of political and military grandeur. But Davis finds good and not-so-good qualities in both men. Despite his many flaws, Toombs could be big-hearted, even emotional, toward his best friend Stephens, whom he idolized. Likewise, Davis does not hesitate to criticize Stephens's counterproductive, and occasionally cowardly, political course as vice president during the war. And nowhere does Davis assume a more frank and unapologetic tone than in his assessment of both men's views on slavery. Toombs and Stephens, according to Davis, "were lifelong believers in slavery, both in the political and moral correctness of the institution, and even in the benefits it provided to the blacks themselves" (p. 115). In a similar vein, the author forthrightly criticizes Stephens's hypocrisy when, late in life, the Georgian wrote several historical works depicting slavery as being peripheral to the secession movement. Davis correctly notes that Stephens, who in 1861 had declared slavery the "cornerstone" of the Confederacy, had provided the model for future generations' states' rights arguments by conveniently "overlooking, as he chose to do, that the only states' 'rights' being debated in 1860 were those connected with slavery" (p. 244).

In the end, Davis concludes that Toombs and Stephens embodied "all the strengths and weaknesses and contradictions" (p. 254) that had plagued Georgia prior to the Civil War and that ultimately split asunder first the United States and then the Confederacy. It is a conclusion that is hard to dispute, coming from a book that is a pleasure to read.

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WILLIAM W. FREEHLING. *The South vs. the South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 238. \$25.00.

William W. Freehling, who has written extensively on the antebellum South and the sectional conflict over slavery, adds his name to the list of able historians like Carl N. Degler, Richard N. Current, and Stephen V. Ash who have studied southern internal divisions during the Civil War. Freehling focuses on anti-Confederate whites in the border slave states (the southern "white belt," as he refers to the Upper South) and blacks in the Lower South (the southern "black belt"). He writes that President Abraham Lincoln pursued a policy of "first go after whites" for the Union in the border and middle South and then secure the support of ex-slaves in the black belt. In 1861–1862, Lincoln, as other historians have also pointed out, employed a light-handed touch to save the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. Although many whites from these states donned Confederate gray, the overwhelming number fought for the Union or remained at home during the war. Freehling demonstrates the tremendous losses in manpower, resources, industry, and transportation incurred by the Confederacy when it failed to win the border states. He ties these losses to the defeat of the South. Historians, Freehling writes, forget their observations about the early struggle over the border states when they sum up why the Confederacy failed to win its independence.

The Union success in the border South made possible Lincoln's move, beginning in 1862–1863, to implement his "anaconda" or siege strategy in the Confederate heartland. The policy called for the active support of black anti-Confederates. The strategy, however, had a slow and fitful beginning. In addition to Lincoln's promise in 1861 not to touch slavery in the states, Generals Henry W. Halleck and George B. McClellan, commanding in the West and in the East, adopted a soft-war policy that protected the rights of slaveholders. Halleck's General Orders number 3 (November 20, 1861) barring fugitive slaves from his army's camps was especially revealing of the early Federal policy "to keep the war a lily-white crusade" (p. 89).

In late 1862, Lincoln, on the grounds of military necessity, began a gradual shift from his soft-war strategy to a hard-war policy when he issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. He correctly concluded that black "contrabands," or slaves fleeing to Federal lines, could be a major source of help for the Union. Not only could fugitive blacks be used to construct military facilities and serve as teamsters, stevedores, and cooks, their presence with Union forces would also diminish the same number of slaves aiding the Confederates. Furthermore, these blacks would release white troops to confront rebel armies on the battlefield. Lincoln saw this policy as a collaborative effort between black-belt fugitives and the army.

Eventually Ulysses S. Grant and other Union generals realized that southern black support was an important key to victory.

In 1863–1864, the collaboration policy was further advanced by the widespread Federal recruitment of black troops, most of whom were from the Confederate South. The capable performance of these troops in garrisons and on the battlefields endeared them to white Union troops and the northern public, making possible the acceptance of emancipation as a war objective. Freehling suggests that the total southern black effort as laborers and as soldiers and sailors was a major reason for Union success in the war. If Confederate leaders had not maintained a hidebound commitment to slavery and had given freedom to cooperating blacks, the war probably would have turned out differently.

Some historians will question Freehling's sharp white belt-black belt division of the South. They will also wonder why Freehling did not evaluate the role of old political party alignments in the internal southern conflict over secession and war. The title of the book is somewhat misleading. Though he describes the white anti-Confederate movement in the border South, Freehling virtually ignores white Unionists, dissidents, and peace advocates in the Confederate states themselves (for example, Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina). Internal strife in these states also contributed to the Confederate defeat. Still, Freehling has written an important book that sheds new light on white southern divisions during the war and especially highlights the contribution of escaping slaves to Union victory.

WILLIAM C. HARRIS
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A. JAMES FULLER. *Chaplain to the Confederacy: Basil Manly and Baptist Life in the Old South*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 343. \$49.95.

For years, Basil Manly has lived in the backwater of the literature on the Old South. As a leading Baptist minister who helped found several southern schools—including the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary—and an active agent in the split that created the Southern Baptists, he has deserved more notice. In the first full biography of Manly, A. James Fuller performs this service well. Readers receive an appreciation of the effort of some Baptists to reconcile the worlds of the saint and citizen during a particularly troublesome portion of our history.

Manly symbolizes the end of a journey that Baptists made from outsiders with radical potential to insiders who embraced the power structure. Born in North Carolina in 1798, Manly was part of a well-connected, slaveowning family from which came a future governor of the state. Manly held an important position at the First Baptist Church in Charleston and spent eighteen years as president of the University of Alabama. He

helped frame the resolutions that formed the backbone of the split with Northern Baptists in 1845 and was a State Rights Democrat who openly advocated secession. In 1861, he served a brief stint as chaplain for the provisional Confederate Congress.

It is difficult to summarize a concise argument for this work, because the author resists "attempting to trace some grand argument's development from birth . . . to death." Fuller wants the narrative to capture how Manly's world view "played out in the everyday events of his life" (p. 3). The author suggests that Manly embraced the concept of Christian gentility identified by Bertram Wyatt-Brown in his studies of southern honor. Manly tried to temper, without completely losing, the reactions of a southerner steeped in a sometimes brutal code of honor by incorporating duty to God and family. The author primarily reaffirms the work of historians of Baptists and religion in the South, although he leans more toward Eugene D. Genovese than Christine Leigh Heyrman. Fuller argues that Manly demonstrates that Baptists did not become part of the mainstream solely by adapting to conditions around them, as Heyrman notes in *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (1997). Fuller would agree that some of Heyrman's dynamic occurred, but he argues that Baptists like Manly also tried to alter the society itself. Here the author mirrors Genovese's *A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South* (1998) by showing a reformist streak within certain Baptists. In Manly's case, however, this reform impulse went far beyond the slave community, manifesting itself in efforts similar to those pursued in the North, with the preacher supporting prison reform, public schools, and temperance.

The strength of the book comes in how it roots readers in the Baptist tradition, especially the debates over how to preserve the faith in a changing world. It demonstrates that even hard-line theological stands had room for compassion when applied to the real world. Manly was a moderate Calvinist, someone who believed in predestination but also in human action. Although he favored creating institutions for teaching ministers and a centralized governing body, the minister also believed in an old-style emotional preaching that used sentiment rather than logic to convert listeners. He staunchly defended adult baptism against more liberal trends, and he opposed the Free Will Baptists with their Arminian tendencies. Although the owner of more than thirty slaves—and someone who easily found justification within Christian paternalism for owning human property—he pushed for converting slaves into the faith and for licensing black preachers.

At times, one wishes Fuller had employed more interpretation and offered greater assessment of his subject. Many twists and turns of Manly's life are presented, but they are rarely explained. The author takes the minister at his word that he accepts appointments to lead a congregation or a university as answering God's call without acknowledging the possibility

that ambition, as well as service, might have entered the picture. Readers also will find little explanation for why Manly won the political battle to become the first chaplain of the Confederacy and no mention of why he stayed behind when the Confederate Congress moved to Richmond. After the war, Manly, the unabashed slaveowner, shifted to advocating "rights" for the freedpeople. With no explanation for this stance, readers must decipher if it marks a continuation of Manly's paternalistic ideals or if he advocated suffrage for black people. The book's title, too, is a bit misleading, for it establishes the expectation that a substantial portion might deal with the minister's service to the Confederacy. Most of the fifteen chapters—appropriately—deal with the Old South. The one chapter on the war offers little more than a description of how Manly sat out the conflict in Alabama and does not tie analysis to studies of religion and war.

Overall, though, this is a strong book. It is deeply researched, capably written, and especially useful in the presentation not only of Baptist theology but also of practice. It offers a vehicle to appreciate the complicated Baptist world of the nineteenth century.

WILLIAM BLAIR

Pennsylvania State University

ROD ANDREW, JR. *Long Gray Lines: The Military School Tradition, 1839–1915*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 169. \$29.95.

Rod Andrew, Jr.'s book examines southern public military colleges from the founding of Virginia Military Institute to the creation of the Reserve Officers Training Corps. The purpose of these schools was to produce virtuous citizens, not professional soldiers. While nonsoutherners generally found militarism, with its emphasis on corporate duty, antithetical to republicanism, with its focus on individual autonomy, white southerners reconciled the two. They equated voluntary military service with civic duty, making the citizen-soldier the ideal republican. Despite an emphasis on loyalty and obedience to legitimate authority, southern militarism contained democratic values that rewarded individual merit and initiative. Ability, education, and experience trumped socioeconomic condition in masculine competition for honor and status. Resistance to the unlawful exercise of authority was the duty of every citizen-soldier, exemplified by southerners' patriotic disobedience to redcoats during the American Revolution and to Yankees during the Civil War.

Southern military schools offered youthful white southerners the means (apart from war) to learn and experience the rights and responsibilities of a citizen-soldier. Most southern Victorians believed that military education provided the mental, moral, and physical training that produced self-reliant and loyal men ready to defend both their personal autonomy and their community. The institutions taught the discipline and order required of militarism through drills and regulations, but they also taught students liberal val-

ues, as class standing depended upon performance rather than birth or class. Limited toleration of student rebellions by administrators reinforced liberalism by teaching students to uphold their rights when wronged by perceived illegitimate acts of authority.

Although popular before the Civil War, enthusiasm for martial instruction intensified afterward, fueled by the myth of the Lost Cause, which celebrated Confederate heroes as virtuous citizen-warriors worthy of emulation by subsequent generations. Confederate veterans found employment in military schools as administrators and teachers, where their presence impressed upon the invariably gray-clad cadets the importance of upholding one's honor through sacrifice for one's community. Yet the schools furthered national reconciliation by promoting martial values that encouraged patriotism and obedience to legitimate authority. The enthusiastic response of alumni and cadets to the Spanish-American War displayed the effectiveness of military schools in promoting reconciliation on militaristic terms.

Besides the military school tradition of southern whites, Andrew examines the efforts of postbellum black institutions to give students martial instruction. Although the administrations of a few black schools organized military education programs of various types, the author effectively argues that opposition from whites inhibited the development of an extensive military school tradition. Whites associated military instruction with citizenship, which they wished to deny to African Americans. State legislatures and the federal government discouraged black military education programs in the segregated South by threatening funding and by not providing equipment for drills available to white schools. Furthermore, a paucity of black officers and the lack of an antebellum tradition mitigated the growth of military instruction among black institutions.

Andrew's work omits much that if included, might have led him to a conclusion other than that the main purpose of postbellum military schools was to continue to produce virtuous citizen-soldiers. He never considers whether the administrations of public military schools displayed hostility, support, or ambivalence toward the New South. Nor does he closely examine the curriculum of these institutions beyond their martial elements, though most of the postbellum military colleges stressed utilitarian science as a means to resurrect southern fortunes. The author only cursorily addresses the consequences of coeducation on the military organization of land-grant colleges. Two other recent studies, my *Thinking Confederates: Academia and the Idea of Progress in the New South* (2000) and Michael Dennis's *Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880–1920* (2001), find that administrators of state-supported schools, including military institutions, primarily wanted to promote industrial and social progress in the region. While I conclude that former Confederate officers acted as the first postbellum champions of progress,

Dennis argues that the next generation turned their schools in a progressive direction. Andrew's narrow focus prevented him from addressing the issue of southern progress and therefore may have led him to miss the real importance of military schools to the postbellum South.

DAN R. FROST
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KURT HACKEMER. *The U.S. Navy and the Origins of the Military-Industrial Complex, 1847–1883*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2001. Pp. x, 181. \$45.00.

Sociologist C. Wright Mills first suggested the concept of an economic-military alliance in his *The Power Elite* (1956). A few years later, President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned that a military-industrial complex (MIC) might pose a danger to American society and politics. The idea of an MIC became the central assumption during the 1960s for Samuel P. Huntington, Fred J. Cook, Walter Millis, and other scholars of American military history, civil-military relations, and the political economy of warfare. Revisionist historians of the 1970s adopted the MIC as the central institution to explain the intimate influence of great defense industries in advancing an imperialistic foreign policy. They found the origin of the so-called military industrial complex in the late nineteenth century with the growth of large-scale industry. Historian Benjamin Franklin Cooling revealed in *Gray Steel and Blue Water Navy: The Formative Years of America's Military-Industrial Complex, 1881–1917* (1979) the intimate partnership between the steel industry and the U.S. Navy in promoting a deep-water fleet, domestic steel industry, and expansionist foreign policy.

Over the years, few have questioned this historical construct. Recently, however, Paul A. C. Koistinen has demonstrated in *Beating Plowshares into Swords: The Political Economy of American Warfare* (1996) that the roots of the MIC can be traced to earlier, preindustrial stages of American history. It is within this context that Kurt Hackemer has discovered the roots of the modern MIC in the rise of a steam and iron navy in the years before the Civil War. Hackemer argues that the continental expansionism of "Manifest Destiny" of the 1840s intersected with the development of steam engine technology to cause a dramatic shift in American naval policy. Instead of the traditional wooden and sailing navy, the United States now needed a powerful iron and steam-propelled fleet to project American national power to both Atlantic and Pacific oceans. To this end, the U.S. government authorized construction of several experimental war steamers in the 1840s, six steam frigates in 1854, five screw sloops of war in 1857, seven screw sloops in 1858, and seven war steamers in 1859.

The U.S. Navy's attempt to adopt the new technology with construction of the first screw steamer *Princeton* met with failure. Hackemer contends that the navy had neither engineering expertise nor bureaucratic

apparatus to build such an innovative warship and so turned for assistance to private industry. Hackemer argues persuasively that Secretary of the Navy James C. Dobbin of North Carolina, an ardent friend of Manifest Destiny and expansionism, was most influential in adjusting the naval contract system and institutional framework to form a partnership with private industry. In close cooperation with private industry, Dobbin successfully developed the powerful *Merrimack*-class steam frigate. Consequently, on the eve of the Civil War, Dobbin modernized the U.S. Navy for an expanded role. Wartime demands for steam and iron warships further refined the naval contracting and bureau system to develop more sophisticated military-industrial cooperation. After the war, many of the military and industrial partnerships developed during the Civil War continued as the U.S. launched its "New Steel Navy" during the late nineteenth century. Hackemer sees a direct connection between the failed *Princeton* and the first steel warships, and thus finds the origins of the modern MIC in the 1840s.

Hackemer's work treats a neglected aspect of U.S. naval history and reveals the importance of the little-known Dobbin. Conceptualizing his work around the MIC is flawed, however. Corporate organization, public-private partnerships, and the levels of technology in the 1840s never formed a nascent military-industrial complex. Moreover, if one wants to search for origins of the MIC in earlier periods, why not examine, as Koistinen does, the political economy of warfare in the preindustrial stages?

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PAUL A. CIMBALA and RANDALL M. MILLER, editors. *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations*. (Reconstructing America, number 4.) New York: Fordham University Press. 1999. pp. xxxii, 363. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$19.95.

As editors Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller note in the preface to this collection of essays, George R. Bentley's 1955 history of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau) remains the only complete history of that federal agency. Over the years, Bentley's work has been augmented by a number of state studies. Treatments of the Bureau in South Carolina and Louisiana appeared in 1967 and 1970. More recently, three contributors to this volume have published studies of Texas (Barry A. Crouch, 1992), Arkansas (Randy Finley, 1996), and Georgia (Cimbala, 1997). Moreover, during the past two decades, Ira Berlin (together with coeditors Leslie Rowland and Joseph P. Reidy, among others) began publishing *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*. Drawing from a vast archival record relating to the Bureau, that series has also helped to lay the foundation for new inquiries into the complex after-

math of the Civil War. One of the authors in this collection, John C. Rodrique, worked as a coeditor for one of the volumes of *Freedom*, and two others—Michael L. Lanza and James D. Schmidt—acknowledge their debt to the documentary project. As these essays reveal, the records of the Freedmen's Bureau provide an extraordinarily rich resource for historians.

The Bureau existed briefly (1865-1872) to smooth the path to freedom in the postemancipation South. The volume's first essay, by Brooks D. Simpson, suggests the dilemma that the Bureau faced. Simpson examines Ulysses S. Grant's attitudes toward the Bureau at the close of the war. Grant followed an uncertain course as Congress passed the second Freedmen's Bureau bill in February 1866 and as President Andrew Johnson worked to restore civil authority in the former Confederacy. Riots in Memphis and New Orleans made it clear to Grant that local authorities "failed to notice crime" (p. 20), but the army commander refrained from ordering military intervention. In Grant's uncertainty lay the Bureau's dilemma: the conflicting interests of former masters and former slaves often proved impossible to resolve.

Johnson's hostility toward the Bureau bill defined his fight with congressional Republicans. Hans L. Trefousse considers why it was that Johnson failed to follow Abraham Lincoln's example and attempt to forge a coalition with moderate Republicans, like Illinois senator Lyman Trumbull, who shared many of Johnson's misgivings about radicalism. But Trumbull sponsored the Bureau bill, and an alliance with him required that Johnson express at least a limited support for the principle of racial equality under law. Trefousse finds that Johnson's racism made such a coalition impossible. When Johnson vetoed the Bureau bill, Trumbull stood with the Republican majority in determined opposition to the president.

Once Johnson began restoring property to pardoned Confederates, the best hope for significant land reform in the South lay with the implementation of the Southern Homestead Act, signed into law by Johnson in June 1866. Oliver O. Howard, the national commissioner of the Bureau, clearly hoped to make good use of this federal legislation, as did a number of state commissioners. Nevertheless, Lanza finds Bureau agents torn between a desire to help the freedmen acquire land and a commitment to maintain existing labor contracts through the 1866 agricultural season. The freedmen displayed no ambiguity on the matter. The commissioner for Georgia noted among the freedmen an "almost universal desire to possess land." Lanza estimates that between twenty and twenty-five percent of all applicants for land were freedmen and that "their success rate was equal to or greater than that of whites." Nevertheless, the Southern Homestead Act could not make landowners of most freedmen. "In the end," concludes Lanza, "the promise of land for the freedmen was illusory" (p. 87).

Divergent points of view often dulled the effectiveness of the Bureau. In Georgia, Cimbala finds that the

Bureau actively sought to secure for the freedmen the equal rights provided by law. In Texas, Crouch finds that Bureau agents did what they could to protect freedmen from a repressive black code. Yet in Alabama, Michael W. Fitzgerald finds that the Bureau "acted both as liberator and as an agent of social control" (p. 53). In Arkansas, Finley finds that while some agents actively aided blacks, others "wished only to maintain order and restore a black workforce to the cotton fields" (p. 93).

The Bureau largely failed to secure land for freedmen, but it achieved a much more positive record in the field of education. The Bureau's success in this regard owed a great deal to the close working relationship between Bureau commissioner Howard and the American Missionary Association's executive, George Whipple. Together they successfully brought their vision of manual labor and education to the freedmen. Hampton Institute in Virginia emerged as one of the most substantial accomplishments of this application of antebellum moral reform to the postwar South.

For antebellum free persons of color, especially for those who had occupied a relatively privileged position in antebellum southern society, expectations for progress in the postwar era ran high. Caryn Cosse Bell explores a reform ideology among the Afro-Creole elite in New Orleans shaped by antebellum contact with Fourierist communitarianism in France. During the war, New Orleans Creoles found in the communal ideal the best means of restructuring plantation society. Hopes for land reform quickly faded, however. By the end of 1865, the Bureau had restored to antebellum owners most of the 60,000 acres it had previously leased to blacks.

Much of the day-to-day work of the Bureau involved providing relief to suffering humanity. Mary J. Farmer examines Virginia, a state where civil society had been severely damaged by years of war. She finds that the majority of recipients of Bureau relief were freedwomen and children. As quickly as possible, the Bureau denied relief to men, urging them to work for the support of their families: "they cannot be happy and greet you with a kiss, when you come home, if they are hungry, ragged, and cold," instructed one agent. By contrast, the Bureau regarded single women, like children, as dependents worthy of charity.

One of the great strengths of this new work on the Bureau is its emphasis on regional variation. In the sugar-growing region of lower Louisiana, Rodrique finds that "Bureau agents enabled the logic of free labor to unfold with consequences that redounded to the freedmen's advantage" (p. 194). In sharp contrast to the sharecropping arrangements that replaced slavery in the cotton-growing regions of the South, wage labor and centralized plantation production characterized the sugar-growing area. In his contribution, Schmidt uses South Carolina to examine the ideological underpinning of the Bureau's labor policy. He lucidly notes that capitalist work culture—defined as "time discipline, the commodification of labor power,

the cash nexus, and the inviolability of contracts" (p. 222)—was still in the process of development in the North during the Civil War and Reconstruction. In the Bureau, however, Schmidt finds elements of state capitalism: "something closer to a modern, administrative bureaucracy with direct power" (p. 223). In Schmidt's view, it was the combined resistance of planters and freedmen to state capitalism that produced the failure of Reconstruction. Had the Bureau been a powerful bureaucracy, this conclusion might be justified. But the Bureau had been created without a budget; it would fade away quickly as the property it administered passed out of its control. Overlooked by Schmidt is Richard Franklin Bense's *Yankee Leviathan* (1990), which linked postwar economic retrenchment with Reconstruction policies that relied on law rather than an extensive (and expensive) bureaucracy. Nevertheless, Schmidt's emphasis on the centrality of emerging labor law is rewarding. Schmidt finds that "liberals" advocated wage labor and equal rights, "moderates" emphasized the mutual interests of capital and labor, and "conservatives" functioned as a labor police to maintain productivity. All agreed, however, that the application of northern poor laws distinguished "contract freedmen" from "idle, vicious vagrants" (p. 249), and all responded with frustration when, for example, freedmen planted watermelons among the cotton plants and pursued antebellum patterns of labor and leisure.

Finally, in the border state of Maryland, Richard Paul Fuke examines the efforts of urban reformers—i.e. the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People—to assist the freedmen in the countryside in their efforts to organize a school system. In their preference for economic subsistence, Maryland freedmen implicitly rejected northern free labor ideology; in their educational efforts, however, they internalized the ideology of northern reform.

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DAVID W. BLIGHT, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. 512. \$29.95.

Few images embody the romance of sectional reconciliation better than the hand clasps of erstwhile enemies at the Gettysburg reunions of the post-Civil War decades, particularly the celebrated fiftieth anniversary reunion of 1913 featured in the final episode of the Ken Burns's documentary, *The Civil War* (1990). For David W. Blight, this seemingly reassuring picture of comity serves instead as a reminder of the terrible cost of sectional reconciliation, a price paid by African Americans whose absence is a tragic symbol of their collective erasure from the hearts and minds of millions of whites in the half-century following Appomattox. Blight's book, which stands at the crossroads of

Reconstruction historiography and the study of memory, traces the process by which this erasure occurred and, with quiet moral passion, restores the centrality of the black experience to the war's legacy.

In some ways, Blight is treading familiar territory, building on the work of Reconstruction scholars stretching from C. Vann Woodward to Eric Foner. This is true even in the field of Civil War memory, which can be traced from Thomas Pressley's *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (1954) through Joel Williamson's *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (1984), Gaines M. Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (1987), and Nina Silber's *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (1994). What distinguishes Blight's work above all is its breadth: northern and southern perspectives, cultural and intellectual sources, and, above all, black and white memories. The fruit of a ten-year research effort that led him through a thicket of correspondence, magazine articles, and the work of well-known writers like Stephen Crane and Ambrose Bierce, the book will stand as a definitive document, the capstone for a generation of scholarship in which race has been the primary historical lens.

Blight delineates three main strands in tracing Civil War memory in the half-century after 1865. The first of these is the "emancipationist" strain embodied by towering figures like Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, and W. E. B. Du Bois, all of whom viewed the destruction of slavery as the redemptive dimension to an otherwise remorseless, even senseless, struggle. The second is a much broader—and shallower—"reconciliationist" strain, which promoted collective forgetting of the war's worst brutality and downplayed racial questions, a tendency obvious in the life and work of figures ranging from Henry Grady to Charles Francis Adams II (reconciliationist elements were also present in the memoirs of pivotal war leaders like Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman). Finally, there was the white supremacist strain, obvious not only in organizations like the Ku Klux Klan but also in the United Daughters of the Confederacy, which supplied much of its ideological energy at the turn of the century.

The conventional historiographic wisdom, strongly associated with Woodward, holds that more liberal attitudes toward race gave way to a hardening line by the end of the century. Blight generally agrees with this view but textures it, noting the presence of reconciliationist rhetoric as early as the 1860s and the survival of the emancipationist vision even after the Populist challenge of the 1890s. The most vivid chapters in the book trace the emergence and logic of the Lost Cause theme and its truly astounding success as well as an often moving discussion of the intraracial discourse among Booker T. Washington, Henry McNeal Turner, and others over whether the United States was really worth the energy and loyalty of black people.

If there is anything unsatisfying about what Blight is doing here, it is less about what he says than how he

says it. Even more than other kinds of historical writing, memory bears a special relationship to addressing—and redressing—contemporary common sense. A century ago, Douglass struggled mightily to keep alive an emancipationist faith of the 1860s via the power of his rhetoric. Blight too is striving to keep an emancipationist faith alive, one nurtured as much by the 1960s as the 1860s. And yet one worries whether his approach, so deeply invested in the norms of academic history, can reach beyond the people who least need convincing. Given the scope of the challenge, one can also legitimately wonder whether anyone can; it is not clear that anyone has tried. Blight is the author of an impressively evocative biography, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (1989), which, among other things, depicts an aging man facing the prospect of losing a war he thought he had won. The challenge in writing panoramic books like this one lies in highlighting the drama of such individuals amid the delineation of broader historical processes. Blight has succeeded on the terms he has set for himself: this is an important book by an important scholar. It may well be that from now on, it is not light that is needed but fire, not the gentle shower but thunder. A challenge awaits.

JIM CULLEN

The Ethical Culture Fieldston School

JANE DAILEY. *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 278. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

Jane Dailey uses the story of Virginia's Readjuster movement, a biracial political alliance, as the vehicle to analyze the malleable thinking about race in the late nineteenth-century South. The Readjusters took their name in 1878 from their desire to repudiate at least part of the state debt, incurred largely in antebellum years to finance railroads, canals, and other public works. Conservative Democrats ("Funders"), on the other hand, wanted to take money from the education budget in order to pay down the state debt. To oppose the Funders, Readjusters pulled together a coalition that gained control of the Virginia General Assembly in 1879. Readjusters had the support of small white landholders of the western uplands and black Republicans from the Tidewater counties, both groups who were determined to keep taxes low and free public education readily available. Between 1879 and 1883, the Readjusters went on to claim the governor's office, both of the state's U.S. Senate positions, and the majority of its seats in Congress. The coalition failed in 1883 when white discomfort about black power combined with election fraud and violence to secure a Democratic victory.

The narrative of the rise and fall of the Readjuster Party provides a mere backdrop against which Dailey explores several fascinating issues. She explains how the key Readjuster leader, William Mahone, after

election to the U.S. Senate in 1881 was able to secure federal patronage for black and white Readjusters and how the appearance of African Americans as postmasters, inspectors, and customs officials, and their presence on school boards and federal juries, challenged traditional social hierarchies in Virginia. In another chapter, she analyzes the rhetorical jousting between Democrats and Readjusters over racial equality and the degree to which it sloped off to social equality, even the sexual empowerment of black men. Dailey then examines how black political power led to a social assertiveness in public spaces throughout Virginia. By 1883, shortly before the election that ended Readjuster rule, African Americans in Danville expressed this idea of black social equality with shoves and elbows on the sidewalks, prompting a race riot that left five men dead. Finally, Dailey explains how the Readjuster movement undermined existing meanings of party, race, and even manhood and forced new definitions of who was or was not a "Negro." In an epilogue, the author examines how race and party distinctions remained relatively fluid, open for redefinition, through the rest of the century.

The Readjusters were a particularly interesting case study of an interracial political alliance. This kind of coalition occurred more commonly later in the 1880s and 1890s between white populists and black Republicans in other states such as Texas, Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Carolina. The early and successful example of biracial politics in Virginia tells us much about the possibilities for black power in the South in general. The Readjusters show how dynamic and open-ended race relations and politics were in the years after Reconstruction but before the Jim Crow laws. The Readjuster story also shows how real black power, wielded through such an alliance, prompted a backlash of violence, intimidation, and election fraud by white Democrats that brought them victory and then election "reform"—black disfranchisement—to make it permanent. Dailey's greatest achievement in this book goes beyond the political narrative. Unlike most scholars of this period, she makes explicit the linkage between power and ideology. She shows how inseparable political empowerment is from social empowerment, a concept that white and black southerners well understood in the 1880s but that historians have since struggled to grasp. Dailey explains convincingly how ideas about race developed out of particular political experiences of both white and black Virginians.

Other historians have covered much of the same ground. A biography of Readjuster leader William Mahone appeared in the 1930s, and more recently Charles E. Wynes and James Tice Moore have told the story of the Readjuster movement. Dailey's interpretation of thinking about race and gender owes much to the work of Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, Laura F. Edwards, Martha Hodes, and Robin D. G. Kelley. The strength of Dailey's book ties in her nuanced analysis of action and rhetoric in relationship to a specific local context.

Dailey could have reached a wider audience if she wrote with less jargon, fewer quotations, and more plain English. This quibble aside, her well-researched monograph makes an important addition to the growing literature about race in the late nineteenth-century South.

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J. WILLIAM HARRIS. *Deep Souths: Delta, Piedmont, and Sea Island Society in the Age of Segregation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 454. \$45.00.

"Deep South," J. William Harris notes, "is a term of almost mythic resonance" of "a place frozen in time, marked by violent extremes of action and belief, yet, in the hands of its writers and musicians, touched by profundity" (p. 1). To explore the complex reality of these images, Harris compares three regions of the Deep South—the Mississippi-Yazoo Delta, the eastern Georgia Piedmont, and the Sea Islands and rice coast of Georgia—from the end of Reconstruction to the beginning of World War II.

The book is divided chronologically into three equal time spans. Part one, which traces the three regions from 1876 to 1896, describes the rise of both segregation and Populism in the Deep South. Part two, covering 1897 to 1918, concentrates on World War I's threat to the area's financial and social structure. Part three examines the interwar adjustment to internal natural forces such as floods and the boll weevil as well as to such broad national developments as the rise of modern transportation, communication, entertainment, and, finally, the New Deal.

Part one effectively describes how varying economic factors shaped each of the Deep South's three regions after Reconstruction. The failure of Sea Island planters to reconstruct the antebellum plantation economies and especially the infrastructure of rice production meant that blacks there who rejected the market economy had the greatest likelihood of gaining landownership. By contrast, Harris finds that the "pyramid structure" of the Piedmont and Delta economy also varied from one another during this era. While Delta planters held a large share of all that region's wealth, Piedmont yeoman farmers enjoyed a much more equitable distribution of resources. Despite these variations, Harris identifies one common bond for the entire Deep South. As indicated by very high two-year tenant turnover rates, landlords everywhere failed to use debt to compel laborers to remain on their land.

Harris also uses the framework of varying regional economic factors to account for the defeat of Deep South Populism. White rice planters in the Sea Islands rejected Populism as it failed to address either the larger problems of Louisiana competition or hurricanes. Likewise, being focused on self-sufficiency, Sea Island black farmers saw little reason to support the new party's agenda, which was largely shaped by

concerns over commodities. By contrast, in the Delta, which was so closely tied to cotton production, Populism had little impact because blacks, the overwhelming number of potential adherents to the new party, had already been disenfranchised by the time the third party emerged. Hence, only the Georgia Piedmont offered the necessary mix of commodity production and a substantial enough share of the black population enfranchised that, when combined with disaffected white voters, permitted Populists to challenge the two-party system.

In part two, Harris demonstrates that beyond its effect on African-American labor markets, World War I "added an entirely new dimension to societies in the Deep South" as it "brought a nationalization of policy, power, and sentiment unknown in the South since Reconstruction and reinforced in many ways the dynamic forces at work in town and countryside" (pp. 222–23). No white southerner spoke more directly to this concern than Mississippi's Senator James K. Vardaman, who warned about what "might arise from what he called the 'melting pot of war'" (p. 223).

Part three's coverage of the period between the two world wars highlights the divisions that developed among whites during the 1920s, especially the "conflict between modern and traditional values" as southerners adjusted to a new world of cars, radios, and movies. As he does so skillfully throughout the book, Harris best makes the case for the growing discord by narrating a story, in this case the 1919 lynching of a black man, Lloyd Clay, in Vicksburg, Mississippi. Harris emphasizes how this lynching "exposed deep social and cultural cleavages among whites" (p. 265). Within days of the murder, in which women as well as men shot guns at the body and in the process even killed a white bystander, "prominent business and professional leaders" (p. 267), who sought to repair the town's image, distributed a petition denouncing the mob.

Beyond the valuable insights it draws, readers will appreciate three other aspects of this book. One, Harris's superb synthesis of the vast scholarship on this era is matched by his identifying previously untapped archival sources that offer fresh perspectives and evidence. Particularly noteworthy is his reliance on the Delta and Pine Land Company records to trace how this corporation adjusted to that region's shifting economy. Two, at key points in his analysis Harris's fascinating stories amplify significant issues. Three, placement of the book's nineteen charts and twenty-five tables in an appendix complements rather than hinders the book's literary presentation.

ROBERT C. KENZER
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SUNDIATA KEITA CHA-JUA. *America's First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois, 1830–1915*. Champaign and Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 276. \$37.50.

Brooklyn, Illinois, has a special place in African-American history. Founded within a stone's throw of

East St. Louis in 1829 by free blacks and fugitive slaves, this small enclave evolved first into an unincorporated, biracial village and then, later, into a small, working-class, all-black commuter suburb. Along the way, Brooklyn became the first black-majority municipality in the United States (1873), thus allowing it to stake its claim as America's oldest black town. Confronted with chronic underdevelopment, it also devolved into a run down, problem-plagued community in the decades immediately surrounding 1900—a small-town forerunner to larger cities like Gary and Newark in more recent times.

Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua's history of Brooklyn, told from an avowedly black nationalist perspective, emphasizes the importance of race, class, proletarianization, and dependency. The story itself is broken down into three parts, with each corresponding to a broad stage in the community's evolution: its formative years before the Civil War; its transition to a village dominated politically by African Americans (1870–1906); and its subsequent political and economic decline (1886–1915).

As Cha-Jua explains, Brooklyn developed initially in much the same fashion as scores of other antebellum northern "freedom villages" (black rural communities). Its founders came from a variety of backgrounds, both free and slave. They built a cohesive sense of community through close residence to, and dependence upon, one another and suffered under the weight of the disabilities imposed by Illinois's Black Laws. Economically, early Afro-Brooklynites fared somewhat better than free blacks in northern urban settings—most householders, for example, owned their own homes—but nonetheless were at a disadvantage relative to surrounding white neighbors. Perhaps the young village's most distinctive characteristic was its biracial character. The village proper was first platted by white abolitionists in 1837, and a large minority of its early residents were Euro-Americans (120 of 300 residents in 1850).

After the Civil War, Brooklyn came into its own as an all-black town. The village's African-American population increased steadily, largely due to an influx of adult freedmen from the South, while the white population's growth first slowed and then reversed itself. By 1910, 1,400 of Brooklyn's 1,600 residents shared African descent. Equally if not more important, Afro-Brooklynites gained political rights and, by the mid-1870s, began to shift local government into their own hands. The election of John Evans as the town's first African-American mayor in 1886 marked the culmination of this transition. Under Evans's skillful leadership, the town of Brooklyn made a number of modest but progressive strides in the late 1880s and early 1890s, successfully lobbying for a post office, installing electrical street lights, and improving other aspects of its infrastructure.

Ultimately Brooklyn's proximity to East St. Louis and its limited economic base undermined the town's promise. Local industrialists bypassed the town in their

expansion into the eastern St. Louis metropolitan area after 1870, thereby undermining attempts at self-development by Brooklyn's political leaders. The town increasingly became home to a disproportionately male proletariat, which in turn recast the town's character. Faced with limited economic prospects, Brooklyn became "an outlet for the overflow of taverns, gambling [and] prostitution . . . from East St. Louis" (p. 214). Local politicians found themselves drawn into a morass of graft and corruption. The enlightened leadership of John Evans soon gave way to a series of scandal-ridden, controversial administrations and, in 1915, to a tragic gunfight between rival political factions. Brooklyn survived, but without the promise and hopefulness of its first half century.

Throughout the narrative Cha-Jua draws careful, well-reasoned comparisons between Brooklyn and other all-black and black majority communities, from western towns such as Nicodemus to contemporary cities like Gary. He also strengthens his analysis by placing Brooklyn's experience in the context of theoretical work on black nationalism, anticolonial revolutions, economic dependency, and proletarianization. While often apt and insightful, especially as it relates to the latter two concepts, the emphasis on theory sometimes has its limitations. More than a few readers, to provide a notable example, will question the validity of the author's depiction of Afro-Brooklynites' rise to political power as akin to an anticolonial struggle. Such hyperbole notwithstanding, the cumulative effect of Cha-Jua's efforts to broaden and deepen Brooklyn's story is quite impressive. This book offers a thoughtful, engaging account that adds to our growing understanding of the diversity of African-American life beyond the mainstream.

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MURRAY R. WICKETT. *Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans, and African Americans in Oklahoma 1865-1907*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 240. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$26.95.

Studies abound documenting the history of relations between whites and blacks in the late nineteenth century. Scholars have also published many works dealing with the federal government's policy of settling Indians on reservations in the late 1800s. Murray R. Wickett has produced a pioneering study that seeks to understand the relations of whites, Native Americans, and African Americans in Indian and Oklahoma Territories from the end of the Civil War to Oklahoma statehood in 1907. Although this work is intriguing, informative, and well written, it falls somewhat short of achieving Wickett's goal of understanding the interrelationships of the three groups, because the author, in most of the chapters, discusses each group separately with little interplay between them. The book does succeed, however, in demonstrating the irony of

the situation in which government officials strove to assimilate the Indians and inculcate them with "white" ideals and values while at the same time working to segregate blacks and deny them entrance into the American political system.

African Americans were in the Indian Territory at the end of the Civil War because members of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles) held slaves who became freedmen after Appomattox. In a very interesting chapter, the author relates how the Creeks and Seminoles quickly adopted the freedmen into their respective tribes and gave them equal rights and full citizenship. The Cherokees and Choctaws, however, only reluctantly afforded these rights to their freedmen, while the Chickasaws never did agree to adopt their ex-slaves. This chapter is marred by the lack of population figures; the author never states the percentage of freedmen within each tribe or what percentage of Indians actually held slaves. Therefore, the reader is left unsure as to what degree of importance this issue held among the Five Civilized Tribes in the late 1800s.

In succeeding chapters, Wickett discusses racial prejudice and stereotypes, the gradual erosion of Indian lands, education, labor, the imposition of the American legal system, and politics. The author finds that most Native Americans in the Indian Territory shared the same prejudices against blacks that whites had and tried to deny the rights of the freedmen in manners similar to those used in other parts of the South. Ironically, the federal government sided with the ex-slaves, who claimed that their tribal citizenship entitled them to individual land allotments under the Dawes Act. Therefore, unlike their fellow freedmen in the South, ex-slaves in the Indian Territory did receive their "forty acres and a mule." In other areas, the freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes were not so lucky. While government programs offered ample opportunities for the Indians in Oklahoma—including recently removed Plains tribesmen—to receive education, blacks were forced to create their own schools. Whereas government officials sought to create a class of independent yeoman farmers among the Indians, the freedmen were expected to provide a pool of cheap labor upon which white and Indian landowners could draw. This plan backfired as few of the relocated Plains tribesmen became agriculturalists, while nearly three-fourths of the blacks in Oklahoma engaged in farming their own land by 1907.

After the Civil War, the federal government imposed the American judicial system upon the Indians, most of whom reluctantly came to accept it. By contrast, U.S. officials denied African Americans protection from Indian courts, which they claimed did not afford them equal protection. Blacks were also denied inclusion into the American justice system so as to avoid the terror of lynchings and vigilante justice following the opening up of the territory to white settlers in 1890. Finally, Native American leaders denied their ex-slaves the right to vote and hold office

in tribal politics, fearful that at some point the freedmen would outnumber the Indians and gain political control of the tribe. When the Indians lost the right of self-government and sovereignty over their lands in 1890, they reconciled themselves with the consolation that they would be categorized as "white" and helped the overwhelming numbers of newcomers implement the same policy of segregation and disenfranchisement of blacks that existed elsewhere in the South.

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BESS BEATTY. *Alamance: The Holt Family and Industrialization in a North Carolina County, 1837–1900*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 247. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Bess Beatty's monograph is praiseworthy on a number of levels: first as an exploration of the vagaries of industrial succession in nineteenth-century family concerns, second as a detailed examination on the local level of the exact nature of patriarchal relations in a textile community, and third because it provides another viewpoint in the debates over continuity and change in the nineteenth-century South and the distinctiveness of southern industrialization.

Primarily the tale of Edwin Michael Holt and the creation of an industrial empire based on textile manufacturing, rooted in the slave-owning south but expanding through the Civil War and Reconstruction, Beatty's book traces the history of the wider Holt family and the Holt mills and analyzes the eruption of their labor force and the subsequent failure of the mills.

Other studies of the industrial piedmont South examine patriarchal relations in the mill towns, as well as the nature of the labor movement and worker activism in the nineteenth century, but Beatty adds another layer of interpretation to a finely crafted picture of one set of family-owned mills by linking the broad issues of industrialism to the question of succession. What made some family concerns burgeon into long-lasting industrial giants, and why did others perish with the waning of energies and interest among the family? Basing her argument carefully in the limited evidence available, Beatty concludes that, within the Holt family, the second generation could not find sufficient men who cared to remain in touch with day-to-day management decisions. The second generation preferred to expand its social contacts beyond Alamance county and indeed, beyond North Carolina, and its members tended toward lives of leisure, not lives spent in the pursuit of profit. Careful marriage choices and the drawing of sons-in-law into the family business did not stem the drift away from the kind of close attention that had allowed the Holt textile concerns to flourish from their founding in 1837.

The first part of the book traces the rise of Edwin Holt's manufacturing empire and its successful passage through the Civil War despite charges of profiteering.

The Holt family interests expanded throughout Reconstruction, and Edwin drew in the male members of his extended family to help run the mills. The Holt family influence extended beyond the mills into the wider community, and Beatty details the way in which paternalism worked in the textile villages of Alamance. With their control reaching beyond the churches and education to politics and local newspapers, the Holt family exercised enormous influence over Alamance County, and this influence has been reflected in the subsequent historical record.

Beatty makes a strong case when she dissects the reality behind the various myths surrounding the Holt family and their influence over their workers and the local townspeople. She explores the way in which the written history of the family has been controlled by the family itself, both through their control over the newspapers in the county and because members of the family wrote their version of the family history. Careful examination of evidence shows the way in which thorough research and the exploration of issues from the viewpoint of all classes of people involved can produce new versions of the past that help illuminate the nature of the impact of industrialization upon nineteenth-century lives. Despite the Holt family view of the county as a model of industrial relations, by the end of the nineteenth century there was plenty of evidence that workers did not feel unquestioning loyalty to the mill owners, and there is also evidence of political and social conflict. Workers and townspeople actively questioned the motivation and management methods of their employers.

Beatty's last chapter is a quick summary of the coming to town of a new breed of owner and manager, Spencer Love. It is a fitting finish to the tale of the Holt family and their mills. Spencer Love and his creation, Burlington Industries, would be the successor to the family firm as the type of industrial organization that would succeed in the twentieth century.

Beatty's writing style is serviceable and her marshaling of the evidence impressive. She could have deepened her analysis further and perhaps been less restrained in her interpretations of events, people, and motivations. Yet this is a small caveat; the book is an admirable addition to the scholarship on southern industrialization.

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ANNETTE ATKINS. *We Grew Up Together: Brothers and Sisters in Nineteenth-Century America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 194. \$29.95.

Nineteenth-century historians have probed the bonds of parents and children, husbands and wives, and same-sex friendships but have curiously overlooked what is undisputably an enduring and significant relationship for many adults. Annette Atkins investigates many dimensions of the sibling bond in the lives of

nineteenth-century adult men and women. Atkins is acutely sensitive to the emotional dimensions of sibling relationships, bringing her perspective as a member of a twelve-child family to bear on the stories she is narrating. In her introduction, she explains: "I'm taking my cues from my own experience of family, of my personal past and present. The result that I'm aiming for is a scholarship tempered by common sense and personal experience broadened by historical evidence" (p. 11). The book, then, is a very personal piece of scholarship that uses the historical past as a means of uncovering the emotional richness and diversity of family life in the United States.

Atkins is forthright in explaining the methodology for this particular study and its limitations. Because she was interested in the dynamics of sibling relationships, she determined that correspondence between family members would provide the richest source material. The book is divided into chapters on eight different families, each of which provides as complete an overview as possible of the family's social and emotional landscape over time. This is a compelling narrative device, but it necessitates finding family papers that are full enough to yield a good story line, resulting in a fairly limited sample of white, middle-class, Protestant families, several of whom were also prominent. What Atkins shows, however, is that similarities in race, class, and even ethnicity do not preclude a high degree of diversity of family cultures. Individual families, Atkins argues, "organized their collective emotional and social lives together differently from each other" (p. 172). For instance, some families valued emotional expressiveness between siblings and parents but were unwelcoming to in-laws, while others had a broader, more fluid conception of the family, expanding and contracting to meet the needs of a wide familial network. A question that she could further pursue, however, is whether or not the diversity of family styles that she has uncovered is not itself somewhat of a historical artifact.

Atkins does a wonderful job of revealing the wide range of gender dynamics in different families. For example, the distinguished Putnam family produced Mary Abraham Jacobi, one of the first professionally trained female physicians, due in part, Atkins argues, to a family ethos of achievement that transcended gender boundaries. According to Atkins, "A family culture can create a space in which family members can escape some of the larger social conventions by conforming to competing family conventions" (p. 34). Relationships between brothers and sisters were complex and often bridged gender divides and hierarchies. Birth order, personality, and talent played a role in determining the power dynamics within families, which sometimes worked to undermine the pervasive gender inequalities in the larger society.

In family history, there are two competing themes of interpretation: one that emphasizes change over time, with historian Philippe Ariès being this position's most notable proponent, and one that underscores the

theme of continuity, a position historian Linda Pollock has upheld with some distinction. Atkins is clearly in the continuity camp, stating that "Families live in different historical contexts, but they seem remarkably the same over time" (p. 10). Atkins's sympathy for her subject matter sometimes obviates her ability to discern the differences in the ways in which family relationships have been constructed over time. She also seems to have a somewhat essentialist view of the sibling relationship. Her statement that when adult siblings meet "the time between contact melts away, and they return quickly to the former state of connection" (p. 46) could certainly be challenged by those who did not have the kind of intimate family life that she—and most of her subjects—shared. However, she does an excellent job of demonstrating that divorce, family tensions, and geographical mobility were much more characteristic of nineteenth-century families than most proponents of the traditional family have imagined.

This evocative study illuminates the significance of both the sibling bond and family culture in historical studies. I would have liked to see Atkins further delineate the ways in which family cultures are shaped by broad historical forces. Still, her exploration of the cultural dynamics of individual families adds a needed dimension to historical interpretation and further complicates our understanding of the many factors that serve to differentiate human beings from each other.

JULIA GRANT
Michigan State University

DAVID BLANKE. *Sowing the American Dream: How Consumer Culture Took Root in the Rural Midwest*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 282. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$21.95.

David Blanke takes up several significant questions in this ambitious work. He argues that the "rural consumer ethos" that developed along with enlarged market relationships contained, at its core, a basic contradiction: most farmers adhered to civic republicanism, which sought "individual redemption through group harmony" (p. 1), while simultaneously seeking to enlarge material prosperity through market-driven production and consumption. In the course of supporting this proposition, Blanke also argues that, once supply networks stabilized after the Civil War, farmers' consumption patterns were demand driven, and that, especially as demonstrated by commercial advertising, urban merchants had little interest in or impact on rural consumption. The book's temporal and geographical sweep is both a strength and a weakness.

Blanke begins the story around 1825, when little money existed in the frontier regions and farmers provided most of their own needs within their communities. During this early period, complex systems of credit lubricated both the purchase of land and the distribution of goods in the developing hinterland.

Settlers, with weak ties to their neighbors, found themselves deeply dependent on poorly developed and uncertain markets for their sustenance. In these precarious circumstances, they formed farmers' clubs and had strong incentives to adopt new technologies and techniques. Blanke sees this as the foundation for an elastic consumer ethos (p. 30) that merged scientific and commercial farming. These tendencies were strongly promoted by federal policies and by the provisioning needs of the Civil War. Building on an existing historiography of the developing market system, Blanke adds his own archival studies of specific agents or middlemen.

The Civil War decisively shifted the region's economy. Blanke turns to the Patrons of Husbandry to try to discern the part farmers played in creating viable market relations. He claims that the Patrons owed much of their initial success to their purchasing program, which, at least initially, seemed to harmonize the contradictory tendencies within commercial agriculture between collective and private needs. They tried, at their most radical, to create a Patron-controlled distribution system that would supplant local merchants. Blanke marshals an impressive set of local studies from state and local granges in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Indiana through their rapid development in the mid-1870s to their decline and failure as a marketing system. Part of this failure, he argues, stems from fundamental differences in strategies within the Grange between a centralized purchasing agency and localized, Rochdale-style cooperatives.

The final chapters of the book trace the development of the Montgomery Ward mail order house. Developed independent of the Grange but rooted in Ward's experiences as a merchant to farmers, the company became a key link between farmers' aspirations and the rapidly enlarging market for consumer goods. Ward harnessed the Grange organization to his enterprise, effectively supplanting or incorporating the far less efficient agencies established by the Patrons. This synthesis of communal and individualistic needs did not hold, however. Blanke singles out the Sears Roebuck catalogue with its rich illustrations and hyperbolic sales pitches as a sharp departure from Ward's sober, utilitarian approach to consumer items. By the end of the nineteenth century, Blanke argues, "the catalog giants openly pandered to the needs of individual consumers without an apparent need to defer to communal sensibilities" (p. 214). The old republican ethos had been displaced by modern middle-class consumerism.

This ambitious work rests on three major sets of research data: some new studies of the pre-Civil War distribution systems; the Patrons of Husbandry experiments in cooperative buying; and Chicago advertisers and catalogs. Scholars of rural life will find much that is interesting in this book. Yet much of Blanke's rich data remains only partly digested: he does not mention the waves of Populist uprising in the 1880s and 1890s and the rise of non-Grange producer and consumer

cooperatives; the importance of sectionalism in the political economy is barely addressed. Blanke gestures to the diverse ethnic origins of Midwestern farmers and farming communities, and to the significance of gender relations in establishing consumption patterns. But he does not incorporate these important aspects of social life into this otherwise richly informed social history.

Perhaps more troublesome is his extremely broad use of the concept of "consumption." Blanke uses the term to cover purchases of capital, domestic consumable, and luxury goods. While all require market exchange, they enter productive relations in very different ways and have very different implications for relationships among farming people. Curiously, he never treats farmers as producers, despite the characterization, widespread in American historiography, of agrarian civic republicanism as a producer ideology. Blanke takes on an important question: why were farmers unable to harmonize their community-oriented and capitalistic values as they became increasingly enmeshed in market relations? Perhaps, had he reflected more on production, his analysis would have been sharper and more satisfying.

JANE ADAMS

University of Southern Illinois

DAVID STRAUSS. *Percival Lowell: The Culture and Science of a Boston Brahmin*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 333. \$45.00.

Percival Lowell is best remembered today as the maverick astronomer who a century ago made a case for intelligent Martian canal builders. To contemporaries, he was also famous as an ethnographically minded traveler who informed his fellow Americans about *Occult Japan* (1894) and *The Soul of the Far East* (1888). In this engaging biography, David Strauss argues convincingly that both careers were rooted in Lowell's identity as a Boston Brahmin half-heartedly rebelling against his elite background and that both were shaped by his allegiance to the cosmic philosophy of Herbert Spencer.

This argument shapes the structure of the book. Rather than follow a chronological line from birth to death as most biographers, Strauss divides his story into three thematic sections. Part one explores Lowell's elite Boston world, detailing his genteelly bohemian chafing at its restraints, his erratic submissions to its expectations, his periodic exiles to the Far East and Arizona to escape it, and his eventual recreation of its ethos in far-away Flagstaff. Strauss demonstrates how Lowell's peripatetic life and shifting careers sprang from ambivalence toward his Brahmin base; he further shows how both Lowell's early investigations as amateur anthropologist in Japan and Korea and his later researches on the even more exotic terrain of Martian "civilization" can be understood in the context of Lowell's concern to reinvigorate what he saw as a declining elite and what was certainly a changing one.

Part two lucidly explicates Lowell's Spencerianism. At Harvard College, Lowell swallowed whole Spencer's evolutionary synthesis of all sciences with an enthusiasm that never thereafter wavered. Lowell "read" Japanese culture through the lens of Spencer's racial hierarchies. Spencer's version of the nebular hypothesis (as origin point of all evolution) led to Lowell's eccentric conviction that Mars must have evolved an advanced civilization.

Part three takes up Lowell's astronomical career, his chief claim to a biographer's interest. Strauss here tells the story of the Lowell Observatory as much as of Lowell himself: of its origin in Lowell's 1894 expedition to view Mars at its near approach to Earth; the observatory's uncertain early years, uncertainty aggravated by Lowell's collapse and long recovery from neurasthenia, until its permanent establishment about 1900; its scientific isolation as a result of the founder's Martian obsession and the new astronomical establishment's campaign to squelch this disreputable upstart; its increasing scientific respectability, a consequence both of the research programs of Lowell's more orthodox (and professionally educated) assistants and his second thoughts; and finally the mainstream though unsuccessful search for a Planet X beyond Neptune (foreshadowing the discovery of Pluto fourteen years after Lowell's death in 1916).

Throughout, Strauss detects in Lowell a recurring obsession with threats to upper-class masculinity from women, immigrants, lesser breeds, and in general all who were not WASP males with substantial bank accounts. At times, the reader wonders whether Strauss would have found so much gendered class and racial anxiety—which is not always patent in the evidence adduced—if current historiography did not insist on it.

But Strauss's chief ambition is to understand Lowell—as Brahmin, Spencerian, astronomer. He achieves his goal superbly. He recognizes his subject's limitations: blinders that Spencerianism imposed on him as anthropologist and astronomer, and Lowell's own self-destructive resistance to the standards of scientific communities (a stubbornness seen not only in astronomical windmill tilting but in fumbling stabs at psychological research in Japan). Yet Strauss even-handedly assesses Lowell's substantial accomplishments. His books played an important part in introducing Americans to Japan and Korea; *Chosŏn* (1886) published the first photographs of the latter country. He was the first astronomer to take advantage of the high elevation and optimal seeing conditions of the desert Southwest; he pioneered, in his oddball way, the discipline of planetology; and he left as institutional legacy a strong observatory, unaffiliated with any university or government agency, which had charted an independent and innovative course of research.

Complaints? A very few. Paucity of dates puts readers at times at sea. Weakness in the history of academic knowledge leads to confusion about some sources of Lowell's difficulties with the academic es-

tablishment; Strauss fails to consider that other contemporary polymaths crossed disciplinary boundaries without ruffling feathers. Lowell's problem was that he flouted specialized expertise on the specific topics he addressed, not that he violated disciplinary taboos. These are quite different sins.

This thoughtfully crafted and clearly written book is essential reading for students of American astronomy and scientific organization and of the efforts of American intellectuals to come to grips with Asia. It will also interest scholars concerned with academic discipline formation, with the culture of urban elites, and with gender anxieties. Lowell failed to produce much evidence for intelligent beings on Mars. Strauss is incontrovertible proof of highly intelligent life on Earth.

JAMES TURNER

University of Notre Dame

JAMES G. CASSIDY. *Ferdinand V. Hayden: Entrepreneur of Science*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2000. Pp. xxv, 389. \$55.00.

Ferdinand Hayden was, arguably, next to John Wesley Powell one of the giants of post-Civil War scientific investigation of the trans-Mississippi West. But as James G. Cassidy argues in this richly detailed new biography, Hayden's role in the creation of the United States Geological Survey has been undervalued, if not misunderstood. Indeed, Cassidy goes so far as to suggest that Hayden has been one of "history's losers," and his book consequently serves as a kind of corrective.

Cassidy examines Hayden—both the man and his work—through the lens of scientific entrepreneurialism. When the thirty-eight-year-old naturalist was handed the job of surveying the Nebraska Territory in 1867, he jumped at the opportunity of doing field work in the West and exploited the situation to the fullest. Over the next decade, his infectious zeal and singleness of purpose translated into an ever ambitious, ever broadening survey of the American West. The Hayden survey, according to Cassidy, had few parallels, and it provided promising information about how the region could best be developed.

But other scholars have not viewed Hayden so favorably. He is often portrayed as an exceptional field man who speculated about some of the big geological problems of the region but never took the time to consider them in detail. That was because he was moving so quickly over the ground, gathering anything interesting or unique that he chanced upon but rarely slowing down. In fact, his work has sometimes been characterized as crude, even careless. Cassidy, however, devotes considerable attention to Hayden's field operations and suggests that his kind of inventory science perfectly suited the task at hand. He had to cover a wide range of territory—these were sweeping, broad surveys after all—and his credo was to observe everything as best he could because it was all potentially valuable. He also devoted considerable energy to

getting his reports into print and his publication record was truly impressive: no small feat, given the amount of field data.

Hayden's brand of practical science has also been criticized as shallow and substandard. He is seen as little more than a western popularizer, a cheerleader who produced highly optimistic reports to advance the region and himself. But Cassidy contends that Hayden was perfectly tuned into the needs of Washington and provided the kind of utilitarian information about the region's resources that interested, if not appealed to, those who funded the surveys. It was exactly what they wanted to hear. Even though this science had its limitations, Hayden continued to be sent West to examine new fields of inquiry each year. By promoting the West, he promoted his scientific program.

From Cassidy's perspective, then, Hayden should be remembered as a "public entrepreneur of science" or, better yet, a "robber baron of science." And it was a role that paid handsome dividends. Cassidy argues that Hayden effectively laid the groundwork for others to follow; his field work made possible future detailed scientific research, ironically by his rivals. This research, moreover, was to be conducted by the United States Geological Survey, a civilian agency that owed its existence to Hayden; indeed, Cassidy goes as far as to suggest that future directors soon came to appreciate Hayden's past lobbying talents and adopted similar strategies to see that science flourished under federal auspices.

Cassidy's book offers some fresh perspective on one of foremost scientists of the Gilded Age; it makes a good case for reconsidering Hayden, his work, and his legacy. It also serves to demonstrate how science in the service of the state helped open the West and shape and influence its development.

BILL WAISER

University of Saskatchewan

JOHN T. CUMBLER. *Reasonable Use: The People, the Environment, and the State, New England 1790–1930*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. 268. \$45.00.

John T. Cumbler's study focuses on the labors, accomplishments, failures, and significance of late nineteenth-century New England reformers who were deeply concerned about environmental degradation in the Connecticut River Valley. These critics were modernists, city residents who found the environmental price tag of urban industrialism extremely high. They believed that the shift from New England's rural agrarian economy had seriously eroded human rights to "nature's gifts—pure water, air, and soil." In urban industrial communities, people lived beside polluted rivers and streams, breathed foul air, drank dirty water, endured stinking open sewers, and suffered from disease and epidemics—conditions unimaginable to Connecticut River Valley residents early in the nineteenth century. Because many of these critics had

witnessed the transition and recognized the economic stimulus it produced, they knew they could not undo change. But they believed they could improve the quality of life. While they had public support, they lacked the political clout to counter the powerful and influential leaders of the new industrial order. Cumbler analyzes the substantive and tactical record of those pioneering New England precursors of progressivism as they worked to create a better living environment.

Cumbler places the reform movement in the broad perspective of human use of the Connecticut River Valley and the forces that shaped it, beginning with the dominant farming pattern in the 1790s. During the next fifty years, the landscape changed dramatically in response to the growing demands of more distant markets for the region's natural and manmade products. Population grew; yields from worn out fields declined; and timber stands dwindled. The author weaves a rich tapestry emphasizing physical changes such as deforestation, destruction of fish and game, stream blockage, pollution of air and water, and the myriad ways growing commerce and manufacturing transformed rural society into a world of trains, wide markets, coal smoke, mills, mill towns, refuse, and sewage.

The larger part of the book addresses specific responses to change, both protests to and defenses of the new order. Before 1860, elected officials, courts, doctors, eminent thinkers such as Henry David Thoreau and George Perkins Marsh, and a host of aggrieved rural dwellers irked by damage to farm lands and fish sounded the alarm. They had deep reservations about the gospel of progress and prosperity preached by advocates of industrial development. In the late nineteenth century, reformers turned to the power of the state as the principal tool to correct unreasonable abuses of people and the environment. They created state fish commissions to help preserve the resource. They fought for state boards of health, legislation to control water pollution, and laws to provide for purification of drinking water and sewage treatment. Cumbler highlights the thinking, leadership, and contributions of many notable reformers, like Henry Ingersoll Bowditch in the field of public health. Soon learning that direct confrontation with powerful, profit-oriented industrialists was hopeless, advocates of reform adopted a strategy of compromise and worked with them. With unwarranted optimism they suggested that science and technology might well solve environmental problems at small cost. While some of their arguments defied reality and many efforts failed, they achieved a measure of reform. The strategy of compromise or get nothing led to setting lesser goals. For example, clean water came to mean safe to drink after treatment, not a cleanup of the heavily polluted Connecticut River. By the end of the century, they linked the general good with rehabilitation of woodlands and nurturing fish and game populations as ways to foster rural recreation, a healthy respite from city life.

This is a very perceptive and sophisticated study, based on wide ranging research in many kinds of sources. The author draws on political, social, economic, intellectual, and natural history to create an intricate pattern of cause, effect, and consequence in explaining the behavior of humans in the Connecticut River Valley. The study carries important messages for modern Americans. As Cumbler has noted, while the reformers did not achieve the goals they sought, they left a record of "their successes and failures with lessons on how to approach those problems. These lessons we need to remember, because in many ways the problems set to us today were first set to them some 150 years ago" (p. 191).

MARGARET BEATTIE BOGUE
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

MARGARET BEATTIE BOGUE, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History 1783-1933*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 444. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$27.95.

In writing about the past, Margaret Beattie Bogue has written a book about our present. The past—in this case the depletion of fish in the Great Lakes due to overfishing, pollution, habitat loss, and failure of governments to limit or restrain fishing or pollution—is all too familiar to us today. Bogue documents fish catches, the world of the fishers, scientists, and government agents, and the transformation of a fabulously rich aqua-ecosystem. That system provided a sustainable yield for hundreds of years, yet over the last 180 years the Great Lakes lost fish.

Bogue notes that the stage was set for the destruction of the Great Lakes' fisheries with the creation of governmental structures that divided the authority over the lake system among various governments. The process began when white settlers cleared land for farms and fished the lakes for profit. Although initial settlers' impact was limited, the processes set in motion facilitated the destruction of the fisheries over the next 150 years. Bogue argues that the federalism of the U. S. and Canada created competing governing bodies responsible for the lakes' ecosystems that made creation and enforcement of protective regulation impossible. The industry itself was organized around dealers who wielded significant political clout and, pressured by the market, drove the fishermen to ever greater harvests even in face of declining stocks.

Technology and the problem of competing interests using different fishing methods, also contributes to Bogue's tale. Larger nets and boats increased the ability of fishers to capture more fish. Improvements in processing and transportation increased market reach. Increasing costs of equipment drove the fishers to fish with ever greater intensity and to resist any government attempt to restrain them.

Bogue also tells us the story of those who tried to resist this onslaught of destruction: the fish commis-

sioners, scientists, and conservationists. Even fishers were concerned, but caught in a cycle of dependence on the commercial dealers and a fear of unequitable applications of regulations, they failed to take action.

Two themes emerge from this work. One is the failure to learn. The Great Lakes' fishers had a past to warn them. The depletion of salmon in Lake Ontario due to over fishing and spawning-ground destruction had occurred by the middle of the nineteenth century. The history of that destruction surely should have been a forewarning. Moreover commission reports demonstrated with data and warned of declining stocks and the need for more restraint. Even the fishers knew there was a problem, although they tended to blame other people's practices rather than accept limitations of their own. It is not lack of evidence or experience that explains the destruction of the resource. Bogue attributes the failure to implement commission recommendations to conflicting governing authority and pressure from those caught in a cycle of dependence on a behavior that was destroying their long-term ability to continue fishing.

The second theme in this book is the destructive nature of market-driven capitalist enterprise. Market-driven capitalism thrives on growth and expansion. It is a system that pushes people to exploit resources until they are destroyed. This, of course, is not to say that other economic-political systems are not also destructive. Those connected to the Great Lakes fisheries were not stupid, evil, or unaware people. They were driven by a logic that they did not totally control. The commercial dealers needed to keep prices down to hold on to market share. That could only be done by encouraging the fishers to utilize maximum technology to bring in the largest possible catch. Even after the Booth Company emerged as a monopoly, initial low entry costs and later high levels of capitalization drove even that company to pressure fishers to greater fishing intensity.

Bogue also mentions how the problem of the "tragedy of the commons" plagued Great Lakes fishers. Conserved fish only meant potential catch for someone else. But Bogue rightly does not put the "tragedy of the commons" at the center of her story. Although fish of the Great Lakes were common to anyone who could take them, it is not at all clear that, if the Booth Company had "owned" all the fish in the lakes, they would not have fished them out and simply moved on. The timber barons cut over their own land before moving west.

Sadly, Bogue's one glimmer of hope seemed to be the Canadian story. Less development and more stringent regulations did work to keep their waters richer longer. But the Great Lakes are linked together. Canadian pollution and habitat destruction, American fishers and fish dealers' penetration into Canadian waters as well as conflict between Ottawa and Ontario ultimately defeated regulation in Canada as well.

Bogue has written a rich and powerful story. It should be compulsory reading for public policy and

government decision makers. Her message is vital and important to us today. Sadly one can be only pessimistic about whether it will be heeded.

JOHN T. CUMBLER
University of Louisville

KARL JACOBY. *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 305. \$39.95.

American historians have devoted a great deal of attention to the rise of the conservation movement. Hardly a textbook exists that does not at least briefly explore the efforts by Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot to rationalize the use of the nation's rivers, forests, and grazing lands. Most of the historiography depicts conservation as a positive ecological development, while noting that many corporations actually supported this effort to allocate resources more efficiently. Karl Jacoby offers a bold, revisionist critique of this staple in the literature on Progressivism. Centering his analysis on social relations and law, Jacoby uncovers the consequences for ordinary people of various conservation policies and, in the process, gives readers a fresh interpretation of this much-studied topic.

Specifically, the book focuses on the place of conservation in the nation's parks, exploring the history of the Adirondacks, Yellowstone National Park, and the Grand Canyon. Many people, even many historians, have assumed that wilderness—areas untouched by human activity—largely dominated these regions before the establishment of the parks. In fact, as Jacoby shows, Native Americans and rural whites had long seen these places as common lands, fishing, hunting, and gathering berries, nuts, wood, and other items on them that they then used themselves or sold to generate cash. Not only did they use these lands, some evidence suggests that they used them wisely, paying heed to the ecological impact of their actions. Hunters in the Adirondacks, for example, adhered to an unwritten code that prohibited the killing of deer and certain game birds during the seasons in which they bred. Evidently, the commoners, as E. P. Thompson once pointed out, had common sense.

As Jacoby goes on to explain, conservation interfered with the various ways in which Indians and whites had formerly used the land, turning such customary practices as taking game, collecting wood, and setting fires (to shape the land to meet their needs) into crimes. Often viewed by historians as an advance in human relations with the natural world, Jacoby uncovers the far-reaching social impact of the conservation process. He explores in detail the struggles of ordinary people to come to grips with this threat to their very way of life. Some will no doubt object to his characterization of the early conservation movement as "authoritarian" (p. 198). But there is no disputing the fact that many of the policies put in place to save

the nation's natural wealth came at the expense of the poor and dispossessed. Environmental historians have debated the ecological impact of conservation but to date have given very little consideration to its effects on issues of social justice. Jacoby, in league with other historians such as Mark Spence (see *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* [1999]), is finally calling our attention to the larger consequences of this important trend in the relationship Americans have had with the land.

Yet this book is more than simply a reinterpretation of a seminal development in the American past. Jacoby has also set out to reform how environmental historians practice their trade. Although the positive contributions of environmental history are undeniable, the field, with some important exceptions of course, has tended to shy away from the role of power in the past. It is thus no surprise that social historians have opted largely to ignore this emerging and vibrant field of historical study. By making nonelites the focus of his study, however, Jacoby, with his "bottom up" approach to the human transformation of nature, has helped to draw environmental and social historians into conversation with one another. This alone is a signal achievement.

TED STEINBERG
Case Western Reserve University

MICHAEL D. McNALLY. *Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 248. \$45.00.

Thoughtful scholars of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, Africa, and Asia have for some years now observed that Christianity was both a tool of oppression brought by European colonizers and a weapon that the colonized could wield in their own defense. In a complex, deeply theoretical work, Michael D. McNally probes this paradox by examining traditions of native-language hymn singing in Minnesota Ojibwe communities that came to find themselves on the White Earth Reservation. While he considers numerous issues, ranging from colonialism's everyday legacy of poverty and violence on the reservation to inadequately conceptualized views of Native American religions as either pristinely aboriginal or as postcontact and impure, McNally's primary concern is with Native Christianity as a legitimate religious expression that is both "Native" and "Christian," a second paradox that scholars have been less able to recognize but which a hymn-singing tradition neatly captures.

McNally's work commences in the first third of the nineteenth century with an examination of the first exposure Minnesota Ojibwe people had to traditions of Christian hymn singing, an exposure, he argues, that forged in Ojibwe minds a connection between hymn singing and situations of danger and death. Ojibwes on their deathbeds requested hymns be sung, for instance; Ojibwes in perilous circumstances, such as crossing a

storm-tossed lake in a birchbark canoe, also sang hymns. By the last third of the nineteenth century, as increasingly impoverished Ojibwe people were forced onto the White Earth Reservation that was to serve as the crucible for their assimilation into the dominant Anglo-American society, some Ojibwes converted to Christianity. The earlier association of hymns with fraught times led these Ojibwes to amplify the Ojibwe-language hymn singing tradition as a key element in their efforts to remake Christianity into a culturally meaningful religious expression that would support central elements of Ojibwe culture that they were determined to maintain while simultaneously permitting them to accommodate to the harsh new regime of reservation living.

From the successful cultural innovations of the late nineteenth century, McNally moves to the late twentieth century to examine a revived hymn-singing tradition that developed when a group of activist White Earth elders sought to apply to current problems elements of a distinct Ojibwe value system, particularly in matters of governance, although they were also deeply concerned with addressing the social chaos of contemporary Ojibwe lives. This one-hundred-year gap in the narrative might seem troubling, especially as neither the documentary record nor the memories of today's elderly Ojibwes reveal that any noticeable continuity existed in the hymn-singing tradition between the late nineteenth and late twentieth centuries. McNally himself is not entirely certain how to characterize the connections between the two movements. With a nod to Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger's influential *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), he suggests that the revived Ojibwe-language hymn-singing of the twentieth century is a "reinvention of tradition" (p. 202).

The author might have been better served by examining Hobsbawm's essay more closely. Hobsbawm argues for a clear distinction between the invented traditions of modern nation states and colonizing regimes, whose inventions served ideological and hegemonic purposes, and the legitimate wellsprings of "custom" nourished in indigenous societies. Furthermore, in Hobsbawm's view, "custom" in aboriginal societies is not static and "does not preclude innovation." "Custom" could also "give any desired change . . . the sanction of precedent" (p. 2). These observations suggest that indigenous societies could rework and incorporate cultural material from outside sources, making it their own in a process of indigenization that was not the same thing as inventing new traditions. Indeed, as McNally describes the hymn singers' ritual use of sage, their familiarity with drum music, pow wow dancing, and other aspects of Ojibwe culture, the practice of hymn singing seems very much a part of the larger Ojibwe cultural core. Rather than representing an invented or reinvented tradition, with the suggestion of artificiality the word implies, hymn singing emerges as part of a more complicated dy-

namic by which indigenous societies create and maintain themselves.

As a field, Native American history has not benefited from much critical theoretical attention. McNally's effort to view Ojibwe hymn singing as the legitimate subject of theoretical analysis is thus a very welcome and thought-provoking contribution.

REBECCA KUGEL
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ELIZA McFEELY. *Zuni and the American Imagination*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2001. Pp. xvi, 204. \$24.00.

United States historians have long understood the important position Native Americans played in shaping the nation's identity and culture. Indians' priority and presence on the continent, their resistance to European and Anglo-American dispossession, and their cultural persistence well after conquest have mattered a great deal, not only effecting policies but influencing Americans' sense of themselves. Roy Harvey Pearce, Bernard Sheehan, and Robert Berkhofer were among the first to explore the implications of Indian-white relations for American cultural and intellectual history. In recent years, a new generation of scholars has revisited this theme, not to dispute or challenge earlier interpretations but to extend the analysis and bring fresh perspectives. Eliza McFeely's elegantly written book joins that literature. The book offers no startling new point of view but rather a carefully crafted look at how this theme played out at New Mexico's Zuni Pueblo when a handful of anthropologists arrived at the turn of the twentieth century determined to understand and intellectually "possess" that community. McFeely concludes that, while their works provide insights into the Zuni culture at the time, they reveal a great deal more about the anthropologists' world.

McFeely approaches the topic through an examination of "three idiosyncratic characters" (p. 31)—Matilda Stevenson, Frank Hamilton Cushing, and Stewart Culin—ordinary, mid-Victorian, middle-class people with an extraordinary opportunity to study subjects they defined as exotic and remote. Several motives propelled their work. They wanted to preserve or salvage remnants of a culture they believed would not survive. They wanted to demonstrate the validity of Lewis Henry Morgan's theory regarding universal cultural and social evolution. This now discarded theory offered a beautifully ordered explanation of human diversity by placing every culture at one of three stages of development—savagery, barbarism, or civilization. (Stevenson decided Zuni fit the barbarism stage.) They wanted to prove, in other words, a progressive pattern of human development by studying a supposedly primitive culture at an earlier evolutionary stage. And they wanted to shape the future contours of their profession by demonstrating the value of fieldwork. Their theories did not last; their technique of living within the

community under study did. Finally, by writing sympathetic accounts or displaying artifacts of Zuni, they “made conquest seem both natural . . . and moral and helped to blunt the edges of the larger, bloodier social acts by which Americans had taken possession of Indian land” (p. 36).

In addition, each of these individuals found personal purpose and identity in their Zuni work that, in turn, symbolized cultural themes of their times. Stevenson’s efforts gave her autonomy, power, and social and professional purpose at a moment when feminist stirrings emerged in American life. Cushing, by appropriating Zuni identity while maintaining his role as scientist, achieved the antimodernists’ dream of experiencing deep spirituality while still operating in the context of modernist science. Culin, whose purpose focused on collecting and exhibiting artifacts, represented the growing American impulse toward consumerism. The Zuni, meanwhile, coped with this influx of inquisitive and acquisitive strangers, sometimes by rebuffing their determined inquiries, other times by surrendering information and objects. Ironically, some of this generation’s ethnological work provides contemporary Zunis with information about their own culture. At the same time, because of the entangled and enduring relationship between anthropologists and Zuni people, Zuni “has had an influence on the world outside its borders” (p. xi).

McFeely relies primarily on printed primary sources and standard secondary sources on American culture. Since this book is a distillation of her dissertation, it is possible that she eliminated more extensive citations based on manuscript collections. More puzzling is the absence of acknowledgment of works by contemporary scholars such as Frederick E. Hoxie, Philip J. Deloria, and Leah Dilworth, who look at the same themes. Still, this is a fine book. It is concise, creative, and certain to appeal to students, scholars, and the interested general reader.

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KATHI KERN. *Mrs. Stanton’s Bible*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 288. \$39.95.

Kathi Kern’s new book is more than a study of Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s *The Woman’s Bible*. It is the first serious examination of the thought of this towering figure in the history of feminist theory. Stanton has been the object of several biographies, but her bold thinking about the roots of women’s subordination has never been submitted to the detailed examination it deserves.

Kern’s work deals with the long, vexed relationship of feminism to Protestant Christianity. Kern joins the chorus of historians who have rejected a simple opposition between secular and religious thought in analyzing the intellectual roots of antebellum women’s rights. She establishes that much of the evidence of Stanton’s youthful rejection of evangelical Protestantism, espe-

cially her famously compelling story about her adolescent spiritual suffering at the hands of Charles Finney, was a later construction. Not until the late 1870s did she embark on a crusade to expose Christianity as the wellspring of woman-hating ideology. The consequences both for her and for the woman suffrage movement were profound. In response to the publication in 1895 and 1898 of the two volumes of *The Woman’s Bible*, American suffragism repudiated not only Stanton but with her an entire generation of progressive feminist thinkers as it entered into the twentieth century. In a perverse way, Stanton was proven right. “Religion mattered too much to too many” to receive the sort of fearless critique for which she had called (p. 129).

The Woman’s Bible remains a controversial text for contemporary feminists. At first reading, it seems a casually assembled collection of random commentaries. Stanton, the most prolific contributor, wrote in a deceptively offhanded manner, seemingly dismissing ancient texts in light of contemporary events and attitudes. Kern chronicles Stanton’s futile effort to recruit commentators from across the religious spectrum and carefully distinguishes the various intellectual perspectives that the handful of women who were willing to participate brought to the project. Stanton initially worked within the intellectual ambit of positivism but then shifted to freethought. The plain language that she used in *The Woman’s Bible* was deliberately intended to debunk scriptural claims to truth.

Kern observes how much of Stanton’s feminist oeuvre was produced in the later decades of her life. She provides a particularly provocative intertextual reading of *The Woman’s Bible* and *Eighty Years and More*, Stanton’s great autobiography, written simultaneously. Kern demonstrates that several crucial elements of Stanton’s self-narrative were artfully constructed fictions. Building on the prior work of Lois Banner, Kern shows that Stanton ignored the slave status of Peter Teabout, her father’s black domestic servant about whom she wrote so lovingly. The famous story that she told of her childish impulse to cut out the antiwoman laws from her father’s law books did not happen just so, but cutting and pasting was precisely how Stanton worked on *The Woman’s Bible*. Kern resists the easy criticism of Stanton’s autobiographical “polemics” in favor of a reading that actually deepens the meaning of the texts. “Her faults as a historian must be weighed against her merits as a storyteller,” Kern writes (p. 23). The crucial truths of Stanton’s life are enriched by this reading. I do wish that Kern had brought this same intertextual method to bear on Stanton’s great 1893 speech, “The Solitude of Self,” and explored the relationship between the stark individualism of that text and the religious concerns of *The Woman’s Bible*.

Kern also makes an important contribution to understanding the racial dimension of Stanton’s feminism. Stanton’s inability to acknowledge her family’s own slaveholding laid a foundation of denial. During

Reconstruction, her sense of betrayal was turned sharply against the freedmen. Kern demonstrates that the very radicalism of Stanton's late-life effort to dismantle the dominance of Christian theology provided a firm intellectual framework for earlier racist tendencies. The medical and anthropological sciences to which Stanton turned to undermine the power of theology were saturated with notions of racial hierarchy. Kern points out that the same racialism characterized the thinking of other progressive feminist thinkers of the late nineteenth century such as Helen Gardner, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Olympia Brown. By contrast, the Christian neo-orthodoxy of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union led to a more inclusive feminist practice. In contrast to other historians of feminist racism who are content to denounce such ideas, Kern brings the tools of intellectual history to this complex legacy and fully appreciates the historical contradictions involved. Her interesting discussion of the pronounced anti-Semitism of *The Woman's Bible* might have been strengthened by being linked more closely to her analysis of scientific racism.

Overall, this book is an impressive achievement.

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ELLIOTT J. GORN. *Mother Jones: The Most Dangerous Woman in America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001. Pp. xiii, 408. \$27.00.

Nearly seventy years after her death, Mary Harris (Mother) Jones remains the best known female figure in American labor history. With her name gracing the cover of a muckraking liberal magazine and her admonition to "pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living" still cited as a labor credo, Mother Jones retains a small but visible place in public memory. Recognizing his subject's iconic status, Elliott J. Gorn observes that he is "dealing with two people, a person, a persona, and the relationship between the two" (p. 8). "The single greatest clue about the life of Mary Jones was her desire to become someone else" (p. 8), he notes, and structures this perceptive biography around explaining how Mother Jones transformed herself from an obscure Irish immigrant into "the most dangerous woman in America."

Fleeing deprivation in Ireland, Mary Harris and her family came to Canada in the early 1850s. Employed first as a teacher and later as a dressmaker, she found her way to America just prior to the Civil War. The event that defined her life occurred in 1867 when her husband, George Jones, and four children died in the yellow fever epidemic that struck Memphis, Tennessee. Gorn speculates that this tragedy, and her exposure to the harshness of working-class life, made Jones susceptible to the radical political critiques offered by the Knights of Labor, the Populist movement, and the Socialist Party. By embracing a series of new identities—union activist, traveling ambassador for social

justice, "mother" to her "boys" engaged in struggle—she was able to honor the memory of her iron molder husband, pay homage to her parents' exile from Ireland, and reclaim her lost maternal role.

Although she championed the cause of all workers, Jones was most associated with the epic conflicts surrounding the United Mine Workers that raged during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Especially in the anti-union bastions of West Virginia and Colorado, her oratorical skills were instrumental in rallying striking miners, and she skillfully orchestrated dramatic confrontations that generated much favorable publicity. Gorn attributes Jones's powerful appeal to her willingness to share the hardships of the working class and risk her personal security for their cause. "The pain of her past and the asceticism of her present," he observes, "gave Mother Jones authenticity in the eyes of hard-pressed working people" (p. 122). For middle-class Americans and political elites, she fulfilled another vital role. Whether it was facing down judges and police who were trampling on workers' rights or pleading on workers' behalf before presidents or governmental commissions, Jones successfully used the imagery of motherhood and her potential martyrdom to dramatize the genuine pain workers were feeling at the hands of corporate capitalism.

To his credit, Gorn resists the inviting tendency to romanticize his subject and identifies recurring tensions and contradictions in Jones's political beliefs and tactical judgments. By clinging to an almost mystical faith in the purity of working-class struggle and citing labor "mis-leadership" as the principal cause of working-class defeat, she often failed to appreciate the complex forces retarding the advance of socialism and industrial democracy in America. Her profound belief in the sanctity of working-class solidarity led her to scorn the efforts of middle and upper-class women who campaigned on labor's behalf and to reject women's suffrage as a diversion from the class struggle. Although she defied the conventional gender roles through her identity as an outspoken class warrior, Mother Jones remained dependent on the recognition of powerful men and occasionally allowed their attentiveness to cloud her judgment. Gorn also notes that Jones retained a highly traditional sense of gender roles. Although she encouraged women to be "unladylike" and participate in labor struggles, Jones ultimately supported male unionists' advocacy of a family wage that would allow women to remain at home where they could continue to fulfill their traditional roles as wives and mothers.

Working with limited sources and contending with Jones's penchant for mythmaking, Gorn sensitively captures his subject's flaws without diminishing her moral courage and authenticity. In a brief epilogue, he laments that Mother Jones is currently remembered more as "an elf of good causes" (p. 301) than as a fiery preacher of class solidarity. Yet his analysis suggests that Jones's ability to weave together powerful cultural

images—the prophetic dissent tradition, the immigrant quest to achieve the American Dream, the populist faith in the wisdom of ordinary people, the American capacity for personal reinvention and renewal—might constitute an even more potent legacy for working people and the labor movement as they respond to a formidable series of new challenges and consider opportunities for revitalization.

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ORM ØVERLAND. *Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870–1930*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. x, 243. \$34.95.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, almost every European immigrant group created what Orm Øverland calls “homemaking myths.” These myths often claimed presence on the North American continent prior to the English (easiest in the case of Scandinavians and Italians) or at least a status co-equal to Anglo-Saxons in the founding and perpetuation of American ideals. The myths also almost always contained stories of “blood sacrifice” in which members of their group died in wartime fighting bravely for those American ideals. If this wasn’t enough to claim a special and exclusive right to call America home, the myths claimed that the ethnic group brought with them from their homeland ideological gifts perfectly compatible, even necessary, to American ideals. They were better Americans because of their ethnicity. The Norwegians had their own unique spin on foundational stories: because the Vikings had conquered much of the area from which came the first colonials, Norwegians were more “American” than the Pilgrims. While on the surface, these rather naïve homemaking myths appear to be a good example of assimilation, or at least a capitulation to the superiority of an Anglo-Saxon version of American ideals, Øverland argues that they were a justification for a “multicultural America” in the context of intense pressure to Americanize.

In creating these myths, immigrant leaders responded to a dominant narrative that placed Anglo-Saxonism at the apex of American culture and to a disintegration of ethnicity among some of their own group members. While certainly not a new argument, Øverland’s focus on the comparative experience of European immigrant groups and on the striking similarities of their responses to Anglo-Saxon Americanism tells us much about the formation of ethnic group identities in this period.

Excluded from American historical narratives in the period, European immigrant groups fashioned their own counter to the claim that they were too foreign to ever truly find a home in America. As Øverland and others have shown, immigrants in this period were up against a strongly filiopietistic Anglo-America in which shedding ethnicity for “100% Americanism” was no

guarantee of belonging. Middle-class immigrant leaders’ concern with self-respect and pride translated into the homemaking myths, alternative narratives often based on fairly slim factual evidence and on stories and traditions from the countries of origin. Each group that engaged in this mythmaking argued for its exclusive right to belong to an equally mythic Anglo-America. This phenomenon, as Øverland points out, was less a celebration of ethnicity than “a celebration of the American home of the ethnic group” (p. 20). In this way, it was largely a function of a “middle-class ideology of uplift” and the right to successful acquisition of the American dream (p. 15). Øverland’s insistence that these myths were less about ethnicity than about finding an American home begs the question of what constitutes “ethnicity” and the fact that the leaders themselves often argued quite poignantly for an “ethnic” worldview. Nevertheless, the author’s evidence demonstrates that these myths had a great deal of power to define the parameters of European ethnic group identity, to create and perpetuate often false distinctions between groups, and to leave a legacy of imagined ethnicity that persisted, albeit often symbolically, well into the twentieth century.

While Øverland acknowledges the impact that nineteenth-century notions of racial hierarchy had on homemaking myths, he minimizes the potentially divisive nature of the myths in favor of a positive and pragmatic view of immigrants insisting on their right to belong in America, no matter whom that “America” defined as “racially” fit for full membership in the polity. Matthew Frye Jacobson and David R. Roediger have each brilliantly demonstrated the seamier side of Anglo-American notions of race and the need for European immigrant groups to attach themselves to those very ideas in order to belong. In his brief discussions of African-American and Hispanic attempts at homemaking myths, however, Øverland provides a nuanced counterpoint to white European versions, highlighting the multiple ironies of the process. While Øverland generally downplays the seamier side of the homemaking strategy, his analysis nonetheless reveals a key component of immigrants’ quest to find a comfortable ideological place in their new home.

Øverland amasses a tremendous amount of convincing evidence from a variety of white European ethnic groups. His analysis contributes to scholarship that attempts to complicate the notion of ethnicity and view it in constant relation to Anglo-American culture and to other ethnic groups. His work contributes not only to scholarship on the creation of ethnic identities but also to comparative studies of ethnicity and public celebration by scholars such as John Bodnar and Ellen M. Litwack. In the largest sense, Øverland’s work will be fascinating to anyone concerned with shifting and competing notions of America itself.

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JULIANNA PUSKÁS. *Ties That Bind, Ties That Divide: 100 Years of Hungarian Experience in the United States*. Translated by ZORA LUDWIG. (Ellis Island Series.) New York: Holmes and Meier. 2000. Pp. xix, 444. \$45.00.

Probably the world's most distinguished historian of Hungarian emigration, Julianna Puskás offers a comprehensive overview of a relatively understudied immigrant group covering the period from roughly the 1870s through the 1970s. Though Puskás emphasizes Cleveland's large Hungarian settlement and, for case material, immigrants from her own family's home village, she draws extensively on Hungarian and English-language sources, migration statistics, and oral histories to write a study national in scope.

While Puskás grounds her work in theories of dependency and uneven development, their imprint shows principally in an emigration chapter detailing Hungary's transition from feudalism to capitalism. The bulk of the volume follows lines familiar to historians of European immigration: economic change, migration, the organization of immigrant communities, assimilation, intergenerational conflict, ethnic group formation, and homeland relations. Puskás, however, presents a sophisticated, intelligent, nuanced account, even if one without major revisionist surprises.

In the late nineteenth century, parcellization, mechanization, and other economic changes, intensified by population pressure and the failure of economic and political reform, displaced huge numbers of Hungarian peasants, artisans and tradesmen, and downwardly mobile gentry. For Puskás, chain migration better describes their subsequent movements out of Hungary and back (between 1899 and 1913, about a third of the emigrants returned) than classical push-pull immigration and labor-market models. Reflective of Hungary's ethnic complexity, this migration was diverse in composition and included Germans, Jews, and Slovaks as well as Magyars (ethnic Hungarians), who constituted a mere third of the emigration. Of their mutual resentments, Puskás writes, "In multiethnic states, the unbalanced rate of economic development among various regions and the tensions that result always appear in the form of nationality questions" (p. 95). The Hungarian emigration's multiethnic, multireligious character, together with these interethnic antagonisms, posed unique problems for the creation of Hungarian immigrant communities and a Hungarian-American identity. It also poses problems for Puskás's account, confusing at times because the author uses the term "Hungarian" to mean both Magyar immigrants and also, more generically, *all* immigrants from Hungary regardless of ethnic or religious background.

As Hungarian immigrant communities took shape, Hungarian Jewish immigrants gravitated (and were pushed) away and integrated themselves into the organizational life of their Jewish-American coreligionists. Magyarized immigrants of non-Magyar ethnic background also found themselves awkwardly situated in America's Magyar communities. Magyar immi-

grants, meanwhile, were divided among Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Lutheran, and Hungarian Reformed confessions as well as by ideology and class. Fragmentation resulted, while the immigrant population as a whole twice was stigmatized as "enemy aliens" owing to Hungary's successive wartime affiliation with the Central Powers and later Nazi Germany. Secular symbols (like Forty-Eighter Louis Kossuth), ethnic activities, organizational life, and an immigrant press helped unite immigrants and second-generation ethnics, but Hungarian identity also rested on resistance to Pan-Slavism, an irredentist rejection of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon (which had ceded two-thirds of the old Hungarian kingdom to the successor states of Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia), and sympathy with a Soviet-occupied homeland.

Here and there, the reader encounters intriguing tidbits, like the actor Béla Lugosi being chosen to head a leftist immigrant federation in the early 1940s. Puskás also examines the impact of emigration on gender roles more than many previous studies of immigration, and the volume also affords a glimpse of how state policy in donor countries can bear on questions of emigration (the Hungarian government actually encouraged out-migration by Hungary's various non-Magyar ethnic minorities). But these topics remain largely undeveloped.

Organized around successive immigrant cohorts (pre-World War I migrants, World War II refugees, Displaced Persons, Freedom Fighters), this volume clearly focuses more on Hungarian immigration than Hungarian-American ethnicity, which Puskás engages only sketchily. Noting language loss, ethnic exogamy, suburban diaspora, and other centrifugal developments (as well as internal divisions and stratifications), Puskás observes the eventual "waning of the Hungarian identity in the United States" (p. 302). She later temporizes: "Ethnic revival has achieved a measure of success in salvaging ethnic heritage and instilling pride in ones' [*sic*] ethnic origin" (p. 318). Given her ambivalence, the subsequent rise of multiculturalism in the United States, and the stunning changes sweeping Hungarian society since the fall of communism, it is disappointing that the book forgoes a discussion of Hungarian-American ethnicity, group life, and homeland relations during the last thirty years.

This is nonetheless a solidly researched, insightful scholar's book. In a historiography with, more typically, Eastern European Jewish or Slavic protagonists, it is especially interesting now to have a Magyar perspective presented so ably.

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HENRY YU. *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 262. \$35.00.

The occasional mourning of the decline of the influence of sociology voiced by some of its practitioners in

recent years serves as a reminder of the prominence and dominance of the Chicago School of Sociology in its heyday early in the twentieth century. Unabated scholarly interest in the Chicago School, especially its ideological and intellectual impact, has generated numerous studies. Henry Yu has given us another study of this important historical subject. While members of the Chicago School highly valued empiricism and strove to develop sociological research methodology, it is their ideas about race and race relations that represent their most important legacy, ideologically and intellectually speaking. Trying to comprehend the trajectory of those ideas in broader historical settings, Yu's book focuses on exploring the role that Robert Park and his fellow Chicago sociologists played in defining Orientals and formulating American Orientalism. It is a provocative, ambitious, and theoretically insightful intellectual history of theories about race and culture in twentieth-century America.

Yu's discussions of the Chicago sociologists are centered on his analysis of the *Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast in the 1920s*. Conducted by a team of sociologists, headed by Park, who were recruited and assisted by Christian missionaries, the survey revealed the two groups' shared interest in America's "Oriental problem." Together, Yu argues, "they created a body of theories about the differences between Oriental and Occidental" (p. 20). A central argument that emerges out of his thorough critique of the sociologists' thinking about race and culture is that physical differences matter. In developing that critique, he devotes considerable space to assessing their fundamental theory, that is, race is tied to cultural consciousness, "not to biological differences between human bodies." "In the end, however, these cultural differences were often associated with the foreign origins of certain human bodies" (p. 47), he notes.

Yu's fresh insights will help us better understand why we need to move beyond the dichotomy between black and white in the discourse of American race relations. He convincingly demonstrates the critical place that "Orientals" have occupied in the formulation of the dominant theoretical assumptions about race and culture in modern America. His analyses of the life stories and the work of Chinese and Japanese-American intellectuals, who were recruited to Chicago to receive training in sociology and participated in researching their respective communities, represent the most interesting and, perhaps, the most significant part of the book. There have been studies of individual Asian-American recruits to Chicago sociology, such as Paul Siu and Tamotsu Shibutani. Yu produces the first collective portrait of them as a group, enabling us to appreciate, in a more comprehensive way, how "[I]n a circular route, their thinking entered into Chicago Sociology's theories, and Chicago social theories transformed the young intellectuals' understandings of themselves and their place in American society" (p. 94). Such a collective portrait, in the end, helps us

better understand the Chicago School, of which the Asian-American students were important members.

Elegantly written, this book shows that its author is an imaginative scholar and a rigorous thinker. Politically relevant, it directly addresses critical issues in today's racial and ethnic politics. Intellectually stimulating, the book touches on a wide range of fascinating questions and issues concerning race and culture.

Some of them, however, remain to be fully answered and explored. One such question is why the twenty or so Asian and Asian-American intellectuals came to work at the University of Chicago on Asian-American-related subjects between 1924 and 1960. Yu's explanations are based in part on the assumption that their presence constituted an extraordinary phenomenon, signifying that Chicago sociology was more welcoming to Asian-American intellectuals than other disciplines (p. 111). This assumption apparently fails fully to take into consideration the growing number of Asian and Asian-American graduate students in numerous academic disciplines in America during this period.

Yu has written a significant book without thoroughly articulating its historiographical significance. He states that his study of the Chicago School intellectuals is important and necessary because past "analyses of racism have centered on the working class" (p. 10) and have seen elite ideas of race and culture as being in opposition to racism. That statement does not accurately reflect the recent scholarship by such scholars as Stuart C. Miller and Roger Daniels, who have pointed out the deep involvement of the middle class and other non-working-class groups in the anti-Asian movements. There are other instances of relatively minor oversight like this. For example, Yu states, repeatedly and incorrectly, that all Japanese Americans were interned after Pearl Harbor.

The merits of this theoretically informed and sophisticated book, however, clearly outweigh its shortcomings. Students of American history and ethnic studies will greatly benefit from its author's fruitful labor.

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STEFANO LUCONI. *From Paesani to White Ethnics: The Italian Experience in Philadelphia*. (SUNY Series in Italian/American Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2001. Pp. x, 264. \$19.95.

Stefano Luconi's book examines the transformations undergone by successive generations of Italian Americans through the lens of their experiences in Philadelphia, after New York one of the largest U.S. settlements of Italian immigrants in the early twentieth century. The author aims to use these experiences additionally as a means to probe alternative conceptions of ethnicity as a social construction.

Luconi has thoroughly researched the public record in English and Italian and is well versed in the historical and sociological literature. The book unfolds

according to a timeline that he has synthesized from the literature and that he tests with his observations. Overall, the fit is quite good, but Luconi fills out what is merely schematic in some places and adds significant nuance in others. Certainly, agreement is strong for the early period, when the immigrant community was dominated by regional and even communal identities brought from Italy. As have others, Luconi documents how the origin-based networks that organized immigration constructed a community that was a mosaic of more parochial subgroups, reflected in the streets where the immigrants lived and structured institutionally by mutual-aid organizations, newspapers, and even the churches where different regional groupings worshipped.

But a larger identity as Italians was not long in coming. Luconi finds its roots as much in the sense of nationalism ignited by Italy's participation in World War I as in the factor most highlighted in the literature: the maltreatment as "dagoes" and "wops" suffered by Italian immigrants regardless of their regional origins. His emphasis on the emergence of Italian nationalism in immigrant enclaves feeds into his treatment of the World War II period, where he self-consciously diverges from the standard account. As he notes, analysts of the European ethnic experience have usually depicted the war as an integrating experience, when "ethnic Americans" emphasized the second, rather than the first, element in that identity. Luconi argues, however, with a precise analysis of voting behavior and the parts played by the community's *prominenti*, its recognized leadership, that the Italian identity was in fact the dominant one, even on the brink of war. In his view, while Italian Americans certainly proclaimed their loyalty to the United States after it entered the war and contributed massively to the war effort, their identities as Italians continued to shape their political behavior, as evidenced by their distance from President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

This is an intriguing, if not quite convincing, argument. Luconi appears to have identified a significant phenomenon in the immigrant generation, but it is less clear that it applies to the then-youthful second generation, the one whose members actually fought in the war. This distinction points up a weak spot in the methodology, for a focus on statements by *prominenti* and the Italian-language press privileges the views and attitudes of immigrants over those of the American born. In addition, Luconi at times tries to wring meaning out of small differences in voting behavior.

The post-1960 period is the one whose interpretation is most contested, and Luconi does not hesitate to address the debate directly. Here, too, the limitations imposed by the emphasis on public behavior centered in the Italian-American community are noticeable. Thus, he cannot take into account the quiet exodus by the many who intermarried or entered ethnically integrated suburbs. Nonetheless, Luconi finds the identity as "ethnic whites," with considerable emphasis on the

noun, in ascendance as the community was more and more dominated by U.S.-born generations. This identity was forged to a large extent by the heat of inner-city racial conflicts that intensified during the 1960s, but the story of its emergence is complex. Anyone familiar with the ethnic and racial politics of Philadelphia in this period will be interested in Luconi's treatment of Frank L. Rizzo, controversial police chief and mayor, and his relationship to the Italian-American community.

The book ends with an evaluation of how competing interpretations of ethnicity in relation to Italian Americans measure up against the transformations Luconi has detected. In a nutshell, he concludes that the post-1960 phase has led to an expansion of Italian Americans' sense of ethnic commonality to include other ethnic whites; ethnicity in a narrow sense has been superseded by "white racial consciousness."

In sum, while the empirical foundation for Luconi's study is modest, the book grapples in meaningful ways with the large issues of how to interpret the evolutions of ethnicity among the descendants of early twentieth-century European immigrants. Philadelphia is, in fact, a valuable site for such an undertaking, in part because it has been less studied than either Chicago or New York. Luconi's book is a worthy new installment in a long-running serial that tells a story of profound transformations in the ethnic boundaries that post-immigration generations draw around themselves.

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HASIA R. DINER. *Lower East Side Memories: A Jewish Place in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii. 219. \$29.95.

In this book, Hasia R. Diner explores the dynamic and complex social processes that since World War II have transformed the Lower East Side from just another large Jewish immigrant neighborhood into an almost sacral icon and perhaps the quintessential cultural metaphor of the American Jewish experience.

Analyzing diverse post-World War II sources such as personal memoirs, fiction, films, television shows, museum exhibits, Jewish summer camp archives, and even restaurant decor, Diner deconstructs the romanticized American Jewish metanarrative that has evolved since. Its essence is that Jews, like both their biblical Jewish and American Pilgrim forebears, fled persecution and traversed the "wilderness" in search of a new life, which they found in the Lower East Side, where, the myth recounts, they withstood the challenges, hardships, and inevitable losses of resettlement and emerged ever triumphant. And, Diner asserts, while collective Jewish memory recalls a community characterized by pushcarts and poverty, tenements and sweatshops, a raucous, smelly street life and cultural insularity, and religious authority struggling against secularism and materialism, it also fondly remembers a

neighborhood that was “the reincarnation of Jewishness, the intensity of Jewish life, and the essence of authenticity” (p. 70). It is these last nostalgic reminiscences that overwhelmingly inspire—and typify—the lingering memories of postwar American Jewry.

As Diner points out, however, this narrative, while containing elements of historical truth, focuses on an area that until World War II had no fixed geographic boundaries or even a fixed name. Indeed, until then, it was more often than not called the “Jewish quarter” or just “downtown.” Nor was the area homogenous; it included Jews and non-Jewish immigrants from many national backgrounds. Nor were its Jews as culturally insular as popular myth would have it: many were exposed to secular culture and modernization already in Europe; many left the Lower East Side daily seeking cultural opportunities in other parts of the city. Lastly, not all Jews in the ghetto were poor.

How, then, can we account for this romanticized view of the American Jewish past? Diner suggests that postwar Jews needed such a memory. Confronted by the Holocaust and the destruction of European Jewry, yet cognizant of the grand opportunities afforded by a more open American society, Jews yearned for a cultural anchor, organic social roots, and a glorious story of origins that could give Jewish meaning to their lives. They therefore imagined a portrait of the Lower East Side that fulfilled this yearning. General American cultural trends reinforced this specific Jewish reconstruction. As the concept of legitimate and positive “ethnicity” evolved in the 1960s, Jews, in recreating an apposite narrative of their immigrant persona, limned themselves in a manner congenial to the new America.

As to why the Lower East Side was elevated to iconic status, rather than, say, Jewish ghettos in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, or Baltimore, Diner correctly notes that this had as much to do with the centrality of New York City to the American economy, culture, and politics as it did with any particular Jewish reality. Still, the overwhelming Jewish population density of the Lower East Side was unmatched by any other Jewish area, and the major national Jewish immigrant organizations and Yiddish cultural institutions were located there. Jewish presence in the Lower East Side in the first half of the century and national Jewish and Gentile awareness of that overwhelming singular presence laid the groundwork for the Jewish reinvention of the Lower East Side in the second half.

There are but a few weaknesses in Diner’s otherwise fine interpretive essay. It is redundant in several places. Its analysis of some of the memoir literature conflates sources that should have best been kept distinct, and its claim that all Jews grant iconic status to the Lower East Side is simply too sweeping. It would have been instructive to see an analysis as to which Jews feel this way broken down by Jewish affiliation, intensity of Jewish living, and involvement in Jewish affairs. We would then be in a better position to judge the merit of Irving Howe’s lament that Jewish preoc-

cupation with the Lower East Side—and his bestselling *World of Our Fathers* (1976)—bespeaks a desire not to rediscover and be energized by one’s roots but “to cast an affectionate backward glance at the world of their fathers before turning their backs upon it forever and moving on” (cited by Diner, p. 94).

That said, the cumulative impact of Diner’s pellucid prose, rich insights, and masterful control of variegated cultural, literary, and historical sources is invigorating indeed.

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KARLA GOLDMAN. *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 275. \$35.00.

Karla Goldman argues that in order to understand the changes that took place in the American synagogue in the nineteenth century, we must include in our analysis the major role that contemporaneous changes in women’s lives—within and outside of the synagogue—played in its transformation. Her work reflects the insights of the feminist historiography of the past two decades in its assertion that we cannot simply add women into the historical picture and expect to see only minor changes; rather, the analysis of gender is fundamental to our understanding of all social life. Within the history of modern Jewry, Goldman’s work resonates beautifully with Marion Kaplan’s argument in *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (1991) that the embourgeoisement of Jews in late nineteenth-century Germany was understandable only in terms of a gendered analysis in which men, seeking to assimilate into the wider culture, dropped most of their religious practices while women, in keeping with the gendered ideals of middle-class German society of that time, maintained domestic piety and religious practice. Goldman also draws on Paula Hyman’s work illustrating how gendered assumptions—that girls would grow into women, whose role was to sustain household piety and the religious education of children—reshaped orientations to the education of Jewish girls.

Jewish experiences in America provide the necessary context in which to understand how gender fundamentally changed the American synagogue. Jews’ desire to assimilate led to their altering their synagogues and their gender role prescriptions in major ways. Jews faced the outside—read Protestant—critique that women were marginalized in Jewish religious life. Jewish men, who did not want to seem as if they were out of sync with their neighbors, argued that Jewish women were not marginal in Jewish life. This argument is belied, however, by the visibility of synagogue structures that placed women in galleries, making women’s subordination in the religion embarrassingly obvious. Goldman suggests that keeping women

away from men during prayer emphasized their sexual nature. In order not to be embarrassed in front of their Protestant neighbors, Jewish men, often rabbis, changed their synagogue structures to conform to the more general social norms and gender definitions of the time. If Protestant women were central in their churches, and in carrying on social service work, then Jews—and by Jews here I mean Jewish men who had the decision making power—had to somehow democratize women's roles in Judaism.

Changes in the actual synagogue began, as social changes often do, on a material rather than ideological level. As several congregations, all of which had the traditional gallery arrangements, sought to enlarge their facilities, they occasionally bought old churches. These churches were equipped with family pews, which gave the congregation an existing physical structure that eased their switching to mixed seating. Many reformers, as well as members, were pleased with the outcome. They perceived it as a way to reduce the impression that Jewish women were subordinated in Jewish life.

One unanticipated consequence of these changes has been the "feminization" of the synagogue. Just as nineteenth-century Jews wanted to fit in with their neighbors, so, too, did transformations in the synagogue lead them to resemble their neighbors in the preponderance of women at many services (though not in Orthodox synagogues).

I am a bit puzzled, however, that in a book that is about the changes in women's place in the synagogue and in Judaism, men emerge as the primary actors—the rabbis who through discussions and practices in their synagogues tried to define a place for women in the American context. I understand that this book focuses on the synagogue as an institution and shows how institutional changes resulted from the late nineteenth-century Jewish experience and assimilation problems in American society. The institutional focus, however, limits our view of how American Jewish women actually lived and experienced their religious roles and the redefinitions of them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Goldman does not incorporate much primary evidence about how Jewish women thought about, experienced, and practiced their religion at that time. These questions are fascinating and could provide a basis for a new study about changes in American Jewish lived religion, rather than their institutions, in the nineteenth century.

LYNN DAVIDMAN
Brown University

SAMUEL C. SHEPHERD, JR. *Avenues of Faith: Shaping the Urban Religious Culture of Richmond, Virginia, 1900–1929.* (Religion and American Culture.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 414. \$44.95.

This exhaustively detailed work recounts the social and intellectual history of mainline white Protestantism in

the thriving southern urban center of Richmond, Virginia, early in the twentieth century. Samuel C. Shepherd, Jr., focuses on the six major mainline white denominations: Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Disciples of Christ, and (very briefly) Lutherans. The work unfortunately largely ignores African Americans, except for a portion of one chapter that shows how Richmond's white Protestants mostly espoused kindly (if largely ineffectual) sentiments toward "the Negro" and rhetorically denounced some of the more vicious examples of racism early in the century. At the same time, few raised any protest against the imposition of Jim Crow, and only one minister (M. Ashby Jones, later to be active in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation) even took note of the disfranchisement of black voters. Richmond's Protestant progressivism apparently fit C. Vann Woodward's damning catchphrase, "for whites only."

Richmond's white Protestants were, in Shepherd's minutely detailed and thoroughly researched analysis, socially active, moderately progressive (on matters other than race), hostile to fundamentalism (in large part because the fundamentalist leaders lacked the civility of manner and discourse treasured by the Bourbon and urban elite), involved in addressing social problems, and generally ill fitting the stereotype of "otherworldly" southern religion. "To describe their vision of social Christianity," Shepherd explains, "religious leaders invoked two phrases: social service and social justice" (p. 291). Richmond was home to a remarkable collection of social activists who drew sustenance from their religious faith. Included in this group was Samuel Chiles Mitchell, head of progressive education forces in Virginia; Robert H. Pitt, editor of the Baptist *Religious Herald* and critic of corporate power and the social oppression of labor; Lila Hardaway Valentine, leader of Virginia's women's suffrage movement and a woman involved in nearly every progressive crusade of the era; Walter Russell Bowie, Episcopalian editor of the *Southern Churchman* and advocate of what he called a "reverent Modernism" (p. 270); Lucy Ambler Mason, mother of the woman later dubbed "Miss Lucy of the CIO," Lucy Randolph Mason; James Cannon, controversial Methodist prohibitionist and modernist; and of course the tireless history professor and star-attraction Men's Sunday School class teacher, Douglass Southall Freeman. George W. McDaniel, successful pastor of Richmond's First Baptist Church, emphasized the importance of study "to freshly interpret the Gospel" and "better preach the changeless Christ to a changing age" (p. 53). His words echo the theme of nearly everyone covered in Shepherd's close study. Richmond's Protestants proudly proclaimed that the "Fundamentalist-Modernist" row had never come to their city, and the city's religious elite was not about to let the era of good feelings in religious harmony be disturbed by backwoods cranks or ill-educated preacher boys.

That the Menckonian stereotype of an implacably

backward and reactionary southern religion has pretty much died out in the scholarly literature already (if not in the popular mind) in no way diminishes the value for scholars and research libraries of this specialized study of specifically urban (and urbane) religion in the Progressive-era South. Religion in the city is a growth industry, as historians have come to recognize that urbanization did not necessarily bring on the predicted secularization. Despite its limitations as a study exclusively of whites, Shepherd's solid work is a major contribution to the burgeoning field of southern religious history and is particularly welcome for its attention to progressivism in the urban South.

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GRANT WACKER. *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 364. \$35.00.

This book offers a sweeping look at first-generation Pentecostalism. It is erudite, conceptually sophisticated, and written in a jaunty, readable style. Just when it seemed that there was not much more to say about the origins of Pentecostalism, Grant Wacker says a great deal more.

Wacker writes little about church politics and institutional religion. He is after a more illusive target: the "temperament" of early Pentecostals. In fourteen topical chapters, Wacker probes Pentecostals' thoughts, feelings, and behavior in matters heavenly and terrestrial. He offers an abundance of examples and astute commentary as his subjects express their views on tongues, testimony, authority, the cosmos, worship, rhetoric, customs, leaders, women, boundaries, society, nation, war, and destiny. The great and the small have their say. The author has an eye for a good punch line, and the "Holy Ghost people" do have a way with words.

Early twentieth-century Pentecostalism is a particularly important topic because of the movement's worldwide visibility at the end of the century. Wacker set out to discover "why the movement survived at all" (p. 9). His answer, elaborately argued and copiously documented, is strikingly simple: early Pentecostals combined an empowering "primitivist" religious commitment with an all-American "pragmatism."

This interpretation seems prosaic enough, a rather universal description of conservative Christians. But Wacker makes a persuasive case that, to an unusual degree, Pentecostal lives were filled with delicious tension, mingling a pious "otherworldliness" with a "practicality" that often looked like unholy "shrewdness" (p. 33). Pentecostals were able "to balance the most eye-popping features of the supernatural with the most chest-thumping features of the natural, and to do so without admitting it" (p. 266). This dichotomy explains, for instance, why Pentecostal churches empowered women leaders until practical considerations

intervened, and how the celebrated interracial character of the early movement gave way to segregated denominations, and how speaking in tongues and the flow of ecstatic gifts of the Holy Spirit in worship existed in a controlled environment, resulting in a sort of "planned spontaneity" (p. 99).

Less directly, Wacker aims to diminish the stigma long associated with the word "Pentecostal." Pentecostals were, Wacker argues, pretty much like other American Christians, a group of "radical evangelicals" distanced from others largely by their understanding of tongues speaking. They were not the briar-hopping "Holy Rollers" depicted by secular detractors such as H. L. Mencken and by their sectarian competitors. They embraced no new canon that would estrange them from the broader world of evangelicalism for long; even their emphasis on the Holy Ghost and miracles had precedents in the Christian past.

Still, for all of that, Wacker's Pentecostals were different. They spoke in tongues, built high boundaries around themselves, constantly and colorfully chastised "nominal Christians," and had their own end-time scenario. Wacker is wise to remind us that Pentecostals' roots were in "radical evangelicalism" (even though they thought history was irrelevant), but the people he describes are pretty easy to distinguish from more conventional evangelicals. Historians should probably not tear down all of the fences that Pentecostals and their detractors built.

More stunning is Wacker's contention that Pentecostals were more or less a "cross section of the American population" (p. 199). He argues at length that the "social profile" of the "typical pentecostal leader," when pitted against that of the "average Southern Methodist or Southern Baptist leader," came off "surprisingly well" (p. 205). In making this revisionist argument, Wacker challenges the meticulous interpretation of Robert Mapes Anderson's *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (1979), which drew starkly different conclusions about early Pentecostals' social status.

It is one thing to correct silly contemporary caricatures of early Pentecostals, but it is a longer stretch to turn them into average Americans. So much of Wacker's evidence argues to the contrary: the strong sense of isolation felt by early Pentecostals, the absence of prestigious urban congregations and large buildings among them, their lack of accredited educational institutions. In some ways, Wacker detracts from his effort to rescue Pentecostals from mischaracterization by reaching too far, by pushing them up the denominational ladder faster than his own facts allow. But he has made a case and opened a rich area for further research and discussion. Early Pentecostals would have relished a heated debate about their place in the American religious spectrum.

Some may judge this book to be an overly sympathetic treatment of Pentecostals written by an insider with warm personal remembrances of his roots. But it is far more than that. It is the mature assessment of a

fair-minded observer who believes that this gritty band of survivors, like others who have inhabited the underside of American religion, deserves to have its story told with respect and dignity. After all, Wacker contends, the “go-for-broke frame of mind” (p. 30) that drove early Pentecostals made them quintessential Americans, the forebears of a generation of Christian entrepreneurs who reshaped the religious geography of the world.

This is a weighty book, indispensable to an understanding of modern Pentecostalism and of Christianity in the twenty-first century. Beyond that, it provides a model for peering into the dense meaning of religious belief in the lives of ordinary people.

DAVID EDWIN HARRELL, JR.
Auburn University

DONALD B. KRAYBILL and CARL F. BOWMAN. *On the Backroad to Heaven: Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren*. (Center Books in Anabaptist Studies.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in association with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N. Mex. 2001. Pp. xvi, 330. \$29.95.

Old Order groups may limit their own peoples' education to the eighth grade, but as actual subjects of study, they are no strangers to scholarship. Particularly the Amish, and to a lesser degree the Hutterites, have received much scrutiny by social historians and sociologists (including a number of significant contributions by one of the authors of this volume, Donald B. Kraybill). Here Kraybill and his compatriot, Brethren scholar Carl F. Bowman, attempt to break new ground in Old Order scholarship by bringing into focus four of the principal groups through an explicitly comparative framework, an approach that they see as “the unique contribution of our work” (p. xii). Historians of the Old Orders stand to learn much from such a comparative analysis and to profit from this book, as long as they are careful not to ask from it more than it is able to give.

After an opening chapter designed to provide an introductory overview of the groups in question, the authors devote four successive chapters to each. They begin with an inquiry into the life and ethos of the Hutterite communities of North America, then proceed to examine, in order, the Old Order (or “Team”) Mennonites, the Old Order Amish, and the Old German Baptist Brethren. Given the shape of this analysis, one soon realizes that the sequence of investigation is intentional. The authors clearly envision these groups standing in some kind of Old Order continuum, in terms of their strictness of discipline and degree of separation from the world.

At first glance, for example, the Hutterites would appear to keep less distance from the world than the Amish or Mennonites, whose own internal discipline quite specifically binds people to such things as plain dress, nonresistance in regard to military service, horse-and-buggy transportation, and the Pennsylvania

German dialect. While retaining their own German dialect and form of dress, Hutterite communities, in contrast, are much more open to worldly technology. Even so, in crucially important ways, especially in their communal ownership and geographic isolation, the authors demonstrate how Hutterites may yet remain the strictest Old Order group of them all. Outside of a few small personal items, individual Hutterites own nothing at all, receive no pay for their labor, and have little say over the type of work they do. The colony oversees nearly everything. At the opposite end of this Old Order spectrum are the (Old German Baptist) Brethren who, contrary to their name, speak no German, drive cars, eschew the communal discipline of shunning, live in modern, electrified homes, and send their children to public high schools and even to college. Kraybill and Bowman show how the Brethren are committed to Old Order distinctives in other ways, like beards, plain dress, and the avoidance of public amusements and most forms of commercial entertainment.

After these overviews, the authors move on to analytical chapters that explicitly compare and contrast the four groups. Out of this emerges a complex, sympathetic, and delightfully nuanced argument that perhaps only such a comparative perspective could produce. The groups in question are depicted not as “cultural fossils” or “modern day Luddites” but instead as committed Christians who have made rational choices to stem the tides of modernity that they perceive as destructive to their faith. The Amish stipulation against owning cars, for example, or the Mennonite regulation that one may own a tractor for work in the field but not drive it into town, may appear as ridiculously petty to outsiders, but for these groups such rules function well in keeping members focused on the local and in reinforcing the bonds of community.

The very qualities of astute contemporary analysis that may render this text a delight to sociologists, however, may also serve to frustrate historians. To be sure, the authors are careful to sketch both ancient and recent key historical developments in the four groups they examine. They relate something of the Anabaptist origins of these groups, for instance, and summarize recent demographic trends. Still, they offer little on Old Order ecumenical relationships with other Mennonites (“Mennonite Central Committee” does not even appear in the subject index). Nor do they even touch other key historical developments that might have altered the Old Order world, like the degree, for example, to which Old Order participation in post-World War II conscientious objector arrangements such as Civilian Public Service or the I-W program might have threatened the nature of community life and accelerated the pace of acculturation. Kraybill and Bowman have only promised to serve as guides on a foray into the complex and intricate world of contemporary Old Order groups. As long as historians are willing to accept these inevitable cross-disciplinary

limitations, they will find they have placed themselves in very able hands for such a journey.

PERRY BUSH
Bluffton College

SUSAN SCHULTEN. *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880–1950*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. x, 319. \$40.00.

Geography and history, wrote Peter Heylyn in 1621, “seen together crown our happiness, but parted asunder menace a shipwreck of our content” (p. 11). Today, Heylyn’s prose seems fulsome and his argument strained. Few historians pay explicit attention to geography, and few geographers give more than a token nod to history. Yet some of us would stubbornly concur with Heylyn that historical processes can only be understood as they take place geographically, and that geographical patterns can only be explained through historical analysis. Several aspects of the intertwining of the two fields are meticulously illustrated in Susan Schulten’s book. Schulten shows that the American public’s understanding of global historical processes was guided by specific geographical constructs, and that both popular and academic geography can only be comprehended in their historical context.

Schulten is ultimately concerned with “how geography has mediated the world for us, and how it has concretized the abstract” (p. 241). She focuses on four separate but linked domains of inquiry and exposition: the international atlas, the National Geographical Society, geographical pedagogy, and academic geography. In each arena she highlights the most significant issues, deftly embedding them within the intellectual, political, and technological currents of the day.

To simplify grossly, Schulten argues that a highly parochial view of the world based on racial and environmental determinism yielded in the early twentieth century to a more open and cosmopolitan—yet still self-serving—commercial metageography, to be followed in the 1940s by an explicitly geopolitical world vision. She demonstrates how war fostered geographical awareness and forced sea changes in the global imagination, and she uncovers innovative thinkers who have largely been forgotten by geographers themselves. Although Schulten concludes that geography was essentially conservative, both by portraying the world as stable and easily conceptualized and by serving U.S. imperial power, she is always attuned to countervailing tendencies. Buttressed by careful scholarship and framed with conceptual acumen, this is one of the best works available on the history of geographical thought.

My respect for the book, however, is matched by my chagrin—as a geographer—at the fact that its author is a historian. Geography gets little respect in academia, and it reflects poorly upon us that scholars in other fields often understand our concerns and our history better than we do. Ironically, Schulten’s single major flaw is that she elides one of the most significant issues

in the history of recent geographical scholarship: the fact that geography is virtually a failed discipline, absent from most of this country’s top universities and languishing in many others.

To the extent that Schulten does grapple with the discipline’s failure, she largely follows geographers’ standard list of misleading explanations: geography was too slow to separate from geology and gain disciplinary status, it held too long to environmental determinism and floundered in finding new core concerns, and it was intrinsically ill-suited to the conceptual world of modernism that privileged time over place and sought to conquer distance. In actuality, geography gained disciplinary status as quickly as anthropology and sociology, and it shed environmentalism rapidly in the 1920s, gaining a new focus by the 1940s. And even the most optimistic advocates of hypermodern global capitalism now realize that the differentiation of place has lost none of its salience.

The best explanation for geography’s failure lies in the simple but unacknowledged fact that geographers themselves abandoned geography in the 1920s and 1930s. Geography—as Schulten frames it and as it had been understood since antiquity—aims at the limning of the earth’s entire surface. But the discipline’s best minds of the mid-twentieth century, Carl Sauer and Richard Hartshorne, redefined it as chorology, or the study of spatial relations within particular places. Chorology had been a subset of geography; now it became its entirety as the globe was cast off. And while Sauer later renounced his chorological manifesto, he continued to disdain, as did most geographers, the area-studies complex through which the postwar American academy explored the world. Geography was thus transformed from the quintessentially global discipline to a parochial pursuit, one in which vast areas—most notably Asia—were essentially excised from the map. As geography subsequently declined, it underwent convulsive paradigm shifts—from ideographic exceptionalism to hard-core positivism to literary postmodernism—but its scope remained resolutely limited. Geographers are now finally tackling globalization, but in so doing they must follow the lead of sociologists and anthropologists, finding little sustenance in their own self-repudiated intellectual tradition.

MARTIN W. LEWIS
Duke University

WILLIAM E. NELSON. *The Legalist Reformation: Law, Politics, and Ideology in New York, 1920–1980*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. 457. \$49.95.

This splendid book was fifteen years in the making, and it sets a new and very high standard for studies of American legal history in the twentieth century. It is based on intensive work in an immense body of source material. William E. Nelson has read virtually every appellate decision reported in 620 volumes of the *New*

York Supplement. He has read the reported federal cases (maybe 15,000 of them) filed in New York State between 1920 and 1980. And he has compiled a random sample of trial court cases from each of New York's four federal district courts (about 100 cases per year) and from four of the state's counties (another 100 cases per year). In method, scope, and significance, this book is comparable to Nelson's *The Americanization of the Common Law: The Impact of Legal Change upon Massachusetts Society, 1760-1830* (1975). Here, as in his first book, Nelson distills from a mass of legal detail a synthetic account of legal change that links major upheavals in thought and politics with the pattern of development he discerns in the case law. Nelson is a lump, not a splitter. His generalizations are big, bold, and provocative; his analysis of legal doctrine is not only accessible to nonlawyers but tackles issues that concern every historian of political economy, the family, religion and ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and race. The book merits a large audience.

Nelson's main story is about law and liberalism, and the account is driven by his periodization. Part one, "Conservatives and Reformers," begins with a chapter on New York society and politics in 1922. It features Al Smith's election as governor and the emergence of a reform-minded majority, led by Chief Justice Benjamin Cardozo, on the New York Court of Appeals. For Nelson, both developments had transformative possibilities. A coalition of immigrants and urban workers produced Smith's victory, "inaugurat[ing] seventy-two years of reform-oriented rule . . . during which only two Republicans—the liberals Thomas E. Dewey and Nelson A. Rockefeller—were able to wrest the governor's chair away from Democrats" (p. 19). The new working majority on the Court of Appeals spoke forthrightly about using law as an instrument of "charity" and "compassion." Nelson describes the era's achievements, especially in the fields of torts, contracts, and public regulation of property rights. But he is more impressed by Smith's resistance to redistribution and Cardozo's unwillingness to disturb precedent except at the very frontiers of legal doctrine. Above all, Nelson emphasizes that the era's reformers lacked a "commanding ideological vision" capable of posing a genuine challenge to the "victorian norms," cherished by upstate WASP conservatives, that had pervaded New York's statutes and decisional law for generations.

Part two, "The Legalist Reformation," chronicles the luxuriation of such an ideology and its manifold effects on New York law and social life. The lead chapter recounts the events of 1938, focusing primarily on the year of Kristallnacht in Germany and the responses of Senator Robert F. Wagner, columnist Dorothy Thompson, Justice Harlan Fiske Stone, and others. The upshot, Nelson argues, was the birth of new liberalism grounded on liberty, equality, and the dignity of every human being. By the mid-1960s it pervaded every aspect of New York jurisprudence. Jurists in mid-twentieth-century New York, like those

in postrevolutionary Massachusetts, hitched legal rules to perceptions of social advantage and discarded precedents with alacrity. Nelson concedes that the resulting body of doctrine tended to benefit consumers more than producers, Catholics and Jews more than African Americans, men more than women, straight people more than gays. He also acknowledges that the new jurisprudence tended to obscure contradictions between efficiency and fairness, liberty and equality. One result was "the growth of distrust" with big government. Another was the radicalization of a new generation of legal claimants who tried, largely though not entirely in vain, to make "the legalist reformation" work for them.

Part three, "The Endurance of Legalism and the End of Reform," narrates the tumultuous events of 1968 that smashed both the liberal coalition and the animating "sense of an inexorable judicial march toward a new, freer, and more just world" (p. 289). Nelson shows how the New York bench, besieged by claimants and commentators on the right and on the left, lost confidence in their ability to resolve controversies involving gender equity, race and poverty, sexuality, and the underside of the bureaucratic state. At every point in the analysis, however, he insists that the mid-twentieth-century vision of justice through law got bent, not broken, during the 1970s. Nelson takes comfort in the claim. In a brief epilogue, featuring the celebration of the golden anniversary of the United Nations in 1995, he maintains that the principal ambitions of "the legalist reformation" still inspire nearly all Americans and a great many people throughout the world.

CHARLES W. MCCURDY
University of Virginia

CLARK DAVIS. *Company Men: White-Collar Life and Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892-1941*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 298. \$39.95.

With the rise of women's labor history in the 1980s, the feminization of office work and the existence of a rich women's office work culture were extensively documented, but white-collar work for men received less attention. Clark Davis addresses this oversight by exploring men's white collar work at five large Los Angeles firms: Union Oil, Security First National Bank, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, Southern California Edison, and the Pacific Electric Railway. His sources include oral histories, management literature, company records, illustrations, and Hollywood films.

Edward Doheny discovered oil in southern California in 1892, and over the next forty years, Los Angeles became the fifth most populated city in the nation, many of whose white migrants came from the Midwest seeking economic opportunity and a better climate. Home to a variety of ethnic groups, Los Angeles was also the scene of strict racial codes in employment,

with Asians, blacks, and Mexicans all classified as "non-white." Davis estimates that ninety-nine percent of all male white-collar workers in Los Angeles were "white," defined by corporate management as men of "Anglo-Saxon" descent: "the square-jawed, silver-haired, handsomely dressed Anglo-American personified their vision of the ideal employee" (p. 70). Application forms often inquired about family ancestors, complexion colors, and hair texture.

Drawing on recently published sources in business and labor history, Davis deftly summarizes the important changes in management that occurred between 1890 and 1940—the application of system to office functions, the hiring of women to fill lower-level clerical jobs, and the rise of personnel management to deal with the vagaries of human psychology on the job—and then demonstrates how these factors impinged on men's work. Working one's way to the top was the fantasy of clerks but was increasingly rare. Most men would make only small moves up the ladder during their years of office work, often placing them too close for comfort to women in status and job duties. Davis contends that this fact of life created a crisis of "manliness" for male clerks and constant personnel management problems for employers.

Having decided to reserve certain kinds of jobs for white men, employers faced a labor shortage and high rates of turnover despite the number of young white men flocking to Los Angeles. Some proved unsatisfactory employees, and those who were highly valued moved from job to job in search of higher pay, promotions, and more interesting work. Employers used both authoritarian measures and manipulative strategies to foster efficiency and loyalty and to induce men to stay at their jobs. They developed early versions of "fringe benefits," including insurance, death benefits, and pensions. Company magazines portrayed the corporation as a family, emphasized the heroic qualities of executives, and demeaned women in jokes and illustrations. Widely touted internal promotion systems gave the impression that climbing the ladder of success was only a matter of time.

Although Davis's analysis of manliness is interesting, he is forced to speculate from skimpy evidence. He provides no direct proof that men believed they were less manly because they worked in offices, although his discussion of the portrayal of clerks in fiction and cinema makes for a compelling argument. Companies encouraged male bonding in corporate-sponsored lodges, clubhouse activities, and athletics. During the 1930s, when about one-third of all office workers in Los Angeles lost their jobs and those who remained suffered cuts in pay, employers downplayed news about women workers even as they degraded many men's jobs to women's work. They also used gendered iconography to extract better performances from men: Pacific Mutual Life Insurance highlighted poor salesmanship on charts with a symbol of pink panties. Prowess in golf, bowling, and softball could compensate for the growing loss of control over work and

one's status as a salaried employee. But since many women enjoyed athletic teams as well, it is difficult to see athletics as an exclusive phenomenon of manliness; Davis's suggestion that welfare capitalism eroded workers' controls over leisure time and bound them to the corporation is as important. Nor does Davis explore the ways in which the spatial contingency of men and women in the workforce must have provided some young men with dates, and, eventually, wives, thus obscuring the "war between the sexes" in the office. An analysis of gender interaction as well as segregation would have enriched this study.

Davis is at his best in describing developments before the Great Depression. Union organization among office workers increased significantly during the 1930s and 1940s, but Davis dismisses unions for white-collar workers as insignificant. The work of women and men became more alike in the 1930s; what impact did that fact have on the possibilities of worker, rather than gender, solidarity? I am not convinced that the Depression was a minor blip in the history of office work and that corporate culture remained essentially the same after its forging in the 1910s and 1920s. But that is a minor caveat; this book is a lively, well-researched, and well-argued study of office work that also illuminates local history. It deserves a wide readership.

SHARON HARTMAN STROM
University of Rhode Island

MATTHEW A. CRENSON. *Building the Invisible Orphanage: A Prehistory of the American Welfare System*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 383. \$45.00.

When Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich suggested that critics of his 1994 proposal to establish more orphanages should view the 1938 movie *Boys Town*, the overlooked orphanage returned to public discussion. Now Matthew A. Crenson offers a wide-ranging analysis of the American child welfare system replaced by the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) public welfare program (1935) and supplanted by the current public assistance program in 1996.

This intriguing book demonstrates that American orphanages and residential child welfare institutions of all types were expensive, labor intensive, and subject to much criticism (often deserved) as cruel, inefficient, and obsolete. Many orphanages, like the New England Home for Little Wanderers (1864) or the Home for Destitute Catholic Children (1865) in Boston, were founded in response to the Civil War impact on the homefront but were deemed outmoded by twentieth-century social workers. Focused on child welfare in Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, and Ohio, Crenson's book scrutinizes individual institutions. Like many students of social welfare, he assumes that antebellum and Victorian-era orphanages, asylums and sectarian "homes" of various types succumbed to the problems that Progressive-era social workers and

politicians tried to solve by Mother's Aid (1914) and similar state public assistance programs. Crenson sees in the failure of the congregate orphanage the inspiration for home placement and later efforts to keep families intact by financial subsidies and supports.

A major contribution of this book is its focus on forgotten child-savers such as James E. West, Charles W. Birtwell, Samuel Wolfenstein, Elizabeth Cabot Putnam, Thomas F. Ring, Thomas Mulry, and John Kingsbury. Their heroic efforts and bureaucratic struggles reveal the origins and nature of the new profession of social work and explain the rise of ADC as the "invisible orphanage." In avoiding the cost of building and maintaining private and public homes for dependent children, child welfare advocates eliminated the medical and psychological hazards endemic to even the best asylums. The role of religion in shaping the orphanage is also carefully explored in rich detail.

Despite the merits of this book, one looks in vain for some comparison to asylums for delinquent or criminal children and to boarding or prep schools for the children of the elite. The pre-delinquent or nondelinquent minor, the so-called dependent child, fascinated both child-savers and modern social historians while overshadowing the wayward, stubborn, or truant boys and girls sent to reform schools. Available evidence suggests that the two groups differed little, but that topic, like many aspects of social welfare history, awaits further study. The asylum managers' avoidance of and later obsession with record keeping and secrecy, as a recent study of adoption in the United States by E. Wayne Carp (1998) demonstrates, is another topic worthy of study but missing here. However, the author does rely on extensive and diligent research in a wide variety of primary sources (all too often scanty) and the growing body of secondary sources. His invisible orphanage, without bricks or walls, is portrayed as a limited triumph for nonsectarian Progressives.

Crenson begins his study with the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children and delves into the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, asylum annual reports, and institutional budgets to explain the demise of these institutions. He also examines the key role private agencies played in closing orphanages. Unlike earlier studies by Walter Trattner (1974) or Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward (1971), Crenson sees welfare changing incrementally by elaborating private and public practices helping innocent children rather than immoral or incompetent parents. As Theda Skocpol argues (1992), the Social Security Act's ADC was less a breakthrough than a reorganization of state Mother's Pension programs (1914) under federal law to keep widows and half-orphans at home rather than committed to the homes.

Recent scholarship on the internal operation of the orphanage by Dorothy M. Brown and Elizabeth McKelown (1997) and orphans' personal accounts by Judith A. Dulberger (1996) and Timothy A. Hasci (1997) reveal the misery many children experienced behind

the philanthropic walls. Crenson, no slave to chronology, provides glimpses of this but concludes with a more sweeping view of American social policy. However, the reasons for "dismantling the regime of the orphanage" cannot be explained by "checks in the mail" (p. 319) from modern state bureaucrats. This book is a provocative and useful analysis of the history of child welfare in the United States, but it is hardly the final word on this complex subject.

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JULIE BEREBITSKY. *Like Our Very Own: Adoption and the Changing Culture of Motherhood, 1851-1950*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2000. Pp. viii, 248. \$34.95.

Ads on billboards across America show a group of smiling children of diverse age and cultural origins with a caption that reads: "Adopt Us." As Julie Berebitsky reminds us, this is not the first public campaign in American history in which adoption has been highlighted as the desired solution for dependent children. While today the new interest in adoption stems from the wish to find a solution for the half million children languishing in foster care, a similar campaign during the Progressive era sought to relieve the pressure on child care institutions. Now, like then, most children were not free for adoption, and adoptive parents preferred babies over older kids.

As experts debate the various adoption options ("open" or "closed" adoption, interracial and international adoption, adoption of older kids, single-parent and gay and lesbian adoption), recent historians focus on the changes in ideology that led to these options. E. Wayne Carp, in *Family Matters: Secrecy and Disclosure in the History of Adoption* (1998), depicts the fight for open adoption records that eventually led to "open" adoption. Berebitsky's main concerns are the changes in the ideal adoptive family and the experience of the adoptive family between 1851 to 1950, as legal and professional experts shaped adoption rules and practices.

In the late nineteenth century, adoption was still informal. Examining the papers of two institutions, one private and one public, Berebitsky shows that people took young children (under five) to their homes without formalizing the relations and treated them as their own. They regarded themselves as adoptive parents based on their responsibilities toward and their emotional relations with the children, and they often rejected the institutions' urging to legalize these relations. The Progressive era was a watershed period for adoption with wide implications for our perceptions of motherhood and the family. Berebitsky analyzes the campaign for adoption mounted by *The Delineator*, a popular women's magazine, and describes its contribution to the Child Saving Movement. This campaign, between 1907 and 1911, popularized and destigmatized adoption and also highlighted the possibility that

adoptive mothers could love and nurture their children. Since motherhood was no longer viewed as connected to blood but rather seen as a skill that could be learned, adoption opened to single as well as African-American women who had previously not been considered.

Other reformers, however, fought for Widow's Pension, which passed in 1911, and advocated the importance of giving poor mothers the possibility to rear their children without committing them to child-care institutions. They favored family preservation and promoted an image of the nuclear family as the ideal family, while degrading any other option of child rearing. The emergence of social workers during the 1920s, as professionals who sought to be recognized as the leading authority on family issues, resulted in formalization and codification of adoption. They translated the new ideology of the family into a uniform policy that lasted until the 1950s. "Social Workers," claims Berbitzky, "attempted to create adoptive families that not only mirrored biological ones but also reflected an idealized version of them" (p. 129). Thus the Progressives' vision of a variety of family models was lost. After the 1920s, social workers maintained tight control over adoption procedures and established societal family values. Berebitsky describes how social workers observed babies, administered tests, and thoroughly examined adoptive families. She also documents parents' frustrations with, and court and media battles against, those rules and practices. Above all, she points out, demand always exceeded the supply of children available for adoption, giving social workers the control and freedom to implement their policy.

Berebitsky aptly demonstrates how different views and attitudes toward adoption had the potential to change notions of motherhood and family, had they not been lost by the emerging professional social workers. She is somewhat less successful in documenting the actual experience of adopting families due to her exclusive reliance on parents' letters to the Children's Bureau. Berebitsky, like previous historians (excepting Carp), did not gain access to adoption files. Although the experience of both children and adoptive parents has yet to be written, Berebitsky's work makes an important contribution to our understanding of the history of adoption in the United States.

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EMILY K. ABEL. *Hearts of Wisdom: American Women Caring for Kin, 1850-1940*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 326. \$49.95.

This book by Emily K. Abel examines some of the disparate ways that women acted as caregivers between 1850 and 1940. In piecing together this story, Abel builds on numerous published women's diaries and letters from the nineteenth century, as well as on secondary literature that examines aspects of caregiving by women. Historians who have influenced Abel's

thinking include Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Judith Walzer Leavitt, Sylvia D. Hoffert, Nancy Grey Osterud, Charlotte G. Borst, Sally G. McMillen, Deborah Gray White, Ruth Schwartz Cowan, Susan M. Reverby, Barbara Melosh, Molly Ladd-Taylor, and Sheila Rothman. Indeed, readers who are familiar with the works of these historians will not be surprised by Abel's findings. Abel also draws on unpublished archival materials, including mothers' letters to the Children's Bureau and to Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, case files of the New York Charity Organization Society, and white women's letters and diaries. Yet it is Abel's impressive command and synthesis of the published literature that serves as the foundation for this study.

Part one focuses on the role of white women as caregivers between 1850 and 1890. Abel reminds readers that "caregiving dominated women's lives throughout the nineteenth century" (p. 37), both restricting them to the home and conflicting with their domestic responsibilities. For example, nineteenth-century women who worked for wages were expected to quit their jobs and return home to care for family members who became ill. At the same time, caregiving conflicted with domestic chores as sickness within the larger community often pulled women away from their homes for extended periods. Caregiving added enormously to women's domestic responsibilities, since it required the preparation of special foods and tonics as well as the washing of blood and sweat-stained sheets and clothing. It intruded upon women's leisure and sleep and caused an array of physical and emotional ills. Nevertheless, caregiving was not without its rewards. It conferred pride, economic value, a powerful spiritual and emotional component, and a way to make sense of pain and suffering to caregivers. Part one includes a brief examination of the role of slave women as caregivers. Abel argues that enslaved caregiving women, unlike their white counterparts, always had to subordinate the needs of their ailing kin to the demands of their masters.

The varied relationships between caregivers and the emerging and influential medical community in the period between 1890 and 1940 form a central theme of part two. Abel begins this section by showing how Mary Shaw Farnsworth, a white woman from Kansas, maintained control over medical decision-making by challenging her doctors' recommendations even as physicians increasingly belittled women's healing knowledge in an effort to usurp their power at the bedside. The remaining chapters of part two examine a variety of instances in which women, and occasionally men, challenged prevailing notions about what constituted proper health care in an era when the scientific approach to medicine gained supremacy. Abel demonstrates that the emotionalism of caregivers came under increasing condemnation from medical professionals, who emphasized a rational and scientific approach to health care. Drawing from letters that women wrote to the Roosevelts and the Children's Bureau during the 1930s, she shows how mothers sought better care from

formal medical service providers for their ailing children. She also demonstrates that American Indian caregivers were far less trustful of the federal government and scientific medicine than their white contemporaries. Other chapters examine how mothers responded to pressures to institutionalize children who were "feeble-minded" or suffered from tuberculosis. In addition, Abel discusses the difficulties that mothers faced as they endeavored to accept the tenets of "oralism" when rearing deaf children.

This is a thoroughly researched and thought-provoking book that carefully demonstrates how women caregivers over the last 150 years have opposed the experts and consistently negotiated questions of medical authority while refusing to relinquish their caregiving responsibilities to medical professionals or to the state. However, Abel could have more carefully established the linkages between parts one and two. A major theme of part one is how the multifaceted challenges of caregiving dominated women's lives throughout the nineteenth century. The extent to which this remained true for the 1890–1940 era is not adequately explored in part two. Abel does provide explicit examples of how women, mostly mothers, rendered care to loved ones in the fifty years prior to the outbreak of World War II, but she does not assess the universality of these examples, nor does she sufficiently consider whether they had the same impact on women's lives as did the all-encompassing caregiving responsibilities of the nineteenth century. In her conclusion, Abel provides some evidence to suggest that parents and families have assumed caregiving responsibilities that once fell almost exclusively on the shoulders of women. The extent to which caregiving has continued to dominate women's lives in the period since 1890 is an important question that is worthy of further attention.

JUDY BARRETT LITOFF
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BEATRIX HOFFMAN, *The Wages of Sickness: The Politics of Health Insurance in Progressive America*. (Studies in Social Medicine.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 261. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

Canada and the United States share a federated governmental system, a broad cultural tradition, increasingly interconnected economies, and other features, and yet the Canadian universal single-payer health care system is quite different from the American system of dispersed and multiple payers and incomplete health insurance coverage that leaves fifteen percent of the population without health insurance and still others underinsured. Canada's divergence from the American pattern originated in a series of critical junctures in 1947 and 1961 in the province of Saskatchewan, when the provincial government enacted universal, compulsory programs for hospital insurance and medical insurance (respectively); these

provided a path for institutional change that was broadly followed by other provinces and the national government.

The Canadian experience raises a critical question for American political development: why did no state enact a compulsory government health insurance program that could serve as a beachhead for further emulation by other states and the national government? What explains this nondevelopment or silence in American political development?

Beatrix Hoffman's book offers a timely, well-written, and amply researched new look at the most promising effort to pass a state government health insurance program: the campaign by the American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL) in New York State from 1915 to 1920. Hoffman plots the formation of a united, effective, and largely durable opposition of physicians, employers, and insurance companies that would bewitch health reform campaigns for the remainder of the twentieth century: where Saskatchewan created a beachhead for emulation and expansion, New York State birthed a coalition of powerful sectional interests that would stalk health care reform and contribute to a limited welfare state for decades. According to Hoffman, the power and effectiveness of this oppositional coalition stemmed in large part from its crafting in New York of a national identity ("Americanism") that had broad popular appeal and from its skillful "downplay[ing] or mask[ing] of their economic stake in the health insurance battle" (p. 114). "The rhetoric and ideology of Americanism would eventually," Hoffman insists "achieve the power to manipulate not just public opinion but the political process itself" (p. 47). The American precedent was negative and oppositional.

Hoffman contrasts the unified sectional opposition of physicians, employers, and insurers to divisions and strategies among actual and potential reform and vocates. Organized labor, a reservoir of potential beneficiaries of compulsory health insurance, was divided, with local trade unionists supporting reform and Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) opposing. These divisions were exacerbated by the failure of the AALL to overcome its technocratic zeal and counter the rhetorical attack of opponents in ways that resonated with American culture: its "[dis]comfor[t] [with] arguing on any grounds other than rationality and efficiency . . . left it at a rhetorical disadvantage . . . [and discouraged it from] fighting explicitly for a definition of Americanism that could encompass compulsory health insurance" (pp. 66–67). In Hoffman's incisive account, reform opponents honed an effective strategy, while reform proponents "lack[ed] a strategy to amass support" (p. 170).

Hoffman's most significant contribution is to bring women into the struggle for health care reform as active and critical participants within the AALL as well as potential (but largely untapped) reform allies in such groups as nursing organizations and labor. Women emerge in Hoffman's account as intelligent,

articulate, and active participants in health care reform but not as monolithic. The book ably charts the complexity and differences among women toward the potentially pioneering crusade to establish a maternalist and paternalist welfare state in which women would be protected as both workers and mothers.

Hoffman's contribution to research on the history of health care reform and American political development is admirable but leaves three issues up for grabs. First, Hoffman augments but does not challenge the interest group approach to explaining the history of failed health care reform. Her book adds women to the line-up of usual suspects, but ultimately we are not offered with a new model or explanation. Second, culture is treated as a tool for reform opponents to "mask" their "true" material interests, and Americans are reduced to a passive receptacle for crafted rhetoric. But what of the multiple and competing themes in American culture? Is it possible that reform opponents articulated some genuine dimensions of Americans' understandings and experiences with government and organized social welfare provision? Rather than being duped by the rhetorical "mask" that reform opponents constructed, New Yorkers (even those who objectively stood to gain) may have actively interpreted the debate over health reform and found the proposed new changes unfamiliar, strange, and undesirable. Chalking up failed health reform to the strategic cleverness of opponents and a duped populace ducks complex but critical issues about American culture.

Third, Hoffman does not fully or accurately explain the importance of New York State as a critical juncture for understanding contemporary health care policy. Hoffman updates the interest group line-up at the beginning and end of the twentieth century and reports that, while physicians remained wedded to the original oppositional coalition, labor swung from a divided to a unified and enthusiastic force for reform. The contemporary reality, however, is that labor's support and influence in reform efforts remains quite ambiguous (as Marie Gottschalk's recent book [2000] demonstrates) while physicians have fragmented into over a hundred specialty groups—some of whom enthusiastically support comprehensive reform. By focusing on charting interest group positions, Hoffman neglects to discuss their significance for directions of institutional change. While Saskatchewan's success paved an institutional path toward universal national health insurance, New York's failure produced institutional patterns of care (a primary commitment to the supply of high-tech care instead of widened access) and the formation of preferences among those insured by Medicare and private plans that complicated reform campaigns to widen health insurance access. Although Hoffman concludes on the hopeful note that the "coalition against universal coverage weakens" (p. 186), the reality is that the interest group environment is more dense. Achieving universal, compulsory health insurance in the one-fell swoop envisioned by the long

line of twentieth-century reformers is more difficult and probably less likely today than in the past.

Admittedly, these ambitious expectations are perhaps best aimed as challenges to future researchers. Hoffman's admirable accomplishment has been to recover an important and early part of the century of struggle for compulsory health insurance: the work of women activists and analysts.

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JOHN F. BAUMAN, ROGER BILES, and KRISTIN SZYLVIAN, editors. *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 288. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$17.95.

A. SCOTT HENDERSON. *Housing and the Democratic Ideal: The Life and Thought of Charles Abrams*. (The Columbia History of Urban Life.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 347. \$37.50.

In a nation so passionately devoted to unfettered capitalism and limited government, the construction of decent, affordable housing for low-income Americans has never been a priority. Employing different approaches, these two books offer varying perspectives on American housing policy. The first volume is a comprehensive collection of original essays by leading specialists that begins with the Progressive crusade against the tenements. In reviewing the National Housing Association's campaign to safeguard cities from the dangers posed by unacculturated immigrants, Robert Fairbanks emphasizes how model tenement laws and other proposals championed by Lawrence Veiller and his colleagues recognized the role played by slum neighborhoods in the adjustment of rural immigrants to city life. But as Alexander Von Hoffman and Roger Biles observe in their essays, the Progressive insistence on the importance of social environment in promoting a sense of place was lost on Robert Moses and a generation of housing administrators in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities whose high-rise public housing projects destroyed whole communities in the postwar era. Contributing to the problem was the private sector's emphasis on urban renewal. In her insightful examination of New Deal policies, Gail Radford explains why the federal government's decision to link public housing with slum clearance in 1937 signaled the end of an effective, adequately funded program of modern housing for America's impoverished. Both Radford's essay and Kristin Szylvian's on the World War II era take readers beyond the efforts of Catherine Bauer, Charles Abrams, and other reformers to demonstrate how political and budgetary pressures combined to shift the federal agenda from building well-designed and affordable housing in town to subsidizing higher income residents in the suburbs.

Biles traces the evolution of these policies from Harry S. Truman's idealistic but under-funded Fair Deal program to Dwight Eisenhower's less ambitious 1954 legislation. The trend was unmistakable: federal agencies produced an increasingly inadequate supply of housing for a progressively poorer clientele, thanks largely to the growing political influence of the private sector. Thomas Hanchett emphasizes the billions of dollars in subsidies awarded upper and middle-class homeowners in income tax write-offs for mortgage interest and local property taxes, as well as the baneful effects of a capital gains tax on home sales that discouraged suburbanites from moving back to town once their children left home. The automobile, of course, also promoted suburban development, and Raymond Mohl explains how centrist-liberal mayors like Chicago's Richard Daley used the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 to route expressways through African American and other impoverished communities. Mohl's findings remind one of John Kellett's work, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (1969), which describes how British power brokers did much the same in punching their railroads through working-class sections of London, Birmingham, and Liverpool.

Unlike most housing books, this collection does not end with the Johnson or Nixon years. John Bauman provides an informative survey of Jimmy Carter's neighborhood revitalization programs. Bauman separates Carter's words from his actions and demonstrates how the energy crisis, stagflation, and Carter's own conservative view of government curtailed the ambitious agenda of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) secretary Patricia Roberts Harris. Although his administration refocused housing policy on cities rather than suburbs and secured funding for thousands of new low-income housing units, Carter nevertheless used HUD to encourage banks and other lending institutions to broker deals that revitalized neighborhoods through a gentrification process that ultimately drove low-income residents from their homes. Bauman properly characterizes this increased public-private partnership as a "major retreat from the New Deal and Great Society strategy" (p. 257).

This informative volume represents a significant contribution to the literature in terms of policy analysis. Its only shortcoming lies in the curious lack of an essay covering the Great Society's housing programs (a few pages in Biles's essay are hardly enough). One wonders to what extent were Lyndon B. Johnson's housing acts an extension of the New Deal-Fair Deal, and why did they signal an end to that tradition?

Something of an answer to those questions lies in A. Scott Henderson's biography of Charles Abrams, which uses the reformer's career as a lens to examine how America and its largest city grappled with a persistent housing crisis—from the Depression 1930s to the turbulent 1960s, when civil disorders and the Great Society brought the issue of low-cost housing again to the fore. Having supported Republican Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia in the 1930s and 1940s, Abrams

was not averse to working with Senator Charles Percy and other liberal Republicans in the mid-1960s to help shape a bipartisan approach to housing that would finally address the problem with a blend of strategies as well as a long-term funding commitment. But the election of 1968 dashed these hopes. Richard M. Nixon's opposition to the cause was the last in a series of frustrations that marked Abrams's lifetime effort to secure decent housing for the poor.

Born in Russia and raised in Brooklyn, Abrams flourished as a Manhattan lawyer and real estate investor in the late 1920s. But as Henderson shows, the Depression, his own personal experiences as a landlord, and other influences pushed him to the left. While Abrams never repudiated the capitalist system that launched his career, he rejected both socialism and laissez-faire capitalism in the 1930s, embracing instead the concept of a "mixed economy" then popular in Scandinavia, where the private and public sectors worked together.

With the support of LaGuardia, Abrams helped establish the New York City Housing Authority in 1934 and served as its general counsel. In covering Abrams's career as an advocate, Henderson supersedes the work of earlier scholars by considering not only his subject's well-known magazine and newspaper columns but his legal briefs as well. This is important, because Abrams's accomplishments in court were considerable. In a landmark decision, he won the case upholding his agency's power of eminent domain to take property from recalcitrant slum lords holding out for inflated prices (a victory that eluded Public Works Administration [PWA] lawyers in federal courts). In fact, Abrams's briefs were so well conceived that National Association for the Advancement of Colored People lawyers consulted with him in preparing their own case against restrictive covenants in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948). Abrams also helped write significant state legislation, including the bill that created housing and other public authorities in New York State.

Henderson's chronicling of Abrams's experiences with so many important people and institutions adds to the book's value. We learn, for instance, that, despite his passionate rhetoric, Mayor LaGuardia almost abandoned his support of the New York Housing Authority (NYHA) because he perceived its head, Langdon Post, as a political rival. Henderson also expands upon Radford's New Deal essay by examining the bitter conflicts between the NYHA and the PWA over housing design and policy. From reading Henderson's account, it is clear that city and federal housing administrators, despite sharing a liberal ideology, were hardly a monolithic group.

In the early 1940s, new state legislation encouraging insurance companies to build affordable housing also drew Abrams, Lewis Mumford, and others into conflict with LaGuardia and Moses. Abrams objected to the city's position regarding the twenty-five-year tax exemption granted the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for constructing Stuyvesant Town in lower

Manhattan. Henderson might also have noted that this company was, in many ways, the worst of all possible developers, given its historic record of discriminatory practices which included, among other things, banning African Americans from its work force and firing single female employees once they married.

Abrams's frustration with LaGuardia, Roosevelt, and other liberal politicians continued into the 1960s with John F. Kennedy's belated and disappointing executive order banning racial discrimination in new public housing only. After World War II, Abrams joined the growing chorus of voices opposing the tendency of centrist Democrats to countenance Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration discrimination in private housing and to allow slum clearance and urban renewal to take priority over the construction of low-income public housing. More than anything else, Abrams objected to the tendency of national politicians to craft urban housing policies that promoted a "business welfare state" rather than providing shelter for less fortunate Americans.

The triumph of private sector housing is a common theme in both books. Yet one has to recognize the pressure that liberal politicians faced in shepherding effective housing programs through Congress. Supporting the home builders, the FHA's racist underwriting manuals, and wily administrators like Moses and Daley were millions of white middle-class voters who, like it or not, embraced home ownership with its guarantees of privacy, space, prestige, and exclusion. One cannot underestimate this movement's broad-based popular support, as rising postwar affluence qualified more whites for home loans and as subdividers and politicians began opening the suburbs to Catholics and Jews.

While these two informative volumes are excellent at identifying the major individuals and ideas within the housing movement, we need more studies examining the formidable opposition that successfully blocked so many of the reformers' initiatives while simultaneously promoting the private sector's interests.

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KENDRICK A. CLEMENTS. *Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism: Engineering the Good Life*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2000. Pp. xiii, 332. \$35.00.

RICHARD MELZER. *Coming of Age in the Great Depression: The Civilian Conservation Corps Experience in New Mexico, 1933–1942*. Las Cruces, N. Mex.: Yucca Tree Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 308. \$25.00.

Kendrick A. Clements's book is the long-awaited companion to Donald Swain's *Federal Conservation Policy, 1921–1933* (1963). Swain's book has been out of print for several years, suggesting the degree to which environmental historians have bypassed the Republican administrations of the 1920s. Considering that

Joan Hoff's influential book, *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* (1975), was published a quarter-century ago, it is surprising that no one has attempted a comprehensive treatment of Hoover and federal conservation policy until now. Yet, aside from Swain's book and a few good articles, the body of substantive scholarship on this subject is relatively thin. Thus, Clements's book is a welcome addition, more so because it is impeccably researched and smoothly written. It is a major contribution to U. S. environmental history.

One cannot do justice to Clements's highly nuanced treatment in the space of a brief review, but in the main the author demonstrates that "Hoover's environmental program grew out of the arguments expressed in *American Individualism* [his 1922 pamphlet]. If industry could be made more efficient, one of the benefits of the process would be opportunities for greater individual leisure" (p. 57). As secretary of commerce, Hoover pursued the interrelated goals of reducing industrial waste, diffusing prosperity throughout society, and promoting outdoor recreation. Clements covers Hoover's work with the National Committee on Wood Utilization; his efforts to obtain federal pollution-control legislation to restore commercial fisheries; his efforts to establish oil conservation policies; his advocacy for the creation of a "conservation division" in the Department of Interior; his leadership on hydroelectric power development; his support of the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation; and his promotion of standard-plan, modest suburban homes. Indeed, one of the major contributions of Clements's work is that he demonstrates the essential connection between Hoover's utilitarian concept of resource conservation and his ideas for social betterment. By the time Hoover left the Department of Commerce, "He now regarded [resource conservation] as a means of making the benefits of the consumer society universally accessible, as a way of turning the leisure created by modern industrialism into an opportunity for growth and development for average Americans, and as an essential method for making the urban and suburban environment healthful and attractive" (p. 95).

As president, Hoover sought to continue these policy initiatives by appointing his old friend, Ray Lyman Wilbur, as secretary of the interior. With Wilbur, Hoover also tried to consolidate the national parks and national forests, promoted human and cultural conservation programs for American Indians, and focused federal attention on child welfare. "The Hoover administration's conservation policy," Kendrick observes, "is difficult to categorize because it blurred the Progressive Era's clear dichotomy between utilitarian and esthetic preservation" (p. 146). As events transpired, however, the onset of the Great Depression, compounded by Hoover's own mistakes—especially the monumental failure of his proposal to decentralize conservation of public grazing lands by turning control over to the states (but reserving federal

control over mineral rights)—overshadowed other policy initiatives and ultimately exposed the fragility of Hoover's expansive concept of conservation. Hoover failed to realize that previous federal land policies "had created vested interests in the status quo" within the federal bureaucracy and among states (p. 163), and he began to cling more insistently to his beliefs in voluntarism and self-reliance.

As the Depression deepened, Kendrick observes that because Hoover "defined conservation as a handmaiden of prosperity," he "missed the relief and recovery potential" of a proposal that came from one of his supporters, Charles Lathrop Pack of the American Tree Association. After Franklin D. Roosevelt snatched conservation as a campaign issue in 1932 by asserting that the federal government could easily put a million unemployed men to work planting trees, Pack urged Hoover to counter with a proposal for combined federal and state spending on a broad array of self-liquidating public works projects: planting trees and improving forests, building flood-control dams and sewage treatment plants, and working with private industry to reduce pollution. Hoover seems to have understood by that time neither the mood of the public nor the long-term conservation and social benefits of Pack's proposal. After Roosevelt won the election and immediately made good on his campaign promise by establishing the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the ousted president's vitriolic criticism of the CCC, Kendrick asserts, "demonstrated the degree to which Hoover had lost his creativity and retreated into ideological rigidity" (pp. 190–93).

In contrast to the little that has been written about federal conservation policy in the 1920s, practically every aspect of the CCC has received scholarly attention, beginning with John Salmond's now-classic work, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–42* (1967). Richard Melzer's book reflects growing public as well as scholarly interest in what have become the common themes of the CCC's legacy: it was a magnificent effort to restore the public domain, it granted dignity to a generation of young men facing few prospects for stable employment, and, despite the opportunity to experiment with desegregation, it failed to crack the shell of institutionalized racism.

Melzer attempted to write a book that will appeal to both interested lay readers and to scholars, but primarily this is a book aimed at a regional audience. Anecdotes enrich the text, gleaned from the fifty-plus CCC veterans Melzer personally interviewed, other oral history collections, personal memoirs, and camp newspapers. Most of the book's chapters take the reader through camp life from the first arrivals in spring 1933 to phase-out as the United States geared up for World War II. Melzer leavens what is basically a positive story by incorporating details about leisure vices such as the use of alcohol, drugs, and prostitutes and the corresponding incidence of fist-fights, enrollees' dishonorably discharged, and the federal government's attempts to control venereal disease.

Readers seeking information about how CCC operations in New Mexico differed substantively from other states will want to turn to chapter twelve, "Hardly Utopia," where Melzer delves into ethnic conflict between Hispanics and Anglos, concluding that it might have been "far worse" except that Hispanic enrollees were the majority (p. 247). On the topic of discrimination, Melzer notes that there were no separate camps or separate facilities within camps for Hispanics, although New Mexico maintained a camp for blacks in Bernino (pp. 249–50). Buried in a footnote, he tells us that 4,470 American Indian enrollees served in a separate CCC unit. Unfortunately, Melzer adds nothing more about the CCC experience for these minority groups; and because he does not explain the lacuna, one is left wondering whether the vast number of primary sources he mined failed to yield the requisite information or whether his own research questions steered him away from the topic. Whatever the reason, his focus thus becomes the Hispanic-Anglo experience. Except for this unexplained gap, however, is a well-researched and reasonably balanced account of the CCC in New Mexico.

REBECCA CONARD

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MICHAEL SZALAY. *New Deal Modernism: American Literature and the Invention of the Welfare State*. (Post-Contemporary Interventions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. 343. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

SEAN MCCANN. *Gumshoe America: Hard-Boiled Crime Fiction and the Rise and Fall of New Deal Liberalism*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 370. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Two new books by literary scholars offer answers to questions that has long baffled cultural historians: why in the Depression of the 1930s did economic hardship and conflict yield artistic expressions of unity and optimism, while in the far more affluent and tranquil 1950s, intellectuals and popular artists so often characterized a world of fragmentation and anxiety? Michael Szalay argues that novelists in the 1930s advanced an aesthetic of the New Deal welfare state that reinforced dreams of security and mainstream values. He claims that, by the 1950s, those dreams came to fruition, only to generate artists' feelings of entrapment inside orderly norms and institutions. In contrast, Sean McCann examines the work of tough guy detective writers as an expression of the promise of democratic renewal emerging from New Deal social movements. He notes that, by the 1950s, the rise of a liberalism that inverted these ideals generated an anxiety-ridden, heartily disillusioned detective, committed to violence and often to racism.

Szalay develops his analysis by showing that novelists supported by the New Deal's Works Projects Administration responded to the Depression with an

affirmation of established values and institutions. Dedicated to preserving their freedom from the market place, writers embraced the welfare state which promised security removed from public support. In turning to the state, they emphasized performance art that collapsed the space between subjective life and society. Szalay argues that novelists like John Steinbeck avoided explanations of the causes of economic collapse, focusing instead on sentimental and backward populist values of community that the welfare state promised to provide through social insurance. In the postwar era, he explains, that vision came to fruition: only now, avant garde artists turned to forms emanating from Europe to liberate the self from institutions that engulfed the personality in stifling security.

Historians will find that Szalay's analysis adds another dimension to the framework established by Warren I. Susman. Together they see the politics and culture of the thirties promoting security and backward-looking myths and symbols. By focusing on the state and the qualities of artistic performance, Szalay illustrates why visions of insurance in the work of Arthur Miller or James Cain played such a major symbolic role in their novels and plays. Yet, at the same time, Szalay's analysis is limited by the fact that he asserts rather than develops his arguments and presents his material in a manner that fails to convince the reader. The "modern" for Szalay is not rooted in the stylistic changes that juxtapose dissimilar objects and perspectives to reveal another vision of everyday life. Nor is the modern part of artists' attempts to restructure cultural hierarchies with multiple viewpoints or vernacular expressions rooted in minority cultures. Instead the modern compliments the New Deal state in its drive, as Szalay sees it, to rationalize the world and state social control.

There are two difficulties with this view. First it fails to explain why, if New Deal artistic projects revolved around social control, so many conservative congressmen were intent on censoring them and eliminating their funding. Szalay's view of the state also ignores the social movements that engaged artists throughout the era. A classic example of this oversight is his discussion of C. L. R. James. The Trinidadian theorist did see, as Szalay notes, that the state and business system geared to security undercut of the autonomy of the citizen. Yet James disdained that process because it eroded the American promise of citizens' control over their lives and the insurgent labor groups that so many artists celebrated in the New Deal era.

By way of contrast, McCann's analysis of detective novels stresses the vitality rather than the stifling political culture of the Depression. McCann is also a literary scholar whose method is to borrow from the work of historians to provide the social background. By examining the ideals of liberalism embodied in the heroic character of the detective, McCann provides an important and often dazzling explication of the work of Dashiell Hammett, Raymond Chandler, and many others. Through close readings of Hammett's *Red Harvest*

(1929) and *Maltese Falcon* (1930), and Chandler's *Farewell, My Lovely* (1940), and *The Long Goodbye* (1953), McCann details how the detective hero confronted a society rooted in irrationality, capitalist greed and economic chaos. In direct response, "tough guy" writers provided readers with an understanding of how society worked, and the citizen detective who mediated between the law and the experiences of diverse peoples.

Setting a style of regenerated democratic culture, the tough guy differed from detectives of the Victorian era in that he engaged with high and low expression, the diverse groups of the city, and sought justice for outsiders. To McCann, the detective hero embodied the citizen working to create justice for excluded groups in the New Deal era. Yet by the postwar era that promise had eroded. Confronted by a society rooted in the legitimization of corporate capitalism, confronted by a vapid consumer society that eroded the citizen's participation in public life or a government run by experts, the tough guy became more isolated, violent, and self destructive. The response was varied. Chandler's heroes reversed themselves and look to high culture for prestige and to images of racial superiority for an escape from a stultifying mass culture, while Jim Thompson and the black writer Chester Himes's detectives no longer trusted the law and the state, leading them to violent solutions in order to create justice in accord with the living experiences of the people.

The brilliance of McCann's literary analysis is limited only in its view of the political change that generated the newness of the postwar sensibility. This is because, by drawing on the work of Louis Hartz, McCann argues that twentieth-century politics in the 1930s and the postwar era was consistently centered in liberalism. Yet the civic ideals embodied in Sam Spade or Philip Marlowe resemble far more the republican traditions that historians have seen pervading earlier reform periods. Like the tough guy detective, the republican citizen was not the self-interested individual of the liberal tradition. Rather, he prized his desire to control work; he was hostile to monopoly capitalism and centralized power; and, above all, he was dedicated to the citizen's engagement with self-government and the construction of a society free of exploitation by monopoly capitalists. By calling these heroic ideals liberalism, McCann cannot really explain why the postwar era was so different from the 1930s. Hence he, like Szalay, gives little attention to the way that World War II and the Cold War created for the first time an Americanism rooted in liberalism, corporate capitalism, and a privatized consumer culture. In response it was not just detective writers, but artists in many other fields, who shed an earlier faith in the progressive ethos of history that informed the arts and politics of the 1930s.

Despite these reservations, it is important to recognize that both McCann and Szalay have shown that politics and art were two sides of the same coin from

the Depression to the postwar era. They have demonstrated how the fragmentation and anxiety informing the arts in the early Cold War era were part of a larger crisis in nationality and politics. While they disagree as to the cause of that change, their respective books have advanced our understanding of the perplexing cultural patterns that divided postwar America from earlier eras.

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DOUGLAS B. CRAIG. *Fireside Politics: Radio and Political Culture in the United States, 1920–1940*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 362. \$45.00.

MICHAEL S. SWEENEY. *Secrets of Victory: The Office of Censorship and the American Press and Radio in World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. 274. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

A well-known broadcaster and journalist addresses a convention of insurance agents in a New York hotel and reveals, according to a reporter in attendance, “a lot of secret information, which the newspapers and radio are not permitted to publish” (p. 142). The complaint reaches the national censor, and the government’s domestic security agency opens a lengthy investigation. Thereafter, the indiscreet journalist submits his weekly radio scripts to the censor prior to broadcast. Sound Orwellian? It is a true story, one of the many lively and interesting accounts Michael S. Sweeney provides of U.S. government censorship during World War II. Wartime monitoring of the press and communications took many forms: examination of printed materials from or mailed to foreign addresses, censorship of international telegrams and telephone calls, and the screening of domestic broadcasts and publications. The Office of Censorship, created by executive order in December 1941 and disbanded in August 1945, was responsible for all these tasks, but Sweeney’s focus is on the press and broadcasting divisions.

Under director Byron Price, the Office of Censorship instituted voluntary censorship for domestic broadcasters, newspapers, and magazines. Through codebooks, the Office provided detailed guidelines on proscribed subjects, including troop movements, details of war contracts, and fort locations. To aid the press division in its work, Price and his staff recruited a group of volunteer editors and publishers to serve as regional “missionaries”; they helped explain the codes to small circulation and rural newspapers. The Office of Censorship had no direct recourse against codebook violators. Prosecution under the Espionage Act was possible in extreme cases, but only once did the attorney general consider such action. Instead the Office trusted journalists to abide by the rules themselves. Remarkably, the strategy worked. Although

there were thousands of violations, nearly all were inadvertent: “No print journalist, and only one radio journalist, ever deliberately violated the World War II voluntary censorship code after having been made aware of it and understanding its intent” (p. 3). Sweeney attributes this cooperation to the spirit of sacrifice and patriotism that journalists shared with the nation. Realizing that a great scoop might divulge war secrets, domestic journalists accepted restrictions that would have been anathema during peacetime. As Sweeney also shows in his thoroughly researched study, Price worked hard to balance the government’s need for wartime secrecy with freedom of the press. In early 1942, he decided not to act on Attorney General Francis Biddle’s suggestion that standing laws permitted the takeover of the nation’s 900 commercial radio stations. The on-going account of Price’s success in using voluntary censorship to appease (most of the time) involved parties is one of the book’s strengths.

Scholars of the Roosevelt era will find familiar themes in Sweeney’s account. Like many agencies created by America’s longest-serving president, the Office of Censorship lacked clear guidelines and competed fiercely with rivals, including the military and Office of War Information. Roosevelt cannily used the Office of Censorship for his own purposes. During the 1944 campaign, he exploited its ban on coverage of the president’s travels to mask his deteriorating health and to conceal visits with his former mistress, Lucy Mercer Rutherford. According to Sweeney, Roosevelt’s “misuse of censorship would have been heinous if it had hurt the war effort, but the end of the war four months after his death suggested that no harm was done” (p. 185). This curious evaluation highlights a failure to fully consider the partisan temptations the Office of Censorship offered a liberal administration. Although Sweeney recounts instances in which the Office tangled with the conservative *Washington Times-Herald* and *Chicago Tribune*, it would be helpful to know if the Office deliberately or regularly searched for codebook violations among the anti-Roosevelt press. Still, Sweeney makes a useful contribution to the growing literature on the U.S. government’s modern relationship with mass media.

As Douglas B. Craig demonstrates in his book, partisan politics shaped the government’s oversight of the broadcasting industry, and Roosevelt was no exception. In 1941, the Federal Communications Commission, under pressure by the administration, opened an investigation of newspaper ownership of radio stations: “Proud of his ability to use radio as a means of circumventing newspaper opposition, the president feared that cross-ownership would deny him his most powerful political weapon” (pp. 96–97). Craig’s larger purpose, however, is to assess broadcasting’s impact on interwar American political culture. His scope is expansive. The formation of national radio audiences, the rise of networks such as NBC and CBS, and battles over regulation all figure into his account of broadcasting’s ambivalent effects on American political parties

and voters. To tie together these subjects, Craig threads his narrative on three concepts: radio exceptionalism, radio citizenship, and listener sovereignty.

Of these, radio exceptionalism receives the most attention. During the early years of broadcasting, advocates and observers spoke excitedly of radio's special destiny, of its promise to revitalize democracy and unify an increasingly fragmented society. Through careful research and measured analysis, Craig convincingly argues that "existing political culture, through its most influential actors, integrated radio into existing patterns and structures of behavior and power, and used it to its advantage" (p. xvi). Broadcasting rapidly became a market and medium dominated by big corporations and the two leading political parties. After a short period of nonregulation, Congress appropriated the airwaves in 1912 and made them public property, turning licensing of frequencies over to the secretary of commerce. Subsequent laws—passed in 1927 and 1934—refined regulation and set up a system that allowed domination of the airwaves by major networks and their affiliates. Herbert Hoover's associationalism, which emphasized voluntary government and corporate partnership, provided a durable precedent for limited oversight of broadcast content and helped make direct advertising broadcasting's commercial base.

The Federal Radio Commission and its 1934 replacement, the Federal Communications Commission, were generally passive. By 1936, the three largest networks—NBC, CBS, and the Mutual Broadcasting System—made up thirty-seven percent of all U.S. radio stations and controlled almost ninety-three percent of the nation's transmission power. Under the New Deal, this "broadcast oligopoly" grew rather than diminished (p. 107).

Corporate control of broadcasting thus blunted the exceptionalists' hopes of using radio to create a better republic. As early as 1924, the major broadcasters had a common practice of dealing primarily with the two leading parties and ignoring third parties as much as possible. Broadcasters' greatest interest in politics was profit; Republicans and Democrats paid top dollar for advertising airtime. In fact, both parties went into debt to NBC and CBS after the 1928 and 1932 elections. But the corporations were not all to blame. Audience research conducted in the 1940s found that when it came to politics, radio generally preached to the choir; most listeners didn't alter their beliefs or votes after listening to political messages on the radio. Radio also did not reverse declining voter participation, and the airwaves did little to bring the "margin dwellers"—rural residents, African Americans, women, and labor activists—into the prevailing political culture (p. 235). Radio citizenship, like exceptionalism, was more rhetoric than reality.

This book is an impressive and valuable work. Although Craig sometimes leaves the listeners out in this wide-ranging study, his explanation of how radio

failed to revolutionize American political culture more than compensates for this omission.

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HUGH R. SLOTTEN. *Radio and Television Regulation: Broadcast Technology in the United States, 1920–1960*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 308. \$45.00.

Not since the writings of Marshall McLuhan have knowledge shapers in the broadcast field shown interest in technological determinism. Scholars have tended to view broadcasting from the vantage point of great people and big events. Starting with Eric Barnouw's 1970s trilogy, the evolution of broadcasting has been most widely attributed to the activism of people like RCA's David Sarnoff and the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) James Lawrence Fly, not to the field's discoveries and inventors. Finally Hugh R. Slotten redeems a technological perspective, his book the latest to examine the origins of radio and television. These media, Slotten affirms, did present social, industrial, and political opportunities. Yet their affairs were not as vagarious as past authors have made them seem. Broadcasting was grooved to a technical learning curve. Only those who knew the technology shaped key events.

This conclusion is reached in a valuable if highly scientific historical account. Slotten successively treats the introductions of AM and FM radio and monochrome and color TV. These subjects are not new. Nor are the people and events Slotten relates. A triad of AM-FM-TV long has been recognized as the foundation of electronic mass communication. That between 1920 and 1960 these media ushered in a communications "revolution" also is well known. Some readers may argue the firmness of division between AM, FM, and TV, which are usually seen as parts of the same technological feat.

The absorbing feature of the book are not these parameters but, within them, Slotten's projection of technology's "invisible hand." This has been almost a taboo since McLuhan, who arrived at determinism through theoretical conjecture. Scattered authors have reached for the idea through biographies of inventors. Slotten's accomplishment is placing determinism inside the literature's main arena: the post-1920 policy debates from which emerged the modern broadcast system. With powerful documentation, Slotten reveals how debates were resolved by scientists, technical experts, and engineer entrepreneurs. Tension existed between these "technocrats" and others such as Fly who had wanted more out of broadcasting and who had expressed "non-technocratic" views. In the end, decisions hinged on "[n]eutral and objective scientific experts [who] could transcend contentious disagreements" (p. xiii). The underlying theme, that the system

was not so much hammered out as determined by what science had ordained, is compelling.

Deference to technology was well illustrated in broadcasting's first 800-pound gorilla, the corporate giant RCA. Under Sarnoff, RCA rushed preemptively into television, only to be stymied when rival companies' technical experts persuaded the FCC to intervene. Learning from this, RCA next used its own legion of technical experts in affecting one of broadcasting's landmark coups. This came after the FCC had approved a plan for color TV put forth by CBS. Later persuaded by RCA's better color technology, the FCC backtracked and gave the nod to Sarnoff's firm. The "invisible hand" had more than just corporations as conduits. The first broadcast regulators in the 1920s were a fraternity of technocrats. The technology-first thinking of figures such as Herbert Hoover and Orestes M. Caldwell set an agenda that future nontechnocrats never could shift.

The book has one serious shortcoming: it does not effectively look ahead. Normally, future view is not an issue in historical works. Yet to accept technology as the determinant of policy, it is difficult to dismiss the present in considering the past. Today, new technology overpowers government's ability to regulate. Only a brief epilogue notes the 1996 Telecommunication Act, in which, because of technology, the original 1934 Act was scrapped. Not mentioned are digital media and the Internet, technologies that have developed on their own with virtually no human control. Because modern technology emblazons Sloten's main idea, determinism, an opportunity is missed.

This does not diminish Sloten's historical contribution. Among those whose interests in broadcasting are strictly in the past, many insights will accrue. For those engaged in advancing technology to its modern extreme, the book is a place to begin.

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ANDREW J. ROTTER. *Comrades at Odds: The United States and India, 1947–1964*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xxix, 337. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

India has been the object of fairly extensive attention in the historiography of U.S. foreign relations, more attention than might be expected, given the sporadic nature of the dealings between the two countries. What the country offers, however, is sharp difference combined with linguistic accessibility at the elite level. The originality of Andrew J. Rotter's work lies in the determined effort to situate and explicate the relationship from a cultural perspective. An agreeable read, his book provides a great many probing observations on such varying matters as smell, space, family, and truth, along with assessments of their effect on the way policy was conceived and carried out. It is with some considerable consternation that one notes Rotter's retrospective account of the U.S. preference for the manly, monotheistic, and militaristically dapper rulers

of Islamic Pakistan over the supposedly passive, feminine, superstitious, and relativistic mystics who ran the incomprehensible haze known as India, apparently a place of overpowering stench and irrationality. Celebrations of martial people for their adherence to a single god and single truth perhaps ring a little differently today, though not of course the appreciation for ruling Pakistani generals. It is a pity that Rotter, for reasons in themselves entirely understandable and legitimate, could not extend his inquiry further into the looming presence of Pakistan in these proceedings. (He notes, in passing, that when push actually came to shove, it was India that emerged victorious in the wars against Pakistan in 1965 and 1971.)

Rotter's book, by design, has no single story to tell and thus does not lend itself to easy summary. Following Clifford C. Geertz and, by extension, Max Weber, he wants to give a synchronic account of a web of signification, or more precisely, a certain set of intertwining "filaments" that make up that web of signification. This is suggestive. It is not clear, however, what the whole web (if there can be one) looks like, what the constitutive status of individual filaments is, or what the criteria might be for investing an entity with such status. Rotter's selection of threads is at any rate useful. He includes strategy, economics, gender, religion, race, class, and caste. Colonialism and imperialism, otherwise obvious candidates, are dealt with a little oddly, merely as subordinate themes, mostly under race. Typically, then, Rotter identifies and traces cultural formations and follows them with historical episodes to illustrate how they operated. One learns, in this manner, a good deal about traditional diplomatic topics such as the conflicts over Kashmir and the border war with the People's Republic of China in 1962. One also learns how mutual stereotypes in a variety of circumstances served to produce rather peculiar and often wrongheaded policies. Valiant attempts, for example by the impressive U.S. ambassador Chester Bowles to overcome the vast cultural chasm never seemed to get very far. Yet there was some understanding and even attraction for, argues Rotter, difference is always a combination of revulsion and desire. Besides, India and the United States were never stark polarities in the first place, but more of what one might call a dual set of contrasting, distant images.

Hence we appear to be in the province of "perceptions," and indeed this is not only a cultural history of foreign relations but also a "culturalist" tract. Ultimately, caveats notwithstanding, Rotter proposes the primacy of culture. There is no general understanding without understanding the cultural dimension, because human action is by nature cultural. The "economic" filament here is consequently grasped as a cultural system. The problem with the concept of culture is notorious. It often seems to explain everything and nothing. From the notion that there is no systemic logic outside of culture, it is all too easy to slip into the viewpoint that culture somehow determines, in some

indeterminate way, these systems or perhaps even constitute them. The result is either vagueness or its opposite, extravagant global claims. Rotter, a very judicious historian, avoids the second pitfall on the whole. A notable exception occurs in his analysis of family conceptions and their relation to "governance," one of his filaments. Thus, in an overstatement, he claims that "the patterns of governance in a nation are modeled on those of its families" (p. 120) and then proceeds to depict the conflict over Kashmir in terms of a disputed child or an indecisive sibling after the subcontinental partition. He goes on, specifically, to argue that "the real issue" here for Jawarhalal Nehru, because of his Brahmin roots in Kashmir, "was the family romance and tragedy of partition" (p. 143). This is certainly plausible. What is entirely unconvincing, however, is the subsequent, familial analysis of Nehru's vehement dissension from U.S. suggestions that the conflict might be resolved by means of a plebiscite. Such a procedure, Nehru insisted, would permit religion to decide the matter, which would not only be wrong in principle so far as Kashmir was concerned but also would interject once again this profoundly divisive factor into the domestic politics of both Pakistan and India. He may have been right or wrong about this, but his argument and position, on the evidence adduced, had nothing to do with any family romance and everything to do with his assessment of the pressing problem of political stability. The question arises whether politics can have any specificity or autonomy in Rotter's given terms.

Unrestrained claims along culturalist lines are, however, less of a difficulty than inconclusiveness. At the end of these remarkably suggestive and informative chapters, one wonders what precisely there is to conclude. Eventually, it becomes apparent that this is the wrong question. What Rotter's fascinating work amounts to is really less a causal account than, to continue the Geertzian theme, thick description: a myriad of vignettes, snapshots, details, and striking insights that forces one precisely not to conclude but to think.

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RONALD R. KREBS. *Dueling Visions: U.S. Strategy toward Eastern Europe under Eisenhower*. (Foreign Relations and the Presidency, number 7.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 171. \$29.95.

In this study of the Eisenhower administration's approach to Eastern Europe, Ronald R. Krebs begins by contrasting the Republican rhetoric of liberation during the campaign of 1952 with the reality that, throughout the 1950s, the United States repeatedly "found itself powerless to shape the course of events in Eastern Europe" (p. xi). His exploration of what "liberation" meant leads Krebs to conclude that two different visions of Eastern Europe competed for primacy within the Eisenhower administration. One

approach, which he refers to as "Finlandization," envisioned an Eastern Europe developing along lines similar to Finland, a country with a democratic form of government which nonetheless fell within the Soviet sphere of influence and followed the Soviet line on foreign policy. Support for Finlandization came from the State Department and, in particular, from John Foster Dulles, the arch-rhetorician of liberation. The other model, which Krebs calls rollback, enjoyed support from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Central Intelligence Agency. This approach, which more closely matched the public's understanding of liberation, endorsed the use of a wide variety of means, including everything from radio broadcasts and cultural contacts to covert paramilitary operations, to erode Soviet influence in Eastern Europe. Its ultimate objective was the establishment of democratic countries free from Soviet domination.

The Eisenhower administration neither pursued rollback, which Krebs maintains Dwight D. Eisenhower conclusively rejected by the end of 1954, nor accepted the status quo in Eastern Europe. Even during the campaign and the early days of the administration, despite the public talk of liberation, Dulles and Eisenhower were more circumspect in private. They understood the manifold constraints on their ability to bring about an end of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, they sought to further that end. Finlandization offered an alternative both to rollback and to the acceptance of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe.

Krebs offers two case studies to support his thesis. The first analyzes the administration's reaction to the death of Joseph Stalin; the second examines the American response to the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Debates over the proper response to Stalin's death rejected rollback and endorsed an unspecified, more cautious approach. America's response to the Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement provided an example of Finlandization in action. The administration continued to support Yugoslavia, even after it moved closer to the Soviet Union, because "Dulles and others believed Yugoslavia had maintained its independence defined in terms of the pursuit of distinct national interests, in domestic social and economic structures and issues" (p. 98).

Krebs supports many of the findings of what has come to be known as Eisenhower revisionism. For example, he places Eisenhower firmly in control of policy and portrays a well-informed president who paid attention to a variety of sources and opinions. Further, Krebs echoes Robert A. Divine and other revisionists by emphasizing the restraint Eisenhower exercised in his conduct of foreign policy.

Krebs adopts more of a postrevisionist portrayal of the relationship between Eisenhower and Dulles. He regards the two as a team, and quotes with approval the conclusion of Richard Immerman that "Eisenhower made the decisions—but always after consulting

Dulles" (P. 24). Again following Immerman, the Dulles who emerges in Krebs' account is not the rigid, ideological, Cold War crusader so often criticized both by contemporaries and by historians but rather a realistic and pragmatic thinker who, among other things, recognized Soviet security needs and considered matters in terms of the balance of power. Indeed, Krebs maintains that Dulles favored Finlandization in part because Soviet influence in Eastern Europe served to contain a potentially aggressive Germany.

Krebs finds Finlandization an "admirable vision," but he criticizes the Eisenhower administration for failing to develop "an adequate plan for getting there" (p. 108). Moreover, propaganda organs made continual references to liberation and, in doing so, "misled Eastern Europeans into thinking that the American government would intervene on their behalf should they revolt" (p. 107). Covert operations and other more aggressive activities must have had a similar effect. Finally, Finlandization was simply not realistic. Its advocates never considered why the Soviet Union might permit such a development.

The final chapter attempts to relate the Eisenhower administration's approach to Eastern Europe to theoretical issues in political science and to draw lessons for today. The book began as a senior thesis in the Politics department at Princeton University, and these sections have the aura of a talented undergraduate showing off for his professors. The contemplation on lessons for today takes on an oracular tone more appropriate to the undergraduate that Krebs was than the polished professional he is on his way to becoming.

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SHARON HARTMAN STROM. *Political Woman: Florence Luscomb and the Legacy of Radical Reform*. (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 340. Cloth \$79.50, paper \$24.95.

Although Sharon Hartman Strom's exciting new biography of the Boston-based activist Florence Hope Luscomb was almost thirty years in the making, it arguably offers the reader a richer perspective on its subject's life than if it had been published earlier, perhaps before Luscomb's death at ninety-eight in 1985. A scholar of women's labor and women in social reform, Strom deepens her presentation by recounting her personal relationship to this project. She met Luscomb in 1971 through her friend Steven Halpern, Luscomb's Cambridge housemate. As they got to know this warm, articulate, and independent woman, Strom and Halpern envisioned writing some kind of biography. Eventually the project became Strom's alone, and although she continued to gather notes and sustain her acquaintance with Luscomb, the biography languished, victim of other projects and of life itself.

Strom's account of the project's history, woven into the beginning and end of the book, offers a nuanced

and appropriate context for understanding Luscomb's place in the history of women and American reform movements. Initially distanced from Luscomb by seemingly contrasting ideas of feminism and different experiences of family, Strom was also attracted to Luscomb's lifelong devotion to progressive causes, philosophical humanism, and gritty persistence. Having written about half the biography, Strom put the manuscript aside in the mid-1970s, only to return to it ten years later—at precisely the moment, unbeknownst to her, that Luscomb was dying. Although "not a believer in mystical experiences" (p. 8), Strom found threads of her own life—issues of middle age, motherhood, and grieving for old losses—that led her back to what she could now see as lacunae in her younger interpretation of Luscomb.

Believing that Luscomb is best understood in a multigenerational context, Strom offers several chapters detailing the complicated lives of her grandparents and great grandparents, whose professional-class families became linked in growing St. Louis in the mid-nineteenth century. Florence's mother, Hannah Knox Luscomb, lost her own mother when she was fifteen, a student at Miss Porter's in Connecticut. After school Hannah returned to St. Louis, presumably to keep house for her widower father, a successful attorney and politician. In 1879, she made an odd marriage, perhaps mostly to escape her family's stultifying household; she and her impecunious husband separated around the end of 1889. Hannah moved with her toddler daughter—her son chose to stay with his father—from Lowell, Massachusetts, to Roxbury and then to Boston. By then, Hannah had become a friend of Edward Bellamy and an activist in labor reform and then woman suffrage. She became an officer of the People's Party in the early 1890s. Hannah's daughter Florence meanwhile became her mother's closest companion and most faithful political pupil.

Florence followed her solid secondary education with attendance at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where she majored in architecture. Despite the predictable hazing of the twelve women students in her class of 1909, Florence was not easily intimidated. She made friends, received good grades, and later called MIT "a preview of heaven" (quoted on p. 67). Although she worked briefly as an architect, Florence's career from her college graduation to her death was reform.

The woman suffrage movement, into which she and Hannah threw themselves, became Florence's model and training ground for all subsequent reform campaigns. It was an exciting and effective grassroots campaign. Florence became a much-respected leader in the Massachusetts organization. The high point of her political career was probably her extraordinary last-minute run for city council in 1922. Drafted to replace another woman candidate, she narrowly missed election, placing fifth in a field of nineteen. But mainstream politics was not her calling. When the League of Women Voters moved to political neutral-

ity, she cast about for the "next fight of the future" (p. 107). For the next six decades, labor, civil rights, civil liberties, and peace (though not pacifism) would claim her activist energies.

Luscomb's greatest challenges came in the 1950s, when she raised her voice against federal and state red-baiting. Long an associate of socialists and communists, an object of interest to the FBI, and a stalwart member of the Progressive Party, she was ultimately called before the Massachusetts Commission to Investigate Communism. Refusing to take the Fifth Amendment, Luscomb was blacklisted in Massachusetts, a relatively harmless insult to her as she neared seventy; nonetheless, at significant expense she undertook a lawsuit on behalf of the blacklisted group. Simultaneously she began protesting early American involvement in Vietnam. The 1950s left Florence demoralized, broke, and facing the infirmities of old age. Financial and health problems dogged her even as the campaigns of the 1960s reinvigorated her.

Strom's biography merges vigorous historical narrative with a talent for listening to a life. Because Luscomb was not psychologically introspective, Strom has worked with a wealth of documentation containing little of the "help" from the subject biographers love to find. Besides her sophisticated political analysis, Strom probes several personal issues through the narrative, including Luscomb's family choices (she lived with her beloved mother until Hannah's death), and the economic and professional choices that resulted in poverty in her old age.

Because of its length, this book may be hard to assign in the classroom. However, the narrative flows compellingly, and Strom's close accounts of local Progressive and McCarthy-era politics are unmatched in similar volumes.

MINA CARSON
Oregon State University

KATHLEEN A. LAUGHLIN. *Women's Work and Public Policy: A History of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor 1945-1970*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2000. pp. x, 172. \$40.00.

Kathleen A. Laughlin's brief history of the United States Women's Bureau between 1945 and 1970 flows easily into an emerging consensus that sees the postwar period not as a reactionary slough for women's concerns but as the seedbed of second-wave feminism. Laughlin's special contribution to this consensus is her focus on the federal government agency charged with proposing remedies for the difficulties faced by women workers. While many historians have relied on the studies of working women produced by the Women's Bureau since its addition to the Department of Labor in 1920, only Judith Sealander, writing twenty years ago, has previously zeroed in on the Bureau itself, and her coverage concluded in 1963.

Laughlin asks what role the Women's Bureau played in preparing the way for second-wave feminism. She

argues that the postwar federal agency made two sorts of contributions. First, the Bureau began in the 1940s and 1950s to overlay its commitment to protective legislation for women workers (for example, wage and hours law peculiar to women and prohibitions of night work in some industries) with a commitment to ending discrimination against women by employers and unions. The Bureau, especially in the early 1950s, became increasingly concerned with supporting working mothers with resources like maternity leaves, child care deductions from income taxes, and social security benefits and decreasingly interested in restricting their work options in an effort to protect them from lousy working conditions. Until 1970, the Bureau did not repudiate protective legislation, but as it layered newer commitments over older ones, the older ones began to crumble under the weight. The newer concerns proved to be elements in the agenda of second-wave feminism.

The second contribution that the Bureau made to that resurgence of feminist activism was coalition building. Laughlin shows that the Bureau was, except perhaps during Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration (1953-1960), closely connected to a spectrum of women's organizations that ranged from unions through professional associations to societies enrolling women of specific religions or races. The Bureau created and helped to sustain multiple forums where these civil, religious, and economic groups worked together to advance the interests of women. Most notably, the Bureau suggested to President John F. Kennedy the creation of a Commission on the Status of Women in 1961. In the wake of that commission's landmark report, the Bureau urged formation of state commissions on the status of women, where, ironically, activists consolidated coalitions that in 1966 created the National Organization for Women, which then condemned the Women's Bureau for continuing to support protective legislation that seemed inimical to women's freedom and full integration into the labor market. In 1970, the Bureau, having absorbed this message, turned its back on beliefs in female difference embodied in protective legislation and supported the Equal Rights Amendment instead.

The major problems with this book are that it omits context and assumes too much. For instance, McCarthyism and the struggle for racial justice, both of which dramatically redirected U.S. governmental attentions, are barely mentioned. And, given the many versions of maternalism and feminism that appear in the historical literature, Laughlin needs to define her terms. Her use of feminism in particular is sometimes confusing. Moreover, she assumes that readers know what Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is; what the "New Frontier" and "War on Poverty" entailed; even what various bills suggested to Congress in the 1950s contained. Additionally, Laughlin seems uncritically to accept representations by postwar Republicans that any group that identified with labor or women represented a "special interest," while groups affiliated with business represented some larger public interest. A

more critical reading of her sources would have made this work more illuminating.

Still, Laughlin has written a useful volume.

ROBYN MUNCY
University of Maryland,
College Park

MOLLY H. MULLIN. *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest*. (Objects/Histories: Critical Perspectives on Art, Material Culture, and Representation.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. 232. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

Molly H. Mullin pursues several large subjects in this provocative monograph. First of all, she discusses rather extensively the now-familiar dichotomy between Matthew Arnold's elitist definition of culture and the "culture concept" of many modern social scientists. More specifically, Mullin also endeavors to examine "the social construction of value in relation to the patronage of American Indian art in New Mexico from the early twentieth century to the present day" (p. 3). In addition, the author comments on how taste, commodification, and consumption played notable roles in her complex story. Nor does she overlook the ways in which class and gender influenced the major topics she addresses. Finally, the author studies literary works by Willa Cather and Mary Austin, among others, "as strategic and partial representations—of people and places," and she is concerned with "how such works relate to practices of value construction and the formation of value-making institutions" (p. 7). To achieve these several large goals, Mullin, employing "an eclectic methodology," utilizes numerous secondary sources from anthropology, history, and literature.

Unfortunately, Mullin fails to achieve, satisfactorily, several of these large goals. She clearly tries to accomplish too much in fewer than 180 pages of text. As a result, her study wobbles from subject to subject, omitting much vital information and failing to provide in-depth, systematic analyses of her most important topics. Two examples illustrate these problems. Although the author promises to provide a century-long overview of the patronage of Indian art in New Mexico, nearly all of her study deals with Santa Fe, and we learn very little about sociocultural changes that transformed the state capital during this long period. Also, one would not know from Mullin's discussions that a notable coterie of painters—the Taos/Santa Fe artists—clearly shaped notions of art and culture in the first half of twentieth-century New Mexico.

Cultural and literary historians will also wonder why the author fails to consult so many sources important to her study. For example, she does not even mention Frederick Jackson Turner's significant role in attempting to free American thinking from Eurocentric, hegemonic ideas about culture. In fact, although Mullin cites dozens of important studies by leading anthropologists, historians, and cultural critics, she seems

unaware of many notable works by historians studying the American West and Southwest. Revealingly, even when she deals with matters of gender, there is an excessive emphasis on theoretical works. For example, Mullin correctly utilizes Sharon O'Brien's study, *Willa Cather: The Emerging Voice* (1987), to discuss Cather as a feminist (and as a possible lesbian), but she overlooks the best biographical and literary critical works on Cather by James Woodress and Susan Rosowski.

Fortunately, other ingredients of Mullin's monograph are more satisfactory. For instance, in two of her five chapters, the author forces readers to reexamine the important shaping influences of a small group of Bryn Mawr College women on concepts of culture and art patronage in the 1920s and 1930s. The pen portraits of four such Anglo women—Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, Margretta Stewart Dietrich, and Elizabeth and Martha White—provide some of the most valuable and interesting sections of this brief work. Overall, the book reads best when the author utilizes attractive stories (especially in the long fifth chapter) rather than tangled discussions of theory (as in the preface and epilogue). Had Mullin avoided more of her complex theorizing and unneeded self-referencing, her study would be much more accessible to most historians and general readers.

On balance, then, this work aims at large, important goals. Had the author focused on fewer subjects, provided more historical backgrounds, and supplied systematic studies of each of her principal topics, her book would have been more rewarding. However, it does contain a good deal of interesting material on culture formation and about matters of gender, class, and the patronage of Indian art.

RICHARD W. ETULAIN
University of New Mexico

GERALD HORNE. *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois*. New York: New York University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 363. \$28.95.

The initial reaction to this biography and, indeed, to the title reference to Shirley Graham Du Bois as "Race Woman" might be that both the book and the appellation are largely, if not solely, a consequence of her being the second wife of the famous black scholar and noted Pan-Africanist W. E. B. Du Bois. Opening with a description of the "memorial meeting" for the late Graham Du Bois at the Paposhan Cemetery for Revolutionaries in Beijing, China, in April 1977, attended by Chinese and other foreign dignitaries, Gerald Horne, in fascinating detail and eloquently written prose, establishes early on that this was no ordinary woman and that the basis of his title both precedes and extends beyond her marriage to the well-known Du Bois. Horne offers readers a riveting biography of Graham Du Bois, who criss-crossed the United States as well as parts of Western and Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia, frenetically shifting jobs, careers, and

locales while writing essays, plays, and biographies, engaging in fascinating, indeed complex relationships with prominent and not-so-prominent men and women, and becoming more and more involved in radical politics. Indeed, Horne's masterfully woven story of his subject's "multiple lives" is worthy of the dramatic pageantry that was the source of her initial professional success and notoriety.

Lola Shirley Graham was the only daughter of a well-educated African Methodist Episcopal minister who fostered her scholarly and political fervor both by reading to her and by "providing her with the liberating idea that Jim Crow could be confronted," as he faced a white mob in New Orleans with a "loaded gun on top of his Bible" (p. 40). Her father's courage, Horne maintains, made an indelible impression on the young woman. Her mother cultivated Graham's musical and creative talents, which were evident in the grand dramatic productions as well as the persona she constructed; both reflected a mix of fact and fiction. It appears that details, even factual details and personal responsibilities, had little relevance for a woman with Graham's unbridled personal and professional ambitions. She reduced her age (sometimes by as much as ten years), changed her married name from "McCants" to "McCanns," declared herself a widow when she was a divorcee, recklessly borrowed money from friends and associates, and abandoned the two young children, Robert and David, from her first marriage.

In 1926, Graham left her sons in the care of relatives to explore Paris. Her professed guilt about the time spent away from her children notwithstanding, when not traveling to France during the period from 1927 to 1930 Graham "worked as a music librarian at Howard University and a music teacher at Morgan State University in Baltimore, and... took classes at various schools during her summers, including Columbia University" (p. 54). After the late 1930s, she devoted herself to racial uplift and political work, adopted an increasingly leftist political agenda, and became financially successful as an author of several noted biographies (criticized by some for her "inclusion of imagined dialogue") (p. 104). As the YWCA-USO Director at Fort Huachuca (Arizona), she received national attention for defending a group of black soldiers who had been court-martialed. Afterward, Graham moved to New York City to become co-organizer and assistant field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). This appointment, Horne writes, "proved to be a halfway house between her life in the arts and her impending life in politics" (p. 97).

By the end of the 1940s, there was little doubt, according to Horne, that Graham "was to be found in deed—and word—in a tight embrace with the much-reviled U.S. Left" (p. 109). Besides her close friendship with Communist leaders and her support for various left publications and organizations, in 1947 she joined W. E. B. Du Bois in publicly criticizing the U.S. government for various "human rights violations" (p.

111). Following Du Bois's eventual ouster from the NAACP in September 1948, Graham organized his full-scale defense, exhibiting what Horne referred to as "a blackbelt in the art of verbal facility." Among other equally acerbic remarks, Graham accused NAACP leaders of having "fastened a cord around its own neck...that would [eventually] strangle it" (p. 112).

In 1951, Graham married Du Bois, who was indicted the following day for being the "agent of an unnamed foreign power (the Soviet Union) because of his anti-nuclear weapons stance" (p. 112). In 1958, they traveled to various European countries, including the Soviet Union and Asia, and in 1961 they relocated to Accra, Ghana. In the closing chapters of this biography, Horne documents Graham Du Bois's ideological loyalties from Ghana's socialist Pan-Africanism articulated by Kwame Nkrumah and China's Maoism to Cairo's "Egypt-centricism" and the black nationalism of southern Africa and the United States.

The least attractive aspect of an otherwise stellar biography is Horne's gendered analysis, especially his discussion of Graham Du Bois's "mothering" attitude toward prominent men and her supposedly antifeminist stance. Although it is not imperative that the pervasive self-sacrificing model of motherhood be the benchmark, there is nothing remotely "maternal" about Graham Du Bois, whose two young sons were raised by relatives while she traveled abroad, pursued undergraduate and graduate degrees, and traversed the United States. Besides, Horne reveals that she often used her relationships, especially those with prominent men, to advance her political and professional ambitions.

While there is certainly some validity to the author's point that Graham Du Bois failed to tackle issues of male supremacy with the same fervor as she combated racism and colonialism, it appears that when she combats "white male supremacy," she is aware of the patriarchy deeply embedded in racism and colonialism, both for women of color and the women of the "ruling" class. Moreover, Horne himself states unequivocally that "it would be a mistake to fail to view Graham Du Bois as a feminist. She exemplified the struggle for women's equality even when she was not proclaiming this principle from the barricades" (p. 22).

Fortunately, Horne's discussion of Graham DuBois's role as a "mother" and a "feminist" is secondary to his masterful account of her political, professional, and personal lives. Indeed, this biography represents an opportunity for us to begin a fuller discussion of the nationalist/feminist nexus in the African diaspora and women in radical political movements. This is a must-read for scholars whose interests lie in radical politics and American foreign policy, radical feminist politics, and black literary and cultural studies.

SHARON HARLEY
University of Maryland

JACK E. DAVIS. *Race against Time: Culture and Separation in Natchez since 1930*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 351. \$39.95

In this exquisitely structured and elegantly written study, Jack E. Davis tells a compelling story of how whites and blacks in Natchez—the small southwest Mississippi city known for its antebellum architecture, as well as the birthplace of Richard Wright—have struggled to define the meaning of the city's social memories in the last three quarters of the twentieth century. Building on extensive archival research and in-depth interviews, the eight-chapter book traces the evolution of Natchez's race relations in three markedly distinctive periods: the Jim Crow era, in which a racial hierarchy had been maintained not only by legal segregation but also by the absolute dominance of white culture and values in every aspect of the public sphere; the era of the civil rights movement, in which the white community fiercely and violently resisted the challenges of organized blacks to end the white perceived "social harmony" and to dismantle the power structure sanctioning Jim Crow; and, finally, the post-civil rights movement era, in which black and white Natchezians were entangled in their painful search for a new political and cultural foundation whereby a new historical memory about the city, as well as about the South and the nation, could be constructed.

Davis focuses his study on "the cultural basis of race relations" (p. 3). The concept of race, he asserts, is not only a historical construct but also a cultural construct. In fact, the white Mississippians' understanding of race by the mid-twentieth century, according to Davis, no longer "revolved solely around biological traits" as in the past but increasingly around "cultural traits" (p. 3). It was racial differences in culture—as embodied in the customs, values, behaviors, and social expressions that were manifested in everyday experience and encounters—that primarily pushed the white Natchezians to conclude that black culture was irreversibly inferior. This deeply rooted racial attitude, sanctioned by law during the Jim Crow years and reinforced by the daily experience of ordinary whites even after legal segregation was ended, formed the ideological foundation for white Natchezians' determined and relentless defense of the supremacy of white culture. The cultural battles throughout the period—the school board's scrutiny of the history textbooks, the creation of the nostalgic Pilgrimage tourist program, the denial of cultural recognition for the black upper class, the brutal resistance to the civil rights movement, the repeated exoduses from the integrated schools, and the refusal to rename the city's main street after Martin Luther King, Jr., as demanded by black residents—vividly illustrated this process. Black Natchezians, argues Davis, also actively contributed to the evolution and prolongation of the cultural separation. When facing a hostile, white-controlled society, blacks preferred a cultural separation as a strategy of "cultural survival" (p. 6). After the civil rights movement,

black Natchezians, too, sought to teach the history of "our civilization" so that "our youth" would, in the words of a local black leader, stop becoming "the victims of white man's superiority complex" (p. 267).

Davis's emphasis on the cultural construct of race and its impact on the evolution of race relations is enlightening and perceptive. His unique approach helps open up a new front of scholarly inquiry about the complex dynamics that sustained the life of the de facto racial hierarchy. It also brings to our attention the roles played by such normally neglected social groups within white community as women (in the case of Natchez, the members of the Garden Club), local educators, local historians, and employers of local businesses and industries, who either vigorously used their functions to maintain the supremacy of white culture or consciously give acquiescence to the cultural suppression imposed upon blacks. But Davis's most important contribution, I think, is that he forces us to reconsider the meaning of citizenship in the post-Jim Crow South. His study compels us to see how a citizenry that shares a common political (or constitutional) identity is helplessly divided by emotional and cultural alienations. I am not sure that Davis would agree with this observation, but I see what he describes as "cultural" as in fact indisputably political. His most memorable and striking chapters are those (chapters five and six) devoted to the actual process of the civil rights movement in Natchez. It is through those painstaking details that one learns how the civil rights movement was conducted at the grassroots level in a Deep South city and, more importantly, how crucially such confrontation over the control of the power structure helped to define the nature and scope of black-white clashes over cultures and values in the years to come.

Davis sets an exemplary model for a tasteful historical writing. His superb literary skills, together with his carefully balanced reflections, make the book a thought-provoking read. The absence of a bibliography, normally expected for a scholarly publication until recently, will unfortunately disappoint those who are interested to see his sources presented in an organized and respectful format. An insertion of some visual sources, such as a map of the city of Natchez and a few images (about the Pilgrimage or the divided Pine-and-Martin-Luther-King Street or other objects of the historic Natchez) would enable readers to capture the "cultural" substance of the events extensively discussed in the book. An appendix documenting some essential demographic information, including the backgrounds of those interviewed, would help provide a more complete context for this passionately told American story of race.

XI WANG

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

KARI FREDERICKSON. *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932–1968*. Chapel Hill: University

of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. x, 311. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

In this book, Kari Frederickson sketches a detailed picture on a large canvas. Her first two chapters consider the impact of the New Deal and World War II on the South, and the book's last chapter discusses presidential politics in the 1950s and 1960s. Much of the material in these chapters is derivative, and informed students of southern history will find little new or remarkable therein. The heart of the book focuses on the insurgency of states' rights southerners against the Democratic Party in 1948, a story that has been told often before but never in the close detail presented here. The author has combed archives and libraries across the South, with greatest attention to repositories in Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina (the three key states in the Dixiecrat revolt). Relying on dozens of manuscript collections and a full complement of local newspapers and periodicals, as well as the requisite secondary sources, she tells the fascinating story of one of the few significant challenges to the nation's two-party political system.

Frederickson spins a good yarn about a quixotic and colorful movement. The Dixiecrats of this volume—planters, mill owners, oil men, bankers, and attorneys—seem to have been motivated by a combination of heartfelt ideology, political opportunism, obstinacy, and racism. Disunity and fractiousness characterized the states' rights campaign. One of the book's real contributions is to give us a clearer view of the movement's leadership. Fielding Wright, the governor of Mississippi and vice-presidential candidate of the Dixiecrat Party, emerges as a more important figure than his subordinate place on the ticket would indicate. The party's presidential candidate, South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond, is portrayed as somewhat less than a true believer, a calculating politician willing to use a generous dose of national publicity in 1948 as a springboard to the U.S. Senate in 1950. The book also underscores the seminal contributions to the states' rights movement of such comparatively unknown figures as Frank Dixon and Horace Wilkerson of Alabama, Walter Sillers of Mississippi, and Leander Perez of Louisiana. As well, the book carefully details the heroic efforts of African-American newspaperman John Henry McCray to derail the Dixiecrat revolt in South Carolina.

The efforts of the Dixiecrats produced less than they had hoped, Frederickson suggests, but ultimately more than they had planned. The insurgents sought to win the Solid South's 127 electoral votes, thereby denying Democratic incumbent Harry S. Truman or Republican Thomas Dewey a victory and forcing the election into the House of Representatives. But Thurmond and Wright won only four southern states—South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana—for a total of thirty-nine electoral votes. The failed Dixiecrat revolt left Truman in the White House and the direction of the Democratic Party unchanged. Nevertheless,

"by breaking with the Democratic party," the author notes, "the Dixiecrat movement demonstrated to conservative southerners that allegiance to one party was 'neither necessary nor beneficial' and thus served as the crossover point for many southern voters in their move from the Democratic to the Republican column" (p. 4). To be sure, the Dixiecrats brought the end of the one-party South by trumpeting the cause of white supremacy but also by formulating a critique of New Deal liberalism and a powerful federal government. Although the formal structures of the States' Rights Democrats dissolved quickly in 1949–1950, a lasting taste for political independence and dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party remained. This residue became the soil in which the Republican Party blossomed.

Frederickson's book makes several important contributions to our understanding of post-World War II politics in the South. First, her nuanced retelling of the Dixiecrat saga shreds the interpretation, posited by political scientist V. O. Key and southern journalists writing in the late 1940s and early 1950s, that states' rights forces failed to employ race baiting effectively in 1948. Her view more sensibly notes that loyal Democrats portrayed themselves as more capable defenders of the region's racial mores and drove the Dixiecrats out of the party. Second, her discussion of context, ranging both backward and forward in time from 1948, underscores the complexity of the political transformation in the South in the last half century. Finally, her careful examination of the events of 1948 at the local and state levels in the South presents a more vivid picture at the grassroots level of political change. As a result, we have a clearer idea of why southerners voted—or did not vote—for Thurmond and Wright.

ROGER BILES
East Carolina University

MARY L. DUDZIAK. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 330. \$29.95.

Over the past two decades, studies of the civil rights movement have become increasingly localized. National civil rights leaders and organizations have been pushed to the margins of scholarly focus by ordinary and extraordinary grassroots women and men whose inspiration and commitment propelled the civil rights movement forward. Without detracting from the importance of the local origins of the black freedom struggle, Mary L. Dudziak lucidly presents the case for attaching a global perspective to racial reform in the United States. "The international context structures relationships between 'domestic' actors," she writes. "It influences the timing, nature, and extent of social change" (p. 17). Based on this premise, Dudziak contends that, overall, the Cold War played a positive role in extending first-class citizenship to African Americans.

Scholars of postwar America have generally portrayed the effect of the Cold War on social reform in a less favorable light. They have suggested that anti-communist hysteria in the late 1940s and early 1950s removed options for more radical racial and economic changes in the South than those offered by the civil rights movement. By repressing Communists, independent left-wingers, and union organizers, southern McCarthyites not only delayed the timing of reform but also narrowed its possibilities to obtaining constitutional rights rather than restructuring class relations. Dudziak does not discount the harmful effects of the Cold War; however, she maintains that U.S. strategy in waging it played an equal if not greater role in forcing the federal government to support the black freedom struggle. At a time when people of color in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia were gaining liberation, American diplomats grew increasingly sensitive to the media coverage that racial conflict in the South received in these newly emerging nations. After all, how could the United States hold itself up as the standard bearer of democracy against Soviet tyranny while southern blacks were prevented from voting and subject to the indignities of segregation?

Dudziak correctly views the Cold War as a double-edged sword. In stressing the beneficial aspects, she provides a useful counterweight to previous accounts that underscore the harmful sides of domestic red-baiting. Indeed, even without a vigorous anticommunist campaign to maintain white supremacy, it is questionable that civil rights advocates would have achieved their goals sooner in the face of powerful white racism that continued to grip the South in the postwar period. In spite of anticommunist repression at home and because of the policy of containing the Soviet Union abroad, reformers were able to convince Washington officials to adopt civil rights measures for fear of losing vital propaganda battles with their Communist adversary. The United States Information Service presented a narrative of racial progress that accentuated gradual but steady advancement toward equality, despite violent episodes in Little Rock, Arkansas and Birmingham, Alabama. Dudziak establishes that the U.S. was generally successful in persuading third world nations of its sincerity in extending democracy to its own citizens of color. Ironically, by the mid-1960s, much of this favorable image began to decline as Vietnam and American militarism replaced domestic racism as the chief foreign policy concern throughout the world.

This book offers valuable insights into both the civil rights movement and the conduct of American foreign policy. Clearly written and based mainly on State Department and presidential archives, this book should have wide appeal for classroom use at all levels of instruction. Dudziak successfully argues that, during the period in which the United States undertook global responsibility for constructing a world order compatible with its political, economic, and cultural interests, the "boundaries of domestic and foreign affairs be-

came blurred" (p. 253). Although she adeptly constructs this narrative from the vantage point of presidents and diplomats, she is not as effective in showcasing how civil rights groups, both national and local, were specifically influenced by global events and forged protest strategies with an international audience in mind. To accomplish this would require carefully exploring the records of these organizations, which, with the exception of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dudziak appears not to have done. Furthermore, the international consequences of the Cold War on the American scene had definite limitations. For example, the author might have pointed out that the Cold War supplied leverage that African Americans could exploit, but it was not sufficient to force the State Department to remove racial barriers in the hiring of its career service officers. Although such issues merit further explanation, Dudziak has written an intelligent and informative book that is sure to become a staple of both civil rights and Cold War historiography.

STEVEN F. LAWSON
Rutgers University

JAMES T. PATTERSON. *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy*. (Pivotal Moments in American History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xxx, 285. \$27.50.

In his history of *Brown v. Board of Education*, James T. Patterson has set himself the task of exploring the complex issues that *Brown* tried to resolve in 1954 and of identifying "the most important legacies of the decision in our own time" (p. xiv). The editors tell us that the book is the first in a series called Pivotal Moments in American History. "Each book will examine a large historical problem through the lens of a particular event and the choices of individual actors" (p. xi).

Brown has, of course, been the subject of countless books and articles, including Richard Kluger's celebratory history, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (1975), and J. Harvie Wilkinson's *From Brown to Bakke: The Supreme Court and School Integration, 1954-1978* (1979). Patterson spends over half of his book revisiting the issues surveyed by Kluger and Wilkinson. He uncovers no new facts regarding the first twenty-five years after *Brown* but instead provides the reader with both a clear picture of the pivotal events and players and an assessment of the events in light of developments of the 1980s and 1990s. Perhaps most valuable are the author's efforts to evaluate *Brown* in light of the varying visions of the goals its supporters pursued and its opponents feared, as well as the varying interpretations of the meaning of *Brown*. The preface reveals the problem in deciding whether *Brown* was a "success" or not. One's expectations largely determine one's reactions to the decision and its aftermath, and "many large expectations of the

mid-1960s turned out to be too grand to achieve" (p. xxi). The other problem is the familiar one of causation. While, as Patterson amply demonstrates, the pre-*Brown* official racial caste system has been dismantled and American race relations have in many respects profoundly changed, it is impossible to prove either that *Brown* was or was not the causal agent of change. One can only exercise one's best judgment, in light of understanding of the facts.

Patterson recounts a history of the Warren Court's initial decision-making, feedback from the public and other branches of government, insistence on compliance, and failure to define precisely the requirements of desegregation. He then describes the Burger Court's imposition of strict standards of desegregation in the South and its failure to impose such requirements on most northern school districts or on metropolitan areas with multiple school systems. He provides a good overview of the changes on the Court, the change from Lyndon B. Johnson to Richard M. Nixon, and the considerable progress in the South in the 1970s. He gives a balanced view of the problems that accompanied desegregation in the South, as well as the ad hoc nature of northern desegregation. Ten years after the 1964 act, "Jim Crow was dead in the South, as was *de jure* segregation. These were huge changes that few people could have imagined in 1960 . . . Twenty years following *Brown*, much had been accomplished, and much remained to be done" (p. 169). Patterson concludes that it is unclear whether the tremendous increase in desegregation in the South brought with it improvements in interracial understanding or in academic achievement (p. 187).

Bringing the story up to date, Patterson examines the issue of the 1990s: resegregation. Given recent decisions of the Rehnquist Court, should we expect the enormous increase in integrated schools to reverse in coming years? If so, what will have been the net impact of *Brown* on American society? Patterson notes that formal equality will have been secured but suggests that progress toward the larger goals of social and economic equality and true integration has been stalled by the recent Court decisions (pp. 204–205).

Finally, Patterson examines the legacies and lessons of *Brown*, both negative and positive. Although sympathetic to the pessimism of some advocates of racial justice, he closes by agreeing with Jack Greenberg: "Altogether, school desegregation has been a story of conspicuous achievements, flawed by marked failures, the causes of which lie beyond the capacity of lawyers to correct . . . The rest of the job is up to society" (p. 223).

Generally balanced and factual, the book is occasionally marred by misstatement or hyperbole. For example: "Rarely in American history has the membership of the Supreme Court changed as rapidly as it did in the next three years to the end of 1971" (p. 147). (Five justices changed from 1862–1864; four from 1888–1890; five from 1909–1910; five from 1939–1941; and four from 1968–1971.) Patterson cites Hugh Davis

Graham (*The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policies 1960–1972*), for the proposition that "corporate leaders were stunned and irate at the unanimously decided pro-affirmative action decision, *Griggs v. Duke Power Co*" (p. 153). However, the cited pages say nothing about stunned and irate corporate leaders. Nor was the issue in *Griggs* affirmative action. Patterson incorrectly identifies Judge Harold Cox as being a judge in 1960 (p. 91). Overall, however, Patterson has added to our understanding of the place of *Brown* in American society.

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RICHARD C. CORTNER. *Civil Rights and Public Accommodations: The Heart of Atlanta Motel and McClung Cases*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2001. Pp. xi, 225. \$29.95.

In 1964, Congress passed the first major civil rights statute enacted since Reconstruction. Its effort was the result of multiplying public protests, changing attitudes toward race, the growing political power of African Americans, the Warren Court's commitment to racial equality, a political upsurge that followed the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and the determined leadership of his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson. The act's centerpiece was a prohibition on discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in places providing "public accommodations," a term defined broadly to include hotels and motels, places of public exhibition, and facilities that sold food for on-premises consumption. The provision was not only socially divisive but constitutionally questionable.

Richard C. Cortner tells the important story of the litigations that established the constitutionality of the act's public accommodations section and thereby secured one of the great triumphs of the civil rights movement. Cortner lays out the constitutional issues lucidly, highlighting the differences between the two principal grounds advanced to support the legislation, the Commerce Clause and Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment. While the latter was clearly designed to allow Congress to combat racial discrimination, prior decisions of the Supreme Court rendered in the racist climate of the late nineteenth century presented grave obstacles. Indeed, in the ill-named *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) the Court had invalidated a similar "public accommodations" provision that Congress had adopted in the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Section 5, the Court had there ruled, did not grant Congress power to ban discrimination by "private"—that is, nongovernmental—actors, regardless of the "public" nature of the facilities involved. Thus, in 1964 the Commerce Clause seemed the more promising basis on which to defend the new statute. Though hardly intended as a tool to combat racial discrimination, the clause had been expanded so broadly since the 1930s that it

seemed capable of providing a logic that could be used to serve the cause of racial justice. That, at least, was the position Solicitor General Archibald Cox took in shaping the government's litigation strategy, and in two dispositive decisions in 1964—*Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States* and *Katzenbach vs. McClung*—the Supreme Court proved him right. Only two justices, William O. Douglas and Arthur J. Goldberg, urged the Court to rely on Section 5. The others upheld the act under the commerce power.

Cortner devotes the bulk of this study to detailed discussions of the social origins of the two cases and to the constitutional positions the adversaries developed, including particularly thorough accounts of the various oral arguments. His book has many virtues. It is especially good in explaining the critical factual and legal differences between the two cases, highlighting the added difficulties the Court confronted in *McClung*, where it dealt with a restaurant relatively far removed from "interstate commerce." Similarly, it illuminates the role and character of Justice John M. Harlan, a "conservative" wary of centralization and committed to traditional values. Sensitive to both the practical needs of the nation and the cause of racial justice, Harlan responded to the social and legal issues the cases presented with care, integrity, and wisdom. After extensive reflection and much tinkering with the majority's opinion, he ultimately voted to uphold the act in both cases. Further, Cortner reminds us forcefully of both the vast gulf that exists between 1964 and the present as well as the vaulting capacity of the legal mind to render words, history, and even reality meaningless. Among the arguments that segregationists advanced, he notes, was the claim that—by denying owners of public accommodations the right to exclude blacks from their premises—the act subjected those owners to "involuntary servitude" in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment. Finally, in a brief concluding section the book documents the surprisingly widespread and relatively swift compliance with the act that followed the Court's definitive rulings.

A relatively short book intended for a general audience, this is a thoughtful and thorough account of a key episode in twentieth-century American legal history.

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DAVID R. COLBURN and JEFFREY S. ADLER, editors.
African-American Mayors: Race, Politics, and the American City. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 266. \$32.50.

Historians have given surprisingly little attention to the election of African-American mayors in major American cities in the generation since Carl Stokes was narrowly elected to lead Cleveland in 1967. This edited collection is an excellent effort to begin the process of incorporating this trend into our under-

standing of how the American political economy operated in the last half of the twentieth century.

Each of the ten essays takes a biographical approach. The singular strength of this collection is the skill with which each scholar uses the tool of political biography to cast light on larger trends and issues. In our haste to dismiss the Great Society as a force with continuing political relevance, we have forgotten that millions of urban voters elected and reelected mayors whose programmatic vision owed much to the Great Society. At the same time, each author also documents how large movements of people and capital made what victories could be won very difficult to preserve.

The litigation and political activism of the Great Society era insured that the allocation of political power and patronage was performed more publicly and more fairly than in the past. Arnold R. Hirsch shows how important the Voting Middle Rights Act was to breaking the three-year deadlock in Chicago during the 1980s between reform Mayor Harold Washington and the Democratic Party machine. Hirsch's discussion of Ernest Morial's tenure in New Orleans makes an especially important contribution to this volume by highlighting the ways in which the structure of local government can thwart any mayor's desire to exert strong reformist leadership. Ronald H. Baylor demonstrates how litigation and skilled political leadership brought similar changes to Atlanta beginning with Maynard Jackson's first election in 1973. This essay shares an additional strength with several others: Baylor demonstrates how class created divisions and other complications within the African-American coalitions, which helped to elect African-American mayors.

Although white flight, industrial decline, and Coleman Young's leadership style made winning a war on poverty in Detroit impossible, Heather Ann Thompson delineates how Young's determination to combat long-standing institutional racism succeeded in those areas where he exercised most direct control. Howard Gillette, Jr.'s essay illustrates how Marion Barry effectively fused idealism and political necessity until hubris and substance abuse distorted his calculation of both. David Biles's portrait of David Dinkins's one turbulent term in Gracie Mansion reveals how quickly the attributes that win one election can hinder governance and deny reelection in the next.

Although the federal programs of the Great Society (especially Model Cities) did bring some short-term assistance to Stokes's Cleveland and Richardatcher's Gary, James B. Lane and Leonard N. Moore both show how these infusions were dwarfed by the far larger outflow of private capital to surrounding suburbs. Of course, as editor Jeffrey S. Adler documents in his introductory essay, the 1980s saw the economic abandonment of the cities by the federal government as well.

Another flaw in conventional wisdom is the belief that the Great Society Community Action programs and the civil rights movement produced the first

generation of African-American mayors. Coeditor David R. Colburn's careful analysis of the class elected between 1967 and 1976 shows convincingly that such a connection was the exception rather than the rule. If the civil rights movement especially energized black voters to seek "black power," the candidates they chose were sympathetic allies and observers of the civil rights movement rather than its leaders. If the connections to the civil rights movement were not as clear and direct as some have theorized, black political leaders worked diligently over many years to earn the loyalty of their political bases. In her eloquent and evocative essay on Tom Bradley, who led Los Angeles for twenty years, Heather R. Parker shows how Bradley skillfully sought to address the economic needs of African Americans with programs that reached out, in reassuring code language, to "all" of Los Angeles. Parker also shows that, even as elements of the black community believed Bradley was ignoring their interests in favor of those of his white constituents, he, like other African-American mayors, used his power of appointment to bring large numbers of African Americans into decision-making positions, ending generations of total exclusion.

Bradley's use of rhetoric of inclusion to build a politically mighty coalition in the 1970s and 1980s called to mind other voices of the same era. When Bradley gently emphasized his commitment to the entire city, he sought to reassure white voters that he was not part of a racial take over of city government. During the same years, "New South" governors of both parties used the same language to reassure black voters that a particular kind of racial politics was finally at an end. The contrasting meaning of the same words when directed at different groups within the same polity speaks to both the enduring power of the language of unity and the persistence of division within American society.

This collection makes an important contribution to our understanding of American political and social history since 1945. Not only does it deserve the attention of specialists in these fields, but its essays are written accessibly enough to be used in upper-division and graduate courses in the history of the modern United States.

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EARL M. MALTZ. *The Chief Justiceship of Warren Burger, 1969–1986*. (Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 307. \$39.95.

In his most recent work, Earl M. Maltz offers us a brief yet jurisprudentially comprehensive account of Warren Burger's seventeen-year tenure as Chief Justice of the United States. Burger's appointment to the Supreme Court in 1969 followed on the heels of Earl Warren's landmark sixteen-year stewardship of that same court; during the 1960s the liberal Warren Court

transformed the constitutional landscape and, not surprisingly, has been the subject of considerable commentary by legal scholars, social scientists, and journalists ever since. While the current Rehnquist Court has yet to run its course, commentators have been quick to identify it as a conservative-leaning tribunal, ever willing to shake up (if not outright overturn) many of the legal principles and assumptions which for so long guided the post-New Deal Court. By contrast, Burger's Court remains something of an enigma for today's scholars—difficult to categorize with much confidence. Did the Burger Court effectively stem the tide of liberal jurisprudence that originated in the Warren Court, or was it in many ways just as liberal a decision-making body as its predecessor?

Adding to the mystery of the Burger Court is the somewhat elusive character of the chief justice himself. We still await an authoritative biography of the nation's fifteenth chief justice; in the mean time, most scholars take for granted the dual character of Burger's reign: that while he was a supreme administrator of the federal judicial system as a whole, Burger was at best a mediocre jurist who was often overmatched intellectually by many of his brethren. Certainly in the modern history of the Supreme Court, effective leadership has not always relied on raw intellect alone. For example, Warren's success may have derived not so much from any intellectual brilliance on his part but rather from his political savvy: time after time, Warren was willing to procure the services of William J. Brennan, Jr., William O. Douglas, and others in service of his goals. Thus serious issues remain to be addressed if we are ever to gauge accurately Burger's tenure as chief justice. Specifically, what role (if any) did Burger play as a leader and mover on the Court over which he presided for the better part of two decades? What strategies did Burger utilize to influence court outcomes, and were they successful?

At first glance Maltz's book would seem to present a golden opportunity for a balanced consideration of those critical questions. Unfortunately, in an attempt to facilitate broad coverage of the period, the author elects to focus "primarily on the doctrinal developments and interactions that are reflected in the cases decided by the Burger Court" (p. xv). Certainly Maltz's discussion of the Court's output makes for a lively and sophisticated read; he moves easily from legal doctrine to legal doctrine, and his willingness to address lower-profile legal decisions concerning civil procedure—so often ignored in other parts of the literature—is refreshing. But Maltz's authoritative review of Burger Court opinions often fails to address more critical questions concerning the nature of Burger's chief justiceship itself. That is because he gives only limited attention to behind-the-scenes interactions among Burger and his colleagues that produced so many of these doctrinal developments. Was the conservative Burger one of the least effective chief justices in history, overwhelmed by the intellect and political maneuverings of his fellow justices? Or was he a victim

of circumstances: a jurist with the capacity to lead a conservative revolution on the court had he not been so outnumbered by liberals and moderates? Other than amassing an impressive collection of case summaries, Maltz provides little grist for that particular mill.

Part of the problem lies in the author's concededly limited approach to researching his topic. To understand the historic internal deliberations that led to the Court's landmark decision in *Roe v. Wade*, for example, Maltz relies almost exclusively on accounts from esteemed scholars John C. Jeffries, Jr., and Bernard Schwartz, as well as the controversial account found in Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong's *The Brethren: Inside the Supreme Court* (1979). And whatever role Chief Justice Burger played in hastening Douglas's retirement in late 1975 also remains a mystery, as the author again turns to limited secondary sources for guidance. Nor does Maltz attempt to capitalize on the fact that he is studying this period so many years later. Fifteen years have passed since Burger's retirement, providing contemporary scholars with the ability to reflect on how the Burger Court's "accomplishments" have stood the test of time. But Maltz's book includes nary a mention of any judicial developments since 1986, denying the reader any type of hindsight perspective. How can one interpret the true meaning and impact of *Roe v. Wade*, for example, without placing it in the modern jurisprudential context of *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*? Our understanding of the Court's curious opinion in *Fullilove v. Klutznick* (an opinion authored by Burger that was deferential to affirmative action) might well have benefited from its being considered in light of recent affirmative action opinions on the Rehnquist Court. Did Burger's opinion pave the way for future high court-crafted distinctions between federal and state-sponsored affirmative action plans? Finally, some analysis of Burger's reign as judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia (D.C.) Circuit might have enhanced our understanding of Burger's approach to judicial decision making on the Supreme Court. But the book summarizes Burger's tenure on the D.C. Circuit in just one paragraph.

In the end, although Maltz provides the reader with a well-articulated and thorough look at the Supreme Court's work product from 1969 through 1986, little new is presented concerning the chief justiceship of Burger himself. Certainly the author advances the argument that Burger Court activism often occurred in the liberal direction. He also rates Burger as less than a great chief justice (although it is difficult to discern on what exact basis he reaches that conclusion). But few insights are offered that help explain why the Burger Court acted as it did, other than that the Court was simply the sum of its parts—in Maltz's words, constitutional law was "little more than the aggregate of the idiosyncratic value judgments of the justices who happen to be serving on the Court at a particular time" (p. 269). That point of view ignores recent evidence from

judicial scholars that collegiality and internal dynamics have played a significant role in determining Supreme Court outcomes, especially on the Burger Court. Chief Justice Burger, for example, apparently used his power to assign cases as a means of furthering his policy goals in *Roe v. Wade* and many other instances. Were those efforts successful? Certainly, Maltz's sophisticated analysis of the Supreme Court's opinions from this period is a contribution in and of itself. In that sense, the author has more than met the modest goal he set out for himself in writing this work. One only wishes that in this instance his goals had been a little less modest.

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TOM WELLS. *Wild Man: The Life and Times of Daniel Ellsberg*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xi, 692. \$29.95.

According to Tom Wells, Daniel Ellsberg was obsessed with becoming a famous historic personality. He accomplished that feat in June 1971 when he leaked the Pentagon Papers and set in motion a chain of events that contributed significantly to President Richard M. Nixon's decision to resign in August 1974. The problem for Ellsberg is that famous historic personalities ultimately attract biographers, some of whom, like Wells, can be unmerciful in their treatment of their subjects.

In this book, Wells paints an unrelenting portrait of an appalling human being. Ellsberg, a brave hero to many in the antiwar movement, appears as an astoundingly egotistical, congenitally prevaricating, and indiscreet, pornography-collecting satyr with a lifelong writer's bloc. The author does, however, acknowledge his "dynamism and razor-sharp mind" (p. 82).

Wells previously published *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam* (1994), one of the best books on the anti-Vietnam War movement. As in that monograph, he relies heavily on interviews (236 subjects ranging from Bella Abzug to Barry Zorthian) to construct his unpleasant depiction of Ellsberg the man. In addition, using the Freedom of Information Act, he was able to obtain valuable material from the Watergate Prosecutor's Office. This is an exhaustively researched book. The problem is, does anyone want to read so many pages about the unattractive private life and behavior of this public figure who had his fifteen minutes of fleeting fame?

At the start of the project, Ellsberg granted Wells scores of interviews for this unauthorized biography, but after hearing what his Boswell was being told by his old friends and acquaintances, Ellsberg stopped talking. By that time, however, he had talked too much, revealing the narcissistic personality that so many of Wells's informants described.

Wells lingers psychobiographically on Ellsberg's youth in Detroit and especially his domineering mother to discover the roots of his narcissism, before following him to Harvard, enlistment in the Marines,

and employment at the RAND Corporation, where he struck some as a "supergenius" (p. 136). Like so many consultants, he had a tour in the Defense Department, both in Washington, D.C., with John McNaughton and in Vietnam with Edward Lansdale. As a civilian, he enjoyed going on dangerous combat missions because he "liked to live on the edge" (p. 236). He also worked briefly on the Pentagon Papers commissioned by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara in 1967. Along the way, Wells points out how this brilliant young man never quite lived up to his promise at RAND, where he had difficulty completing written assignments, and in the Defense Department, where a frustrated McNaughton shipped him off to Vietnam because of his lack of discipline, indiscretions, and inability to turn his work in on time.

Ellsberg explained his own transformation in 1968 from "ultrahawk" (p. 204) to ultrapeacenik on Vietnam by saying that he finally realized that the government's policies were grievously wrongheaded and also because of his exposure to pacifist thought. Wells accepts those rationales but also suggests that Ellsberg's need to become important played a role in his decision not only to change his perspective on Vietnam but to become the most famous leaker in American history. As usual, he cared little about the impact of his actions on others, including his young children, who helped photocopy the documents (p. 333), and his good friend and sponsor, the head of RAND, Henry Rowen, who lost his job because of his connection to Ellsberg.

Wells does offer the most interesting and detailed account to date of how Ellsberg tried to peddle the papers, a long frustrating search that ended up with the *New York Times's* Neil Sheehan publishing them without Ellsberg's final approval. Moreover, his terrific first chapter, describing the White House's amateurish break-in at Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office, adds new information. However, Wells does not resolve one of the great mysteries of the affair, President Nixon's alleged foreknowledge of the break-in. It was clear that Nixon gave the general order to "convict the son-of-a-bitch in the press" (p. 482) by digging up dirt on Ellsberg, but Wells has little new to offer about whether he ordered the break-in. This is an important matter, since most Nixonologists assume that one of the main reasons for the cover-up of the Watergate break-in the following year was the president's fear that the investigation of that crime, about which he most likely was unaware, would implicate him in the earlier break-in.

Wells does offer valuable insights into the culture of the Beltway Bandits, the academic consultants who prepared papers and research reports thinking about the unthinkable for the American government in the late 1950s and 1960s. At the end of his long, gossipy, and lively exposé, Wells concludes that Ellsberg was a "tragic figure" (p. 602) who, because of fatal personality flaws, never realized his potential. He did, of course, become more famous than he ever could have

expected, and the author does a first-rate job explaining the importance of his leaking of the Pentagon Papers for American politics during the Nixon administration and beyond.

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EVA S. MOSKOWITZ. *In Therapy We Trust: America's Obsession with Self-Fulfillment*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 342. \$34.95.

Immediately after September 11, America's therapeutic sensibility was on display. Alongside shocking pictures and fighting words in New York and Washington came warnings of emotional trauma that might paralyze the economy and deplete the country's spirit. The nation's psyche, not just its buildings and citizens, had been attacked. On television, in workplaces, and everywhere that people gathered during the weeks that followed, mental health professionals were almost as ubiquitous as emergency personnel, defense and foreign policy officials, and experts on Islam. Employee assistance plans, which offer on-the-job clinical services to more than 60 million workers, were overwhelmed by requests for grief counseling. Before September ended, according to the *New York Times*, the Disney Corporation put therapists on its cruise ships, many human resource departments sponsored extra counseling, and demand by New York firms for psychological consultants increased by 1,000 percent. Widespread fears were acknowledged far from ground zero. In my West Coast town, a usually irreverent fall event featured solemn listening stations, staffed by members of the local "well-being network," for anyone who needed to talk. Before the rubble settled at the World Trade Center or bombs began to fall on Afghanistan, psychological first-aid was dispensed across the country. Accustomed to such mobilizations in the aftermath of school shootings and natural disasters, Americans turned to therapeutic culture to make sense of September 11. A psychological front was opened the moment that war on terrorism was declared.

This book by Eva S. Moskowitz documents a pattern of treating political, economic, cultural, and military problems as emotional crises over the entire period of modern American history. From war to social welfare and race relations, Americans have embraced a worldview that posits psychology as the motor of historical change, elevates happiness over all other goals, and optimistically celebrates individuals' power to determine their fates. Moskowitz calls this "the therapeutic gospel," a phrase that nicely evokes its origins in the Protestant ethic. But this worldview has spread to Americans of diverse religious, racial, and ethnic backgrounds, from legions of Jewish therapists to Oprah Winfrey. Instead of achieving salvation, as Calvinists were called to do in early America, moderns kept strict psychological accounts for more worldly reasons. Emotional expressiveness surpassed good works as a measure of merit during the twentieth

century. This was a watershed not only in the history of therapeutics, but of morality and personality. The point of culture was no longer to constrain or direct individual impulses but to free them.

This "triumph of the therapeutic," as Philip Rieff termed it more than thirty years ago, unleashed a radical and, in his view, corrosive individualism. Many scholars have examined this subject recently, and Moskowitz counts herself among its critics. Her book has the advantage of broad, introductory coverage and accessibility. Beginning with mind cure and ending with Prozac, Moskowitz ranges over medicine and criminology, marriage counseling, military morale, and 1960s social movements that personalized political protest. She describes therapeutic agencies, reformers, and legislation: courts that transformed judges into helpers; college professors who invented a science of human relations; the National Mental Health Act of 1946, which made mental health into a federal responsibility. Therapeutic quests promoted state formation, professionalization, and entrepreneurialism.

A recurring theme is the rationalization of intimacy. Marriage counselors, human relations experts, and popular media, according to Moskowitz, have all championed the notion that what ordinary people feel—and how they think and talk about what they feel—matters most. Women have had a special affinity for the vocabulary of emotion. Progressives like penologist Miriam van Waters were pioneers of therapeutic justice. Women's magazines publicized emotional grievances after 1945. Feminist consciousness raising exalted the psychological even as it disparaged the sexism of psychologists.

Moskowitz is witty, but her concentration on the silliest dimensions of therapeutic culture clashes with her aim to make serious historical sense out of it. Why are so many Americans comforted by a reductionist worldview that denies the complexity of social life and advances superficial solutions? Why has unhappiness become more intolerable? Either lots of Americans are stupid, or it is necessary to explore why, during the twentieth century, personal experience became the most credible foundation for truth and nonjudgmentalism emerged as a more powerful imperative than such abstract certainties as right and wrong.

The first war of the twenty-first century has reintroduced evil into American history. Given the strength of therapeutic culture in America, it remains to be seen whether terror will become just another object of hyper-awareness and the tragic state of the world the best reason yet to share our pain.

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BRADFORD W. WRIGHT. *Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 336. \$34.95.

On many an afternoon in the mid-1950s, I settled down on the breezeway of our West African home with my footlocker full of American comics, reading my way into cultural identity. Reading Bradford W. Wright's book now, I learn that my peak comic years as an American child in Africa were years of crisis for the industry, as concerns about juvenile delinquency and a boom in horror and crime comics led to a 1954 Senate subcommittee investigation of comics. With criticism mounting, publishers formed the Comics Magazine Association of America and instituted a self-policing code. Even William M. Gaines, creator of EC Comics, among the most horrific, folded his tents, canceling his crime and horror lines (though his maniac spirit lived on in *Mad*, reborn as a magazine).

Undeterred, one state legislature after another passed laws meant to stem the flow of horror and crime comics to young people. They need not have bothered: the fearful industry had already solved the problem. "Crime and horror comic books were gone entirely," says Wright. "Reflecting a bland consensus vision of America, comic books now championed without criticism American institutions, authority figures, and middle-class mores. The alternatives simply disappeared" (p. 176).

For twenty years, comics had offered what Wright calls a "fun-house mirror" of American political life: depression, war, political movements on the left and right. In June 1938, Superman burst onto the first cover of Action Comics as the "champion of the oppressed." He saved a prisoner from a lynch mob and went on, in the second issue, to unmask an American arms manufacturer fomenting a phony war. In Superman's world, the poor were virtuous, the wealthy wicked, and "only the righteous violence of Superman, it seemed, could relieve deep social problems" (p. 13).

Moving on through the years, Wright tracks comics' response to World War II, the Korean War, the Cold War, Vietnam, 1960s politics. Every few pages, he drops in a full comic book page—choice illustrations of the trends he describes. He has done a yeoman's job chronicling the political winds that blew through the comic book world from the 1930s through the 1990s. He has clearly read widely in the Comic Art Collection at Michigan State University, the leading archive for comic book study, and in other studies of comic books, none of them quite like his. (He includes a useful bibliographic essay.) He has also deftly tracked the shifts in the industry.

Wright has not done everything he could with the subject, as he acknowledges in his introduction. He has, for instance, focused on particular kinds of comics—superheroes, adventure, horror, crime—and, except for passing mention, left others out: cartoon-character comics, western comics, *Archie*. He is less concerned with graphics than story lines: he focuses on formulas "as a means through which changing values and assumptions are packaged into mass commodities" (p. xv). Nor does he meet the expectations raised by his book's subtitle. This is not a readership study or an

effects study: it is, frankly, an analysis of texts. Wright's goal is to describe the story lines of a chosen stream of comic books and relate them to their historical times. He has done that, in a clear, readable narrative.

From time to time he does falter in his portrayal of the times. For instance, writing of the Depression era's "celebration of the common man," he says these heroes "did not emerge—as they did in other nations—from the political extremes, despite the efforts of leftist intellectuals working to forge a radical community vision" (p. 10). The assertion falls flat, especially when he mentions Woody Guthrie, certainly a man of the left, as an example of those who extolled the common man. Progressive politics had a great deal to do with the celebration of the common man in the Depression era. Similarly, Wright refers uncritically to "1960s idealism," a politically loaded phrase that, with a stroke, undoes the political complexity of those years and trivializes the movements against racial brutality in Vietnam and the United States. But it is difficult to avoid such shorthand expressions in a survey, and this book is on the whole a useful guide to this sometimes forgotten pocket of cultural history.

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JENNIFER TERRY. *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 537. \$20.00.

For the last quarter of a century, the medical model of homosexuality has attracted attention from historians. Jonathan Ned Katz, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Jeffrey Weeks, George Chauncey, and Lillian Faderman, among others, have written about it. Michel Foucault made it a key element in his explorations of sexuality. But not until publication of this book by Jennifer Terry has the medical model received the thorough scrutiny it deserves.

Terry begins with the bold claim that, over the last century, homosexuality acquired "a symbolical centrality in American culture" and became "a topic of obsessive national interest" (p. 1). Indeed, she defines scientific theories as "the ground upon which the lines of public debate over the subject were drawn" (p. 7). To make her case, she takes us through a meticulous reading of key contributors to this literature from the late nineteenth century through the late twentieth.

Terry begins with Europeans who set the terms that others either followed or reacted against: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, Magnus Hirschfeld, and Sigmund Freud. She discerns three broad patterns of explanation in the scientific writing. "Naturalists" saw homosexuality as an inborn but benign anomaly, "a piece of the natural order," according to Hirschfeld (p. 54). "Degenerationists" explained it as an inborn constitutional defect. "Psychogenists" like Freud interpreted homosex-

uality as an outcome of early childhood experience and a perversion of the sex drive. Despite the different approaches, the effect of two generations of science was that the homosexual emerged as a distinct type of person who was also pathological.

Terry then discusses American contributors, including Katherine Bement Davis, Gilbert Hamilton, Robert Latou Dickinson, Margaret Mead, George Henry, Alfred Kinsey, and Edmund Bergler. Notions of individualism inflected American theorizing, which often tended to see homosexual behavior, whatever its cause, as something controllable through willpower. Between the two world wars, American writers, whether endocrinologists or social scientists, were often partial toward blurring the boundaries among sexual types. They saw human beings falling along a continuum, which meant the homosexual might appear anywhere and everywhere. This set the stage, in the 1950s, for homosexuality to become the obsessive national concern of Terry's thesis. The state deployed an extraordinary array of resources to police the homosexual threat. The language of science infiltrated the rhetoric of politics, and scientists were drawn into the work of sexual containment.

Terry exercises admirable restraint in discussing a century of mostly horrifically offensive scientific writing. She treats her texts as cultural artifacts whose deeper meaning must be extracted rather than as theories to argue against. In doing so, she meets her goal of using them as "a privileged window for analyzing broader cultural anxieties" (p. 7). She also makes a signal contribution to our understanding of sexual subjectivities by demonstrating how a pathologizing literature did not simply generate a reverse discourse, as Foucault contended. Instead, gays and lesbians often initiated the scientific dialogue and collaborated in constructing theory. They were, she says, "agents engaged in their own investigations" (p. 223).

Despite its many strengths, the book does not entirely persuade me. For most of the century Terry discusses, other sexual issues obsessed the white American middle class far more than homosexuality. Venereal disease, prostitution, and delinquent girls, not sexual inverts, preoccupied the Progressive era. Even in the 1980s and early 1990s, at the height of the AIDS epidemic, one could argue that abortion, or teenage pregnancy, loomed larger in the sexual imaginary than did gays and lesbians. Also, I am not convinced that science ever dominated the ground upon which the issue of homosexuality was debated. Instead, its influence seemed to depend on the way it absorbed, and then reflected back, pre-existing cultural beliefs framed through discourses of religion, criminality, or simply popular notions of "queerness."

The book also seems to run out of steam at the end. How else to explain only two pages devoted to the psychoanalytic writers of the 1960s, whose work reached a mass audience? Or only two sentences on the decision of the American Psychiatric Association, in 1973, to eliminate homosexuality from its list of

disorders? Nothing in the previous chapters prepares the reader for so momentous a change.

Still, even with these reservations, this is an impressive book. Terry has set the bar high for future scholars choosing to investigate this topic. Her book will long remain the standard work on its subject. It will also serve as a sobering reminder of how thoroughly culture bound and unscientific the so-called human sciences are.

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JOHN B. REHDER. *Delta Sugar: Louisiana's Vanishing Plantation Landscape*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 355. \$45.00.

In 1969, cultural geographer John B. Rehder counted 202 sugar plantations in Louisiana, choosing six plantations as case studies for the purpose of conducting detailed inventories and analyses of landscape features such as planters' mansions, sugar factories, workers' living quarters, outbuildings, stores, churches, fences, fields, and ditches. At that time, his research convinced him that the traditional plantation landscape, which had changed little since the 1930s and still occupied the same spaces as a century earlier, would remain "well preserved, locked in time and place" (p. 177). Revisiting the area three decades later, Rehder was shocked to find that more than half of the plantations he had counted in 1969 had disappeared. Of the six he had chosen as case studies, three no longer existed, two were in a state of severe deterioration, and only one remained intact.

Rehder's book examines the forces behind this transformation and the impact that recent economic developments have had on Louisiana's sugar industry. Dramatic changes began in the 1970s, when sugar shortages and rising prices attracted new investors to the region who superimposed a California agribusiness model of organization and management over the existing Louisiana corporate model. Whereas the corporate model that had evolved in Louisiana in the 1930s preserved individual plantations as distinct units and perpetuated traditional features such as patriarchal management practices and resident labor forces, California entrepreneurs brought a more impersonal and efficiency-oriented approach to sugar production. Simultaneously, the number of workers living on plantations declined as mechanization eliminated many manual tasks and laborers were drawn to higher paying jobs created by industrial development along the Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. Disused and obsolete mansions, quarter houses, plantation stores, and churches represented tax liabilities for the new owners, who neither needed nor wanted people to live on the plantations. Consequently, many buildings were destroyed and the extra acres converted to cropland. The result, Rehder states, "is a bulldozed,

sanitized landscape that has lost the old qualities of plantation management and settlement" (p. xiii).

The one plantation out of Rehder's six case studies that survived did so, he suggests, because it remained family owned and operated. Madewood Plantation, owned by John Thibaut, is an example of what Rehder calls the "small plantation + cooperative sugar factory" model, which defied the conventional wisdom that big equals better and size is essential to success in modern agriculture. While corporate participants in the sugar boom of the 1970s faced crippling financial difficulties in the 1990s, smaller growers persisted through long experience with the unpredictability of sugar production and by managing their operations conservatively during good times and bad. According to Rehder, plantation owners like Thibaut share a sense of connection to and love of the land that is no longer present on the "farmerless farms" created by the California model (p. 182). Unlike the nonfarm investors who control the larger landholdings, these growers have a stake in maintaining the kinds of structures that elsewhere have been torn down.

Rehder's main concern is the changing landscape of Louisiana's sugar country, and much of the book consists of detailed lists of the buildings and other features that existed on the case study plantations in 1969 compared with those that remain in the present. It is not recommended reading for scholars who are interested in the effects of post-1960s economic developments on the people who lived in these communities, for they are largely absent from this work. However, the book provides a useful starting point for historians who are interested in further research that extends our understanding of the rural South beyond the transformations of the mid-twentieth century, where most current studies end. Those working in the fields of historic preservation or material culture should also consider reading it to gain insight into some of the processes that threaten to obliterate historically significant landscape features like those mourned by Rehder.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

ROBIN F. A. FABEL. *Colonial Challenges: Britons, Native Americans, and Caribs, 1759-1775*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2000. Pp. x, 282. \$55.00.

Robin F. A. Fabel applies his rich knowledge of the colonial Gulf South to the larger Atlantic world. During Fabel's investigations of Great Britain's eighteenth-century empire, his curiosity was piqued by the interactions between imperial policy makers and certain "non-white residents of the British colonies" (p. 1). He found that the Cherokees, the *petites nations* of the Lower Mississippi, and the so-called Black Caribs of St. Vincent "had, or acquired, grievances against the

Crown" (p. 1). The resulting confrontations required solution either by war or diplomacy. As he pursued an explanation of these flashpoints, Fabel recreated the complex worlds of the Cherokee frontier, the fading power of the *petites nations*, and the circumscribed universe of the peoples on St. Vincent. Each story reveals not only the ways in which these peoples coped with their dilemmas but also the policies with which British colonial administrators met the demands of empire. In these instances, as in those involving the thirteen colonies that sought independence, concludes the author, the imperial officials reacted in similar ways, with the "wavering and delay . . . inherent in the administrative structure" (p. 9) of the British government. In the final analysis, Fabel reminds us, their decisions often rested more on the foundations of political expediency than on humanitarian insight, economic practicality, or military necessity.

Despite the "wavering and delay" that the author indicates, and to which rebellious colonials also would testify, the empire managed to soldier on. Given Great Britain's global commitments, one cannot fail to be amazed that its rulers had time to deal with issues so relatively unimportant as the allegiance of the small nations along the lower Mississippi River. Familiar with the machinery of empire from his earlier work on Governor George F. Johnstone and on British West Florida's economy, Fabel has used this background to advantage in his creative examination of three disparate groups. Save for the cords of empire, the three might be regarded as sharing little in common.

Readers who wish additional insight into the Native American experience on the southern frontier also may want to consult M. Thomas Hatley's *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution* (1993) as well as Daniel Usner's *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (1992). The late J. Leitch Wright, moreover, might have recognized in Fabel's portrayal of British Indian official John Thomas some of the braggadocio shared by William Augustus Bowles. Was Thomas a "dangerous madman," or was it Stuart's frustration as he tried to portray his deputy in reports to English officials? Thomas's pomposity may have been driven by the need for self-importance on the part of a bureaucrat whose lot had been cast in drab places.

Students of the North American frontier may find a certain irony in the author's description of Britain's postwar treatment of the defeated Black Caribs. The "English Land Commission treated the Caribs more like a people who had been conquered than one that had never given its allegiance to any European sovereign" (p. 159). The former pro-French and, after the American Revolution, pro-British Ohio tribes must have felt similarly after both Pontiac's Rebellion and the Peace of Paris, when diplomats marked boundaries that sweepingly disregarded Indian land claims.

For readers most familiar with continental North America, a map of the Caribbean and North America

would have illuminated the story of the Caribs' struggle. If the Caribbean were the Atlantic world's cockpit of war at one time, a means of understanding its proximity to the world of the sugar trade also would be instructive. Helpful, too, would be an estimation of how much Britain's sugar production would have increased by control of an island only eighteen miles by eleven. How much arable land was available there, what percentage was appropriate for sugar cane production, and how, for example, would this compare to an island like Barbados?

Fabel's work illuminates the amazing persistence of both the British empire and its subject peoples. We are better informed about the breadth of the Atlantic world by his scholarship.

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MAURICE ST. PIERRE. *Anatomy of Resistance: Anti-Colonialism in Guyana 1823–1966*. (Warwick University Caribbean Studies.) New York: Macmillan. 1999. Pp. x, 214.

There was a sigh of relief throughout the Caribbean in 1992 when fair elections were finally held in the Cooperative Republic of Guyana for the first time since 1964. Maurice St. Pierre provides an interesting, though occasionally rather complicated, assessment of resistance to the colonial power and its institutions from the slave rebellion of 1823 until independence was achieved in 1966.

After the Napoleonic Wars, three former Dutch territories became British Guiana. The first enemies of colonialism, the Amerindians, had already retreated to the interior. This necessitated the importation of African slaves to work on the sugar plantations in the coastal region. When slavery was abolished in the 1830s, the sugar barons opted for indentured labor. A small but significant number were Portuguese and Chinese; far more important, almost 240,000 indentured workers arrived from the Indian subcontinent between 1838 and 1917. This has created a culturally plural society where Guyanese of East Indian and African descent make up more than ninety percent of the population.

St. Pierre demonstrates the debt that the post-World War II independence movement owes to earlier anti-colonial activities. His analysis focuses on the mobilization of resources by the colonized in order to achieve effective collective action against the colonizer, who is unlikely to diminish his authority unless confronted by dynamic and aggressive demands for change.

Between the 1850s and the early 1940s, trade unions, ethnic organizations, cooperatives, and friendly societies were organized to wring concessions from the British government and "King Sugar." The economy was diversified by the growth of rice production and the discovery of bauxite. Racial cooperation could be observed but, unfortunately, ethnic tensions were also present. Resentment existed over Portuguese and Chi-

nese domination of the retail trades. Some blacks, now mostly urban, looked down on the East Indian plantation workers. The East Indians often found their own rich heritage superior to that of the blacks. Would the class interests of the poor and the exploited outweigh racial distrust? The emergence of a small black and East Indian middle class added a complicating element.

The last half of the book provides a thoughtful commentary on the twenty years after 1945 that were dominated by the pro-Soviet socialist, Cheddi Jagan, and the more moderate socialist, Forbes Burnham. They cooperated in the formation of the multiracial, socialist-oriented People's Progressive Party (PPP) in 1950 and won a decisive victory in the 1953 election. St. Pierre speculates on the course Guyanese history might have taken if the British had not suspended the constitution and removed the PPP ministers before the end of the year, supposedly for pushing the colony toward communism.

Relations between Jagan and Burnham had always been strained. Talented and charismatic, both wanted to lead the party. Within two years, the PPP was shattered and along with it—as the last forty-five years have proven—any chance for genuine racial cooperation. With but few exceptions, Jagan's PPP evolved into an essentially East Indian party while Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC) became primarily a party of Afro-Guyanese. Were political parties based upon race inevitable in a culturally plural society, or were they caused by a complicated interaction of internal and external factors?

Jagan won elections in 1957 and 1961 and seemed destined to lead British Guiana to independence when he was buried by Cold War politics. St. Pierre makes excellent use of U.S. government documents to show how the Kennedy administration, convinced that Jagan might become another Fidel Castro, conspired with the local opposition and the British government to oust him from office. The trick would be to introduce proportional representation. Burnham could then ally the PNC to Peter D'Aguiar's small, middle-class party and thereby receive more votes than the PPP. Racial violence engulfed the colony in 1962 and 1963 and perhaps explains why Jagan delivered himself to his enemies when he agreed that the British Colonial Secretary, Duncan Sandys, could impose a solution. Sandys promptly capitulated to the government of the United States.

An election based on proportional representation was held in 1964; Jagan garnered almost forty-six percent of the vote but Burnham's alliance with D'Aguiar provided more than the fifty percent required for victory. Independence came in 1966 but failed to end racial conflict. Burnham quickly maneuvered D'Aguiar from office; fraudulent elections kept him in power until his death in 1985.

It was not until 1992 that international pressure produced honest elections; an elderly Cheddi Jagan was finally triumphant. The PPP also won fair elections

in 1997 and 2001. Unfortunately, some racial turmoil occurred at all three elections. Cheddi Jagan passed away in 1997; Janet Jagan, his capable but controversial wife, succeeded him but then retired due to illness. It would be helpful if St. Pierre now explored the tragic consequences that flowed from the unconscionable manner in which Guyanese independence was finally achieved. What ought to have been a glorious moment in the anticolonial struggle was distorted by ethnic strife that is, alas, far too common throughout the world. Will the new generation of Guyanese leaders be able to fulfill the vision of the national motto: "One People, One Nation, One Destiny"?

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IVÁN MOLINA and STEVEN PALMER. *Educando a Costa Rica: Alfabetización popular, formación docente y género (1880- 1950)*. (Plumsack Mesoamerican Studies.) San Jose, Costa Rica: Editorial Porvenir. 2000. Pp. 180.

Academic and popular writers often portray Central American history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a time of internal political turmoil made worse by outside interventions in which the United States played a large part. Iván Molina and Steven Palmer take a different approach and present an exceptional picture by focusing on the progressive country of Costa Rica and the positive changes that took place in its educational, medical, and cultural institutions during those years.

This book, drawn from the authors' thorough and wide-ranging research, consists of four chapters on distinct but closely related topics. The first chapter is a comparative study, based to a large extent on statistics, of schooling in Costa Rica as contrasted with its neighbor to the north, Nicaragua. The patterns that emerge here will not surprise students of Central American history. Costa Rica, under the guidance of progressive governments, greatly expanded the availability of public schools while, by contrast, Nicaragua relied more heavily on private schools, which were usually too expensive for people of the lower strata of society. The result, as revealed in several statistical indicators, was a significantly higher rate of literacy in Costa Rica. For example, literacy in Costa Rica in the 1920s was 65.7 percent while in Nicaragua it was 40.5 percent. This gap widened over the next two decades, with Costa Rica improving to 78.8 percent in 1950 while Nicaragua, under the dictatorial dynasty established by Anastasio Somoza, saw its literacy rate fall to 35.4 percent.

The second chapter is a significant and stimulating interpretive essay in social history that pulls together three important themes: women's education, social mobility, and the origins of feminism in Costa Rica. The central institution in this chapter, the Colegio Superior de Señoritas, opened in 1888 as a teacher training college for women under the able leadership

of Marian Le Cappellain, who served as its director for twenty years. This government-run institution was both a response to the popular demand to make public education open to women and a recognition of the growing interest among women in the achievement of professional status, with the classroom serving as their most available opportunity. The students of the Colegio Superior came from a cross-section of the urban population ranging from the elite to the working class, thereby constituting a move toward democratization as well as feminization. Women educators began to play prominent political roles. The increasingly hard-line policies under the military dictatorship of Federico Tinoco resulted in public protests in which female teachers and students were active. These street demonstrations contributed to the downfall of the Tinoco regime in 1919. By the 1920s, teachers were leaders in the Costa Rican Feminist League, an organization inspired in part by Carrie Chapman Catt and other feminists from the United States.

The third topic concerns changes in employment practices within the teaching profession. In 1883, 43.6 percent of teachers were female, but by 1900 women held 55.8 percent of the nation's teaching positions. This occurred in a society in which men were decidedly dominant in government employment. The pronounced gap between male and female salaries, however, continued into the twentieth century. Males generally earned twenty percent more than females in the same or similar teaching positions, but, according to the authors, this gender discrimination was not as pronounced as in other occupations.

This volume's fourth theme concerns the impact of the Rockefeller Foundation's public health campaign against endemic hookworm in Costa Rica. The author of this chapter, Palmer, provides an intelligent, finely drawn analysis of the give and take between "medical imperialism," Costa Rican nationalism, and the role of the national government (public education in particular) in dealing with this public health problem. Relying on the records of the Rockefeller Foundation and several Costa Rican sources, Palmer offers a balanced view of this unusual episode in U.S. corporate activism in Central America.

Taken as a whole, this volume offers important insights not only into Costa Rican educational institutions but also into the cultural, political, and medical history of that nation. The progressive tendencies documented here go a considerable distance in explaining some of the roots of Costa Rica's reputation for political stability and democratic practices—which stands in contrast to the records of its Central American neighbors. Students of U.S. history may be interested to note the positive U.S. influences—teachers, feminists, and doctors—in an era better known for gunboat interventions and dollar diplomacy.

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LAIRD W. BERGAD. *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 85.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xxix, 298. \$54.95.

This is an ambitious volume focusing on the largest of Brazil's eighteenth and nineteenth-century regional slave systems. The author examines the consolidation of the mining-based export economy and the subsequent (or concomitant) expansion of agricultural and ranching activities geared to supplying markets within and beyond the frontiers of the captaincy/province of Minas Gerais. In terms of economic history, Laird W. Bergad provides a competent survey of two decades of revisionist historiography, dispelling the notion that the region slipped into secular stagnation once gold yields began their precipitous decline during the 1750s, with recovery coming through the emergence of a geographically limited coffee sector in the 1850s. In fact, a remarkable economic diversity, including cattle raising, dairy farming, foodstuff production, crafts, textiles, metallurgy, and other activities, avoided the decadence once imputed to Minas. Indeed, diversity fueled population growth well into the twentieth century. Although the survey lacks originality, the book has two important merits: it makes recent findings on a major slave economy available in a well-written English text; and it emphasizes the importance of market forces in determining historical tendencies, thereby suggesting that rigidities in the colonial system were less binding than traditional interpretations allow.

The assertion that Minas's nineteenth-century imports of Africans were second only to those of Cuba sparked a raging debate over the nature of regional slave demography. Bergad intends to settle that debate. He fails to do so adequately because his arguments and methodology are seriously flawed. According to the arguments, a virtual halt in slave imports from 1770 to 1810 allowed the slave population to overcome sexual imbalances engendered by the slave trade and embark on the path of natural increase; although imports partially recuperated after 1810, most subsequent growth of the slave population resulted from natural increase. 10,028 inheritance records, which generally provide slave origins and which show a steady decline in the proportion of Africans, form the basis for Bergad's assertion that Minas's slave population trailed only the U.S. South in terms of reproductive capacity.

Historically, Minas Gerais has been characterized by regional differences that are not conducive to sweeping generalizations. The author is attentive to such differences when examining economic development, but he ignores them when addressing demography. It is probable that regions least affected by diminished gold returns continued to import slaves. Southern Minas and northern diamond-producing regions were largely unaffected by the contraction besetting central mining

districts and their African presence fell only marginally. Moreover, numerous 1831–1832 nominal lists distinguishing between Africans and natives are ignored. The lists' slave population is consistently more African than the 1830–1834 inheritance record sample used by the author: in the diamond district, Africans accounted for fifty-one percent of all slaves in 1831–1832, while Bergad's figures show them as a mere 37.5 percent. Equally ignored were findings that Minas was the destination of some forty-five percent of Africans reexported from Rio de Janeiro between 1818 and 1831. This suggests potential imports of thousands of Africans during the last decades of the transatlantic slave trade. Although natural increase clearly played a part in maintaining or increasing the Minas slave population from 1780 on, the challenge is to determine its relative contribution to the dynamics of slave demography.

Bergad's unwillingness to engage in hermeneutics can be irritating. While noting that, until the 1820s, whites seldom accounted for one fifth of the total population, he accepts the 1872 census data showing that participation as 40.8 percent. Such a shift is not impossible, but it is highly improbable. As recent studies show, after 1850 earlier practices of meticulous racial labeling gave way to a blurring of color lines and a "whitening" of statistics. The most glaring example of Bergad's lack of attention to his sources comes from the following quote: "But it is futile even to speculate about the specific dynamics of credit and marketing prevailing in other [non-coffee] sectors or regions in the absence of documentary sources." The 10,028 inheritance records examined are replete with information on debts owed to and by the deceased, information that also reveals much about marketing. These same sources could yield data on the proportion of slave property to total wealth, a proportion that, despite rising slave prices, fell from 1820 on. Why are such issues left untouched, and why are connections between demographic and economic history not established?

Bergad has undoubtedly made a substantial contribution to our understanding of price fluctuations and of age and gender distributions. In the end, however, the value of this book lies more in the debate it will stimulate than in its conclusions.

DOUGLAS COLE LIBBY

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RODERICK BARMAN, *Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825–91*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 548. \$55.00.

A contemporary of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, Pedro II of Brazil reigned much longer than his Habsburg first cousin. His daughter and heir, Dona Isabel, three times regent of Brazil during her father's absences from the country, was postcolonial Latin America's first female head of state. She lost her chance to succeed permanently to the throne when the

Brazilian military overthrew the monarchy in the fiftieth year of Pedro II's reign, in 1889. Roderick Barman has written the essential biography of Pedro II, a marvelous book that explains better than any other how the Brazilian monarchy lasted as long as it did in a hemisphere hostile to royalty, and why it abruptly collapsed in a cloud of public apathy.

Barman consulted all the relevant primary sources: the emperor's public and private papers, his diaries, his letters and those of his relatives and intimates. This book is thoroughly researched and sharply focused on the person of Pedro II. It is not a life and times but a pure biography. Barman provides only the context necessary for the reader to understand the subject and to grasp the relationship between the making and unmaking of Pedro II and the making of Brazil. Remarkably uncluttered, the work is carefully crafted and stylishly written; it approaches perfection in the biographer's art. Serious scholars will appreciate the precision of this volume and not complain that it does not synthesize all the social, economic, political, and cultural monographs written on nineteenth-century Brazil. They can pursue related interests directly, guided by Barman's comprehensive bibliography.

Portrayed in exquisite detail with breathtaking objectivity, Barman's Pedro II is intelligent, honorable, charitable, stubborn, obsessed with control, self-centered, conservative, pedantic, and unimaginative. He was shrewd like King João VI and shared his grandfather's aversion to physical exercise and some of his disgusting eating habits. Pedro II's daughter, Dona Isabel, had some of the passion and idealism of her grandfather, Pedro I, but lacked the will to break free of her father's oppressive presence. Her French husband, the dutiful and high-strung Count d'Eu, might have saved the monarchy had his overbearing father-in-law not prevented him from developing his talents in Brazil. Riveting in its banality, the story of Pedro II and his family is better than a soap opera; it fascinates like a case study by Oscar Lewis.

Called "citizen emperor" because he disliked the trappings of royalty and dispensed with them whenever possible, Pedro II preferred a life of the mind to one of governance. He was a life-long student of the liberal arts, taught by private tutors, and famously corresponded with European savants. The emperor had a strong distaste for military matters, which he overcame temporarily to wage war to the death against president Francisco Solano López of Paraguay in 1864–1870. In war and peace, Pedro II conscientiously exercised the *poder moderador*, the key provision of the 1824 Brazilian constitution, which Barman correctly translates as the "regulating power." Cabinet ministers were appointed by the emperor and served at his pleasure; he named senators for life and could dissolve the lower house of parliament and convoke elections for its replacement at will.

Pedro II used the regulating power to smooth the flow of Brazilian politics. Like an impartial policeman, he directed traffic in an established pattern, insuring

that the dominant current had the right of way, demanding and receiving respect for his authority. Rarely did he overstep his regulatory role to pursue his own objectives. One such occasion was his intervention in the Paraguayan War, where he appears as the neighborhood patrolman who normally eschews violence but shoots an intruder who ignores his order to halt; as the wounded culprit lies helpless on the ground, the cop, incensed by the defiance of his authority, beats him to death with his nightstick. Actually, it was the imperial army that did Pedro II's dirty work, for which the emperor showed scant gratitude.

Following the Paraguayan War, the citizen emperor used his powers and enhanced prestige to compel the political establishment to take steps toward ending slavery in Brazil. This was after every other "civilized" country in the world, except one, had abolished slavery, and the other holdout, Spain, had enacted a free-birth law for its slaveholding colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico. The emperor hated change but accepted it as inevitable and did his best to control and minimize it. In 1871, he installed a government committed to granting conditional freedom to future children of slave women; then he departed on a trip to Europe, leaving Dona Isabel, a dedicated abolitionist, to sign the legislation as regent of the empire. If allowed to run its course, the Free Birth Law of 1871 would have ended slavery in Brazil by the mid-twentieth century.

The law did not run its course. Popular agitation led to the collapse of slavery in 1888. The emperor, debilitated by diabetes, lost control. As Barman shows, Pedro II was indifferent to the survival of the monarchy and was not greatly disturbed by his overthrow. He lived the remaining two years of his life in Europe in quiet dignity as citizen Dom Pedro.

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RACHEL E. HARDING. *A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 251. \$39.95.

It has long been argued that the culture of the African diaspora in the Americas is a culture of resistance. In her new book, Rachel E. Harding delves into culture as resistance with a deeply interpretive assessment of the Afro-Brazilian religious culture of candomblé. The book constructs a counternarrative to stereotypical representations of enslaved peoples merely as victims; its central focus is on the ways they utilized candomblé to create an alternative space of refuge and empowerment within the confines of the slave society of nineteenth-century Brazil. Harding thus offers a way to consider nonepisodic forms of resistance, such as cultural institution building, as an integral element of self-determination in the African diaspora. This is not, however, a vague discussion of culture. Harding is doing a form of ideological archeology, in which she

seeks to unearth the building blocks of that alternative space in the intricate details of police reports and contemporary observers. Although it is targeted toward that end, the book includes enough background and context to make it accessible to nonspecialists.

Much of the literature on candomblé has focused on direct retentions from Africa, the larger Bahian *terreiros*, liturgical practices, and, more recently, the ways in which the changing conditions of the late nineteenth century and personal contacts between Afro-Brazilians and West Africans led to new forms of candomblé. Harding's analysis emphasizes the continuity of a resistance strategy of alternativity, or the creation of physical and psychological spaces of power, by locating core elements of modern candomblé in the diverse cultural-religious practices of enslaved Africans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of these, such as the Bolsa de Mandinga and the Calundu, have been obscured by the disproportionate scholarly attention to candomblé, making Harding's inquiry particularly welcome. In the context of a slave society, candomblé and its predecessors counteracted the force of dominant ideologies of subjugation by restoring the intrinsic dignity and divinity of the individual. African values thus created an empowered identity of blackness in this diasporan community. Harding writes, "Through participation and initiation in candomblé tradition, black Brazilians (and not-so-black Brazilians as well) were reintroduced to a meaning of themselves, a meaning of their own identities, which stressed a connection to valued traditions of blackness: blackness as Africanness and Africanness as a source of *axé* [divine force]" (p. 150).

At the core of the study is Harding's analysis of mostly nineteenth-century police records, an era in which authorities attempted to check the spread of candomblé among the free population. While these documents are written from the perspective of authorities, Harding searches for meaning by locating the essential features of candomblé that Afro-Bahians cultivated despite the threat of persecution, such as the extended absences necessary for the period of initiation that could be interpreted as a form of *quilombismo*. She analyzes the specific activities of practitioners, their physical environments and possessions and also examines the supporting role of institutions and cultural practices that reinforced alternativity in general and candomblé in particular.

Harding has a keen eye for provocative details, some of which could have been teased out more fully. One such issue is the meaning of Brazilian citizenship for those most involved in this alternative space of candomblé. The author recounts the story of a priest who prepared for his arrest by dressing in a military uniform; in another case, the constitutionality of police harassment is challenged by candomblé supporters. Although Harding is consciously emphasizing the distinctive nature of the African-centered space, these actions, as well as the practice of leaving formal wills, suggest a more nuanced understanding of the ways in

which alternative spaces coexist with the larger society. There are other topics, such as the diverse ideologies within the Afro-Bahian community, or the pivotal importance of manumission and final abolition for the development of candomblé, that lie on the peripheries of the book's central inquiry, but whose consideration will be enriched by this work.

Though the book draws from examples throughout Brazil, it is deeply rooted in the city of Salvador, Bahia. Because conditions were so varied around the country, this study is best understood as a close examination of how one particular interpretation of blackness developed as an empowering identity, rather than a comprehensive assessment of all possible interpretations of Afro-Brazilian self-determination. Harding employs interpretive analyses from other areas of the Afro-Atlantic diaspora where similar uses of blackness emerged.

Historians often shy away from interpretive analyses of communities with so little documentary evidence of their intimate thoughts and feelings. But archival data is so limited that, without creative approaches, we might miss the opportunity for further inquiry into these fundamental but elusive facets of the distant history of the African diaspora in the Americas. Harding is to be commended for bringing her powerful interpretations and her knowledge of the candomblé religion to that which was recorded with sometimes different objectives. Though most of the sources are secondary, Harding complements the richly detailed police records with a broad array of Brazilian scholarship. Her book is a welcome addition to the new scholarship on the African diaspora, and students of Afro-Brazilian history will especially appreciate this engaging and challenging work.

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JAMES N. GREEN. *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth Century Brazil*. (Worlds of Desire.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 408. \$40.00.

This book by James N. Green is a major contribution to the social history of Latin America and to the comparative study of gender and sexuality more broadly. Studies of the social construction of sexual meanings and practices in countries and cultures throughout Latin America have expanded rapidly over the course of the past decade. Initially, the primary focus of much of this work was heavily influenced by the growth of feminist scholarship, and the study of women's experiences, both in the present and in the past, dominated a first wave of social science research. More recently, however, attention has focused on masculinity, and, perhaps in particular, male homosexuality, as a key area in the broader construction of Latin American sexual cultures. Anthropological and sociological studies of same-sex relations have been carried out in almost all the major Latin American

countries, and work on alternative male sexualities in Latin America has had a significant impact on the cross-cultural study of gender sexuality more broadly. Green's book is clearly situated within this wider research universe and draws heavily on many of the major theoretical insights developed in ethnographic studies carried out in Brazil and other parts of the Latin American region.

What is most important and novel about the book, however, is that it is really the first full-length monograph fully to apply many of the methods (and lessons) from contemporary historiography to the study of homosexuality in Latin America. By drawing on insights from contemporary ethnographic descriptions, but adding to them with remarkably rich data drawn from his own oral history interviews, archival records, popular literature, and newspapers and magazines over the course of the twentieth century, Green is able to reconstruct a vivid portrait of the lives and experiences of homosexual men as they struggle to make their way in an often hostile world. Focusing his discussion on both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, he is able to document the history of remarkably complex and varied urban subcultures from the early 1900s to the dawn of the Brazilian gay liberation movement during the "Abertura" or "Opening" of the military dictatorship in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Linking the detailed stories of particular men (both famous society figures such as João do Rio and more anonymous characters such as the majority of his own oral history subjects), Green is able to provide a living portrait of a complex sexual world ranging from impersonal sexual encounters in public spaces such as parks and plazas to the complex sexual underworld found in Bohemian nightlife and the festive playfulness of Carnival balls. At the same time, however, he documents, within the flow and flux of distinctly Brazilian urban life in both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, a growing sense of what would ultimately become a gay identity conscious of both the social and the political dimensions of sexual life. It is the fundamental tension between carefully documented daily lives and emerging social and political consciousness based on sexual subjectivity that is the most important dimension of this detailed and nuanced study.

Beyond its innovative use of historical methods to uncover a world previously wrapped in silence, perhaps the most important contribution of Green's study is the extent to which it provides a thoughtful challenge to stereotypical readings of Brazilian sexual culture and its supposed sexual tolerance. Relatively simplistic interpretations of both popular images (ranging from tourist advertising to contemporary music and art), together with frequent misreadings of ethnographic accounts of sexuality and homosexuality, have sometimes led to the naive assumption that sexual difference is somehow uniquely accepted in Brazilian society. Much like the misinterpretation of supposed racial tolerance, such readings have then been reinflected in a range of problematic ways to

occult or even altogether deny the experience of sexual discrimination and oppression in Brazilian life. The dilemma in such a view, of course, is that it so easily lends itself to the opposite argument: that Brazilian sexual cultures, like forms of discrimination and oppression, are no different than their North American or Western European counterparts. By carefully applying historical method and developing a nuanced reading of the daily experience of homosexual lives and the contours of homosexual subcultures within the broader context of Brazilian life and culture, Green manages to avoid the pitfalls of such over-simplistic views, offering us new insight into struggles for dignity and recognition in a historical and cultural context that is characterized at once by its difference as well as by its multiple forms of structural violence and oppression. Like any truly significant encounter with historical and cross-cultural difference, we simultaneously recognize ourselves, albeit through a glass darkly.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

W. JEFFREY TATUM. *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher*. (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. pp. xii, 365. \$49.95.

Publius Clodius stands as one of the most complex, minimally understood figures of late Roman republican history, in large part because the surviving testimony about his career and person is so decidedly negative in bias, particularly the writings of his arch nemesis, Marcus Tullius Cicero. Clodius emerges from the source tradition as an arrogant, effeminate aristocrat who spoke with a lisp and, as one of the *iuvenes barbatuli* (young rakes commonly associated with the renegade aristocrat, Catiline), wore his toga slung in a languid manner. Widely rumored to have engaged in incest with his sisters, Clodius most certainly violated the sanctity of the rites of the Roman goddess Bona Dea. In the latter scandal, he penetrated the house of the pontifex maximus, Julius Caesar, dressed in drag, in an audacious effort to steal the affection of Caesar's wife, while Caesar's mother and sister were present. Tried for this sacrilege, he obtained acquittal through flagrant bribery and rapidly emerged as a darling of the urban underclass, embarking on what was arguably the most demagogic Roman political career on record.

Although born a patrician, Clodius transited to plebeian status to obtain the tribuneship of 58 B.C. In this capacity, he passed a number of crucial legislative initiatives to assist the Roman plebs, including a formal subsidy of the public grain dole and the restoration of hundreds of private religious associations, known as *collegia*. The Roman senate had outlawed the *collegia* during the previous decade precisely because of their incitement to public violence. Clodius

capped his year in office by securing legislation to drive Cicero into exile.

Rabid popular support and urban street violence sustained Clodius's hold on prominence whether in or out of office. His effective use of organized gangs to thwart the activities of rival politicians in 57 compelled his chief antagonist, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, to engineer the formal recall of Cicero and to encourage the formation of rival gangs by Titus Annius Milo. The pitched battles of Clodius, Milo, and their followings essentially paralyzed public affairs at the capital in subsequent years. In 52 B.C. the two men happened on each other along the Appian Way, provoking a skirmish at the tail ends of their respective armed trains. In the ensuing violence, Clodius was killed.

The suddenness of this event and the violent demonstrations that attended Clodius's funeral (culminating in the incineration of both Clodius and the senate house) marked the premature end to a meteoric career. They also enabled Pompey to attain uncontested power within the city and, thus, contributed to the provocation of civil war. Historians can legitimately debate how differently things might have turned out had Clodius lived to seek the consulship.

Although far from satisfying, W. Jeffrey Tatum furnishes a useful biography of this complicated figure. Cultural historians seeking insight to Clodius's sexuality or to the underpinnings of Clodius's urban following will be disappointed by Tatum's studied evasion of both topics. This having been said, Tatum provides a careful, exhaustive, highly analytical narrative of Clodius's political career, a narrative that grapples with the immensely complicated procedures of Clodius's numerous trials, religious contests, and legislative activities. Tatum undeniably plays to his strengths with these difficult topics, all the while embodying his narrative with clear, readable prose.

Pursuing an uncompromisingly "reductionistic" line of reasoning, Tatum concludes that Clodius was an accidental demagogue. His sole ambition had been to fulfill his patrician legacy by attaining the highest public offices at Rome. Although hotheaded and sensitive of his patrician dignity, Clodius bore no innate revolutionary tendencies (p. 48). Embarrassment resulting from the Bona Dea trial exposed Clodius to *dolor*, or personal pain, that motivated him to pursue the radical route to power (p. 99). Although his legislation appeared *popularis*, closer scrutiny reveals that it was moderate, sensible, and palatable to many in the oligarchy (p. 132). Clodius's popular following emerged gradually and only during his tribuneship; it consisted of shop owners, innkeepers, free laborers, and freedmen, but never slaves, thugs, or gladiators (pp. 145, 180, 193). For the most part, Clodius deftly modulated his maneuvering between his popular following, his on-again, off-again support from Caesar and Pompey, and the approval he frequently obtained from the oligarchic rivals of these dynasts.

There is inadequate space here to address so many controversial, highly involved questions. Suffice it to

say that Tatum's adherence to reductionistic logic and the restricted focus of his narrative tend to obscure his treatment of the broader significance of the events in question. Tatum's biography needs to be accepted on its own terms. The care and accuracy with which he assembles the nuts and bolts of Clodius's political career have enabled him to forge an important template for the understanding of an extremely confusing era. Nonspecialists may fail to grasp the full significance of Tatum's contribution, even as specialists take him to task for his revisionism. In the final analysis, most will agree that Tatum has laid a foundation for the renewed investigation of this intriguing Roman figure and the decade he so poignantly helped to shape.

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THOMAS SCHILP. *Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter: Die Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis des Jahres 816 und die Problematik der Verfassung von Frauenkommunitäten*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 137; Studien zur Germania Sacra, number 21.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1998. Pp. 242. DM 54.00.

Thomas Schilp takes a relatively well-known text—the *Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis* of 816—and subjects it to a more careful and detailed analysis than anyone has ever before attempted. He then puts this document into dialogue with, first, the major currents of Carolingian ecclesiastical reform and, second, the long-term history of communities of canonesses. Carolingian religious communities have been treated to intensive investigation in recent years by major scholars such as Arnold Angenendt, Otto Gerhard Oexle, and Josef Semmler, but women's houses have been neglected since 1907, when Karl Heinrich Schäfer published *Die Kanonissenstifter im deutschen Mittelalter*. Schilp's book is repetitive, speculative, and stretched out beyond what the limited evidence permits. Still, it contains an original argument and makes a welcome contribution to the history of Carolingian political, religious, and women's history.

The *Institutio sanctimonialium* was issued in 816 as one component of a massive program of religious reform undertaken by Louis the Pious (814–840) in the early years of his reign. Schilp argues persuasively that Louis's sense of his office as *munus divinum* and his quest for order and harmony compelled the emperor to integrate women religious into the religious framework of the empire. To do so was to harness new spiritual forces to the overall task of invoking divine assistance for the realm and its rulers. Incorporating women posed distinctive problems, however, because women could not be ordained as priests and could not, therefore, assume leadership positions in the Carolingian *Civitas Dei*. Before 816, moreover, Carolingian legislation paid relatively little attention to women's

communities, and scholars have actually had a hard time identifying houses of canonesses.

In a long section entitled "Textimmanente Untersuchungen" (pp. 59–99), Schilp delves productively into the *Institutio sanctimonialium* itself to trace its sources, its core provisions, and the political, ecclesiastical, and religious forces that contributed to its preparation. The text contains twenty-eight canons divided, in Schilp's analysis, into two sections. The first six treat women's spirituality generally. These provisions drew on patristic models and attempted to inculcate ritual purity on the basis of long-standing traditions. The remaining twenty-two canons addressed specific aspects of community life. The first group within this section focuses on the abbess and serves to emphasize both her hierarchical authority and her moral fitness. Abbesses were enjoined to be models of exemplary behavior. Subsequent canons deal with the other officers of the community. The goals of the life within the community were common life, material security, limitation of contacts with the outside world, and avoidance of social distinctions. Schilp reasons that traditions had to be trimmed to meet these goals and that compromise is evident in several respects.

After his close review of the *Institutio sanctimonialium*, Schilp turns to an exploration of the people who were involved in, or interested in, the legislation of 816 and of how their varying perspectives shaped the documents. Here Schilp is at his most original and speculative. He acknowledges that we cannot specifically identify the leaders in 816 but says, reasonably, that they represented the social and political elite, albeit probably not women themselves. Most houses of canonesses were founded by prominent landed families. Those families surely chose the abbesses—the documents say not a word about the mechanisms for choosing abbesses—and expected them to continue to serve the family's interests. These houses were places of economic and political power in the countryside, necropolises for great families, and storehouses of spiritual intercession and memory preservation. The abbess and the canonesses were permitted to have personal possessions, and even private residences. These provisions must have damaged common life while promoting, or preserving, social distinctions. The emperor, Schilp believes, must have been forced to accept these compromises.

Schilp tries hard to assess the provisions of the *Institutio sanctimonialium* against the history of women's communities in the ninth century but has to admit that his task is rendered almost impossible by a lack of concrete information. In an attempt to remedy this lack of evidence, Schilp turns to the better documented and more extensively studied situation of Saxony in the tenth and eleventh centuries. He also traces later changes in both the status of communities of canonesses and attitudes toward them in a search for clues about ninth-century conditions. I am not persuaded that this material serves Schilp's purposes.

As a modest contribution to women's history, a

detailed investigation of the *Institutio sanctimonialium*, and a fine study in the practical realities of religious reform, this is a good book. Its limitations are attributable more to the thin evidentiary base than to the author's shortcomings or lack of imagination.

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ALEXANDER MURRAY. *Suicide in the Middle Ages*. Volume 2, *The Curse on Self-Murder*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiii, 620. \$49.95.

This remarkable book is the second of three volumes on suicide in the Middle Ages. The first, *The Violent Against Themselves* (1998), was concerned primarily with individual suicides. It is the thesis, according to Alexander Murray; the present volume is the antithesis; and the third volume, *The Mapping of Mental Desolation*, which will concentrate on the psychology of suicide, is the synthesis. Together they "represent parts of a single organism, living and growing, creating its waste and seeking to recycle it" (p. 6).

In spite of the theoretical unity of the entire work, this volume stands alone as an important contribution to the history of ethical and legal theory and practice. It is divided into five sections, of which the first deals with the treatment of the possessions and bodies of suicides, including the confiscation of property and denial of Christian burial. The second is on the view of suicide in the Bible and the Church Fathers, especially Augustine, who "broke apart the coupling, long cemented by Stoicism, of suicide and the highest moral values" (p. 121). He set the scene for the Middle Ages (section three), when suicide was regarded as the worst possible sin, against which the sanctions were "the *nec plus ultra* of terror" (p. 596), and when it was discussed at length by theologians, canonists, jurists, and "occasional theologians" like Dante. The two final sections are on taboo. "Pollution and the community" examines intent, pollution, and the role of the community, which "played an essential role in conceiving and enforcing the rigorous suicide laws" (p. 480). "The Unwritten Inheritance" studies the curse in antiquity (Rome, Greece, and the Jews) and in other cultures (primitive peoples, India, the early Germans, and Egypt) and shows that "Some essential elements in European law and belief have parallels among peoples clearly independent of European influence" (p. 539).

Murray's research is based on the principles of what he calls the "stepping-stone" or "wide net" (pp. 15–16), which he casts broadly both chronologically and geographically. He also uses "the technique of reading documents upside down": that is, of working backward from texts to social realities (p. 529). He thus puts together a picture based on many types of sources and throwing light on various cultures in addition to the Christian Middle Ages. Owing to this method, and to the subtlety of the analysis, the work is not always easy to read. It might have been easier if Murray had put the sections on taboo before those on practice and

theory in antiquity and the Middle Ages. The author moves with skill from one region and period to another, however, discussing the differences and changes, and each part helps to explain the following ones, even if another order can be imagined.

A major difficulty is the lack of firm evidence before the thirteenth century. Hostility to suicide often drives it "into hiding, and that includes hiding from historical research" (p. 562). It is therefore almost impossible to establish with certainty the prevailing views, tensions, layers of opinion, and developments in antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Toward the end of the book, Murray studies the views on suicide of the early monks in Egypt, especially Pachomius, and their possible influence on Martin of Braga and, through him, on the decree of the Council of Braga in 561, the first clear canonical condemnation of suicide, from which (with various modifications) later medieval decrees derived. This is an attractive hypothesis, but the actual spread of views concerning suicide and the change from the views in antiquity to those of the Middle Ages are obscure, and may be related to basic human attitudes whose precise nature is unknown, and, perhaps, unknowable.

Murray stresses the importance both of the place of a crime and especially, in the case of suicide, of the method. "Medieval conceptions of suicide were embedded . . . in the visible and tangible objects whose relevant movements constituted . . . the essence of an event" (p. 441). Above all, he stresses the complexity and tensions in the teachings of the church, which was no monolith. "To understand anything medieval at all you must give a lot of time to it, and specialize" (p. 483). Murray has given a great deal of time to this work and has dug deeply into the minds and behavior of medieval people. As a result of his research, scholars will better understand not only suicide but also the development of social and ethical ideas in the Middle Ages.

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DAVID LEVINE. *At the Dawn of Modernity: Biology, Culture, and Material Life in Europe after the Year 1000*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. vii, 431. \$45.00.

"The roots of the modern world can be located in the new kind of society that emerged after the year 1000." With this assertive but nebulous claim David Levine opens his long and portentously titled book. There follow over 400 pages summarizing the secondary literature on the imposition of feudal or seigneurial lordship, the economic developments of the High Middle Ages and the functioning of the medieval English peasant family, interspersed with musings on medieval carpentry, the trial of Joan of Arc, the relationship between fact and paradigm in historical thinking, the author's "profound sense of unease"

about the pro-Nazi sentiments of German scholars in the 1930s (p. 41), and a dozen other topics, germane or not so germane.

Key elements in the author's story are the purported shift of aristocratic family structure in the eleventh century toward primogeniture, the enserfment of the rural population, technological advances of various kinds, commercialization, and the so called "north-west-European" pattern of late marriage. His approach is an integrative one, a characteristic assertion being "These processes were all of a piece. They were part and parcel of the massive energy thrown out in all directions by the social explosion which occurred after the year 1000" (p. 176). His chronology is elastic, the year 1000 serving at various moments as a rough indicator of any period from 800 to 1300, but his geography is limited; the bulk of the book is actually about England.

The author's standpoint amalgamates much Marxism, a little feminism, a fair amount of "bottom-up" populism, and a strand of the technological determinism associated with the name of Lynn White, Jr. A paragraph on the penetration of the fertile but difficult soils of northern Europe by the heavy plough concludes, "The European miracle of mastering the physical world began to take form" (p. 177). Such comments, as well as the book's title, suggest that its central topic is the rise of a distinctively modern society, in Europe, in the medieval period. Yet how different Europe was from other preindustrial societies is a question that is scarcely addressed, and there is little attempt to establish clear links between the long discussion of the medieval peasant family and these wider Eurocentric and technologist assumptions.

Stylistically the book is an amalgam of middle-level sociological generalities and overheated cliché: "The transition from tribalism to early modernization was forged in the crucible of warfare" (p. 43). A particular shortcoming is repetition. Levine asserts that the Black Death "destroyed all bonds of community in a maelstrom of fear and loathing" (p. 327); five pages later he does so again, in identical words (p. 333). It is hard to count the number of occurrences of that tired adjective "massive," but it is certainly found three times in one paragraph and has been so drained of meaning that it is possible to talk of "a significant massive increase" (p. 187), while the author's penchant for the exotic verb "imbricate" gives us sentences like "the seigneurial relationship . . . became imbricated within the skin of everyday life" (p. 216). The terminology is as idiosyncratic as the vocabulary. The development of "the new kind of society" after 1000 is labelled "early modernization," not only creating a chimera but then giving it a misleading label.

Levine is a historical demographer who has undertaken detailed empirical analyses of several English local communities in the period immediately prior to and during industrialization. He has also published more general, and more polemical, books, such as *Reproducing Families: The Political Economy of English*

Population History (1987). It is not clear why he has undertaken the present work. In some sense, of course, it is unfair to ask what a book is for, but this one prompts the question. It is certainly not an introductory textbook for students; nor is it a work of primary research (as the author freely admits). Bizarrely, although written with the confidence and drive of a well-established professional historian, its underpinnings are a reading list that could be mastered by a hard-working sophomore: English-language publications, mainly of the 1970s and 1980s, especially those of a left-liberal bent. The book's lack of focus, digressiveness, and narrow empirical foundation mean that it has not succeeded as an interpretive synthesis. Those looking for a cogent neo-Marxist analysis of medieval society by a nonmedievalist can continue to turn to Perry Anderson's *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (1974).

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C. WARREN HOLLISTER. *Henry I*. Edited and completed by AMANDA CLARK FROST. (Yale English Monarchs.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 554. \$39.95.

Henry I, king of England 1100–1135 and duke of Normandy from 1106, has always been regarded as an important historical figure. The youngest son of William the Conqueror, who won the kingdom by the battle of Hastings in 1066, he unexpectedly succeeded his two more cavalier older brothers, Robert Curthose and William Rufus, and became a key figure in the transformation of the immature Anglo-Norman kingdom into the assured Angevin monarchy of his grandson Henry II. This long-awaited biography has a checkered history. Commissioned by Eyre and Spottiswoode in 1962, Hollister demonstrated his continuing interest in the project by publishing a stream of articles on Henry I's reign. But the book seems to have been nowhere near completion in 1990, when a fire destroyed his first draft, his research notes, and his entire research library. He started rewriting in 1994, and before his untimely death three years later he had composed a provisional draft of eight and a half chapters, together with an outline of the remainder. On his deathbed, removing his oxygen mask, Hollister gave instructions on how the book was to be finished. The work of editing the chapters in draft and completing the rest was undertaken by his former research student, Amanda Clark Frost, assisted by Hollister's former colleague and friend, Jeffrey Burton Russell. And the task was completed in three years.

This extraordinary history explains some of the features of the book: its great length and leisurely pace, compounded by masses of detail and much repetition. It has, however, many sterling virtues. It is based throughout firmly on the primary sources, and the footnotes reveal very extensive reading of secondary works, especially in the periodical literature, both

English and French. Hollister refers as well to unpublished theses and quotes and discusses the views of other historians, always courteously, usually with compliments, sometimes effusive. After a long introductory chapter on the sources and setting, Hollister provides a linear account of his hero's deeds, interrupted by three thematic chapters, one on the king and magnates, one on law and government, and the third on the king and the church (this a completely posthumous construct). These chapters largely reprocess matters already dealt with in the chronological chapters, a problem that faces all authors of such works. Hollister writes well, easily and plainly, and as a historian he is intelligent, perceptive, and shrewd.

Hollister's most noticeable aberration is that, whereas he calls Henry's mother and wife Matilda, he calls his daughter Maud, although in Latin they are all *Matildis*. More important, he regards Henry and his government rather more indulgently than has been usual in the past. He reasserts, against recent skepticism, that Henry was literate, and he makes light of the stock charges against him of avarice, cruelty, and lust. He also does his best to dispel the feeling that Henry was a rather cold fish, a view that depends largely on the absence in the sources of revealing anecdotes such as illuminate the behavior of his brothers, although not their father. For Hollister, Henry, raised in the hard school of poverty with few expectations, intelligently developed the Anglo-Norman monarchical government. A literate ruler with a literate government, he was a peacemaker who gave England and Normandy an exceptionally long period of rest. But, of course, to secure that peace Henry had frequently to go to war, and perhaps Hollister does not emphasize enough what a fine soldier Henry was, the best in his family, with victories in three pitched battles and no defeats. He spent his leisure hours in hunting, not in reading books.

Whether strong, effective government such as Henry provided for the kingdom and the duchy is admirable or tyrannical, and whether the "nineteen long winters" of his successor Stephen's reign should be considered a beneficial interlude of liberty or deplorable anarchy, are matters of opinion. In the long run, there is no definitive history. But Hollister, having at last appropriated Henry I and his reign, will not easily or quickly be dispossessed. Although this is not quite the book that other scholars have long awaited, it is, in the circumstances, a major achievement.

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JOHN GILLINGHAM. *Richard I*. (Yale English Monarchs.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 378. \$30.00.

This is John Gillingham's third book about King Richard I of England (r. 1189–1199). The first, *Richard the Lionheart* (1978), was a biography that focused primarily on Richard's involvement in conflicts, both

with the French king and with his own vassals, over the Angevin possessions on the continent. Richard's crusading activities and his reign in England received only secondary attention in that book. *Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry, and War in the Twelfth Century*, a collection of Gillingham's previously published articles and papers on a variety of topics associated in one way or another with Richard's career, followed in 1994. One might naturally wonder what else Gillingham might find to say in his third book about the same person.

Quite a bit is the short answer to that question. The main focus in this book, unlike its predecessors, is on Richard's crusade to the Holy Land in 1190–1192, as well as his capture, imprisonment, and ransom during his return journey (1192–1193), and his achievements as an English monarch.

Gillingham's treatment of Richard's crusade is detailed and lively. He makes notably effective use of the translated Arabic sources, which earlier accounts have largely neglected. Among the Western sources, he relies most heavily—at times perhaps excessively—on the verse account in the *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, which Gaston Paris attributed to an Anglo-Norman jongleur named Ambroise. While the *Estoire* is undeniably an extremely important, and sometimes indispensable, witness to the events of the crusade, the author's uncorroborated statements need to be treated with considerable caution. That aside, it is fair to say that Gillingham has scoured all of the available source material in print and from it has constructed what may well be the best account we have of Richard's activities in the Holy Land.

Gillingham is especially good, too, on Richard's capture and imprisonment, first by Duke Leopold of Austria, then later by the emperor Henry VI. His analysis of the conflicting agendas of participants in the ransom arrangements is shrewder and more persuasive than any other that I have seen.

Gillingham's treatment of Richard's achievements as an English ruler strikes an uncommonly positive note. He takes a far more favorable view of the king's administrative abilities and achievements than most modern historians have done. Everyone who has looked at the record would agree, I think, that Richard was extraordinarily fortunate in his choice of Hubert Walter as archbishop of Canterbury and that, from 1193 onward, the archbishop's political skills were largely responsible for the effective conduct of English government during the king's almost continuous absence from the realm. But to balance that piece of good luck, it needs to be added that Richard's earlier personnel choices were by no means uniformly so successful and at times verged on the disastrous.

It seems difficult to escape the conclusion that a monarch who knew so little about his kingdom and spent so little time there as Richard did—he was in England, when all is said and done, for less than six months out of his ten-year reign—cannot readily be credited with great interest or concern with the govern-

nance of his subjects, let alone their well-being. Gillingham, however, makes a valiant effort to argue just that. That Richard sometimes made sound choices when he delegated authority and that his agents were uncommonly successful at wringing revenues out of his subjects is not what most historians have considered compelling evidence of successful government.

Gillingham is surely right, however, to make much of the fact that Richard was enormously admired by his contemporaries and their successors for his courage, knightly prowess, and military skills. The battlefield was where Richard was at his best, and his best was marvelously good. He was a shrewd strategist, a skilled tactician, a charismatic leader, a powerful fighter—the very model of everything a twelfth-century warrior was supposed to be: they simply didn't come better than Richard Lion Heart. These were qualities that twelfth and thirteenth-century men—and women as well—valued and admired. Clearly Gillingham does so too.

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JOSEPH A. GRIBBIN. *The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, number 16.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell & Brewer. 2001. Pp. xviii, 283. \$75.00.

There are many books dealing with the history of individual religious houses in pre-Reformation England, but broad surveys focusing on the separate orders are relatively scarce. Joseph A. Gribbin seeks to fill the gap for the Premonstratensians, although not completely. To some extent, his book is best approached not as a history but as a series of studies, almost a collection of essays. The author does not aim to provide a complete assessment of the order or to analyze all aspects of its development prior to the dissolution of the monasteries. Rather, he “focuses primarily on the conventual observances of the ‘white’ canons and their visitation by Bishop Richard Redman (d. 1505) . . . as revealed in his visitation register and other manuscript sources” (p. ix). While occasionally ranging more widely, the book’s chronological limits are accordingly set essentially by Redman’s period of office as commissary general of Premontr  within England, c. 1458–1505.

Gribbin begins with a general historical introduction, looking back to the origins of the Premonstratensians in England and considering the institutional and constitutional evolutions through to the early fourteenth century. His second chapter deals with the core source material: the records of Premonstratensian visitations that survive from the later fifteenth century, the most coherent such body of evidence for any of the exempt orders in medieval England. Chapter three—the longest—offers a detailed scrutiny of that visitation material, primarily examining the organization and discipline of the houses.

So far, so good. The focus has been clearly on the visitation material, and the individual chapters have

cohered into an evolving unity. From this point, however, that unity breaks down, and the chapters become much more like discrete studies. Chapter four turns to “The English Premonstratensian Liturgy,” looking at its development over time, the surviving manuscripts, and the influences on the order’s local observances. This chapter necessarily has to consider in some detail the changes prior to the fifteenth century (although thirteenth-century texts do not receive detailed analysis). Chapter five considers “Learning, Spirituality, and *Pastoralia*: English Premonstratensian Manuscripts, Books and Libraries in the Later Middle Ages.” As in other chapters, the discussion is very detailed and informative but also highly self-contained. The final chapter offers a biography of Bishop Redman, tracing his career both within the order and as a diocesan bishop (as far as this is possible) successively at St. Asaph, Exeter, and Ely. A brief conclusion is meant to survey “From cessation to dissolution.” What “cessation” means is unclear: could it be a mistake for “secession,” as the focus is on the negotiations for the break with the central authorities of the order in France in 1511? That is effectively where the book ends: the dissolution is merely mentioned, very much as an afterthought, in the final sentence. Five appendixes complete the volume. The first three focus on the visitation material, providing editions of Redman’s visitation itineraries, maps of three of his circuits, and a detailed chronological list of the visitations of English Premonstratensian houses between 1458 and 1503. The fourth examines the accusations of fornication in the houses between 1475 and 1500; the fifth considers the date of John Capgrave’s *Life of St. Norbert*, allocating it to 1440.

The author knows his material and cites an impressive range of primary and secondary sources. This is certainly a useful volume. The determined focus on Redman and his visitation materials gives the book coherence but also an odd feel. In the conclusion, the coverage is pushed to 1511, and the separation of the English Premonstratensians from their French mother house. Rarely is the chronology taken further; yet the book’s title creates expectations of analysis right up to the Reformation; a fuller investigation of surviving estate material for the individual houses would certainly be welcome, if only to set the visitation findings in a more definite context. The 1535 *Valor ecclesiasticus* is sometimes cited, but it receives no specific analysis for the light it sheds on the houses and their economic systems. Indeed, the decision not to take the history through to the dissolution seems almost perverse: Redman’s visitation records are extensive and informative, but a full assessment of the order (and, arguably, of the Redman material), which would take the discussion beyond the doctoral dissertation in which this book originated, demands some comparison with the dissolution reports and surveys.

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FREDERIK PEDERSEN. *Marriage Disputes in Medieval England*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 235.

In this book, Frederik Pedersen studies the fourteenth-century ecclesiastical courts of York province and particularly the interaction between those courts and the laity of northern England. Matrimonial litigation forms a useful case study for his purposes, as marital disputes were the most common reason laypeople brought suits before a church court. The records of marriage cases heard before the York consistory (the so-called York Cause Papers) show litigants and witnesses across a relatively wide social spectrum, including far more women than can be found in the records of any other kind of medieval legal dispute.

Pedersen's fundamental thesis is that the system worked well: both the canon law of marriage in general and its particular operation through the ecclesiastical courts of the archdiocese of York in the fourteenth century were effective and fair. Arguing that laypeople had a good grasp of the canon law as it related to marriage, Pedersen delineates the sometimes sophisticated legal strategies laypeople employed. He also contends that the personnel of the court—the presiding judges, the advocates, and the proctors—were well trained, generally honest, and effective in their jobs. Cases were decided, as far as we can tell, on their merits, according to the prevailing canon law. In these arguments, Pedersen generally falls into line with other scholars who have studied marital litigation, particularly Richard Helmholz and Charles Donahue.

In the preface, Pedersen makes an important point about the records of ecclesiastical courts, fascinating documents that a number of scholars have employed recently to investigate the nature of late medieval life. Any analysis of these sources, Pedersen argues, must take witness testimony for what it is, namely “a collection of narratives, highly organised to fit specific circumstances and suitable to further the argument of the litigant for whose position they were produced” (p. viii). Unfortunately, Pedersen does not always keep his own warning in mind when working with the court records himself. There are some dubious leaps beyond the evidence. Proceeding, for instance, from an unconvincing premise that witness William Bridesall was mentally handicapped (when evidence, at least as presented in the text, suggests instead that other deponents emphasized his drunkenness), Pedersen paradoxically argues both that basic knowledge of the canon law of marriage was so widespread that even the mentally handicapped could grasp it, and that Bridesall could not have been instructed to perjure himself because his incapacity precluded his being able to understand the instructions (pp. 70–73). More serious is Pedersen's tendency to take the records, and especially the legal conventions, too literally. Pedersen attributes legal strategies directly to the litigants themselves in whose names the maneuvers are recorded in

court documents. Laymen and women of all ages and social stations are described at various points as being knowledgeable enough about canon law to assemble their legal strategy, gather witnesses, and argue their own cases (e.g. pp. 63, 76–77, 83, 142), without any specific evidence being presented that they did so, other than that their names were attached to the documentation introduced in court. This is at odds with Pedersen's own lengthy discussion of the roles that the lawyers working at the court played in advising laypeople who appeared before it. One might suspect, in many cases, that there were other players lurking in the background, too, especially fathers and other older men with more legal experience than the younger litigants and often a good deal of personal interest in the outcome of the litigation. Clearly Pedersen's conclusion—that laypeople knew the basics of the canon law of marriage and sometimes were able to manipulate that knowledge to their advantage—has merit, but it requires more nuance: not all laypeople knew the law equally well, and in particular it makes sense to consider more carefully issues of gender, social status, and age.

The book also contains too many careless errors, blame for which must be shared between Pedersen and the publisher. Several of the chapters have been published previously but have not been wholly adapted to fit their new context: on three occasions, passages are repeated virtually word for word (pp. 48 and 52; 32–33 and 108–9; 200 and 202), and illustrative graphs are promised to follow a passage (p. 200) but appear nowhere in the book. Pedersen suggests, without comment, that the Black Death arrived in Yorkshire in 1343 or 1344 (p. 153). The text is littered with typos; cross-references in the notes are left blank, parties' names in cases are spelled differently from one page to the next and sometimes within the same sentence. The book would have benefited from a good copyeditor. Presumably the publisher must bear the whole brunt of blame for the dustcover, attractive from a distance but upon closer inspection mystifying: what does the colorful reproduction of a manuscript painting (captioned “The smith's wife forging at a waist-level hearth”) have to do with marital disputes?

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NANCY BRADLEY WARREN. *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 276. \$55.00.

The dust jacket and preface of this book focus on Dartford, a wealthy Dominican nunnery founded primarily for the purpose of supporting friars who could not own property themselves. Interesting as the thumbnail history is, it is a misleading indicator of the book's contents. Nancy Bradley Warren's study is grounded in modern literary theory about male strategies to contain women's claims to spiritual authority.

"Economies" is simply a metaphor for the production and distribution of female monastic identities in Lancastrian England.

The first part (three chapters) concerns feminine identities in monastic communities, and the second (four chapters) concentrates on their symbolic uses in the secular world. Only chapter three makes a limited effort to discern how nuns viewed themselves and interacted with their world. Documents of practice suggest, in line with most modern work on the subject, that abbesses were resistant to official ecclesiastical views of their inferiority and incompetence. The sense of self expressed in seals and titles emphasizes a maternal and queenly model of Mary against the retiring bride favored by clerical advisors. At least one abbess actually evoked the bridal and virginal image to manipulate a potential patron.

This chapter is a corrective to the first two chapters concerning clerical use of monastic rules to control women's spiritual lives. Warren differentiates herself from researchers, including myself, who have treated female monasticism as an entity barely differentiated by orders. In chapter one, she offers a comparative analysis of translations of Benedictine, Briggittine, and Franciscan rules as scripts aimed solely at women and the gendered approach of episcopal visitations. Chapter two explores authoritarian linguistic devices used by the clerical establishment to counter the "boundary shifting, socially transformative" threat of vernacular translation to the dominating power of ecclesiastical Latin (p. 31). Despite some provocative differences among the rules, women in all three orders do appear to have more in common than they do with men in any given order.

The Benedictine and Franciscan components of Warren's analysis are subordinated to the influence of Birgitta of Sweden and the wealthy foundation of Syon, so heavily favored by the Lancastrian dynasty. Comparison with the other two orders highlights the greater scope for female authority through identification with the Blessed Virgin in the Briggittine rule (written by a woman for women). Nevertheless, many Latinist devices that were reversed in the Briggittine rule (where the vernacular took priority with a translation into Latin authorized by the Blessed Virgin for the benefit of men who did not know Swedish) reappeared in the English translation. Briggittine emphasis on Mary as coredemptrix is said to make gender difference primary to the economy of salvation. Further examples of the inspiration of Birgitta's Marian visions in English religious, cultural, and political life move me to regret that Warren did not provide a far more extensive analysis of Birgitta's own writing to give focus to these distant emulators. She does, however, discuss at some length the role of women in the Briggittine *Myroure*, a liturgical document, and the "genealogy" of salvation from Eve to Mary.

The economic metaphor becomes more complex in part two, which deals with the world outside the convent. It is apparently inspired by a certain quasi-

Marxist rhetoric found among French theorists. Thus shifting uses of gendered language in response to changing conditions are explained as efforts to "save the market" for Latinists, a phrase taken from Pierre Bourdieu. Following Michel de Certeau, Warren works out a theory of exchange between writer and reader in the Briggittine liturgies. References to motherhood as productive capacity create a tenuous bridge to uses of nuns as exempla (or counter-exempla) to secular women. Thus in chapter four, an ingenious Marxist interpretation of the "abbess delivered" motif makes it a male celibate cooptation of maternity, strengthening the productive power of their Eucharistic monopoly. The subject surfaces again in the following chapter with a look at Henry V's patronage of Syon, where he used Briggittine Marian symbolism to express his claim to France through the female line.

Warren sees fifteenth-century women gaining some control of textual resources (book use, production, and ownership) through the vernacular and their own "increasing" wealth (p. 92). Through access to "Bride's book" and her Marian identification, unmonasticized holy women both empowered and endangered themselves through their influence on kings and nobles. The economic metaphor is tortuously strained to express the consequent liabilities and assets that, inevitably, lead to the trial and burning of Joan of Arc within the context of Lancastrian uses of female holiness to further their own ambitions.

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KOUKY FIANU and DELLOYD J. GUTH, editors. *Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: Espace français, espace anglais*. (Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales; Textes et études du moyen âge, number 6.) Louvain-La-Neuve. 1997. Pp. vi, 342. €44.

A century ago, the study of chanceries and centralized administration was the bright star of medieval research, but it suffered an eclipse when socioeconomic history supplanted it under the influence of the *Annales* school. The seventeen contributors to this book show that there is renewed life in this subject, now that chanceries are viewed in their cultural and intellectual contexts as manifestations of a developing literacy in medieval Europe. In the concluding chapter, Claude Gauvard goes so far as to claim that the chancery clerk "becomes a sort of poet of writing placed at the service of the administration" (p. 341; my translation of the French). The English Privy Seal clerk, Thomas Hoccleve, had a less sanguine view of his function: "We stoop and stare upon the sheep's skin / and keep must our song and words in."

Through its variety of contributions, this book provides an invaluable guide to work in progress on writings and writing offices, of many sorts, in France and England primarily in the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries. The concept of "chancery" or "chancellery" is no longer confined to a royal or episcopal writing office, which is its strict medieval usage. John Drendel's excellent essay, "Localism and Literacy," examines village chancelleries in fourteenth-century Provence, and Jean-Luc Bonnaud discusses the authority for auditing financial accounts in the "local chancery" of Aix-en-Provence. Two other articles, by Sylvie Quéré and Michel Hébert, concern Languedoc's and Provence's relationships with the French royal chancery.

This book originates from a bilingual conference held in Montreal in 1995; eleven of the contributions are in French and seven in English. This makes for some difficulties. There is no index in either language. There are no summaries of the articles to enable a monoglot reader to get a picture of the whole. No contributor crosses the boundary between France and England to make comparisons or to present an overview. (DeLloyd J. Guth provides a stimulating introduction, but it is not an overview.) This is because no scholar at present has first-hand knowledge of the manuscript sources, numbering thousands of documents by the fifteenth century, in both France and England. Researchers are trained to specialize in the chancery of one European kingdom or another. Perhaps this is right, as it would be impossible for a single individual to know about them all in detail; chanceries in Spain, Italy (leaving aside the papacy), and Germany are richly documented and complex subjects in themselves.

Despite the difficulties, the essays in this book are to be welcomed as a positive step toward international cooperation in the study of medieval literacy. The leading authorities on France and England contribute to it. Elisabeth Lalou writes on the chancery of Philip the Fair of France and Olivier Guyotjeannin on the "Trésor des chartes," which was the official memory of the French monarchy. Claude Gauvard discusses pardons for crimes issued by the French royal chancery, and Kouky Fianu the procedures for testing the authenticity of charters. The royal chancery's Frenchness is analyzed by Serge Lusignan, who examines the languages it used (Latin and varieties of French), and by Mireille Desiardins, who looks at its use of geographical terms. The most comprehensive essay is by Jean Kerhervé on the Breton chancery. From the English sector or "espace anglais," which includes Scotland, there are five contributions. David Carpenter and Mark Ormrod provide outstandingly thoughtful and detailed articles on the English royal chancery. Timothy Haskett, whose knowledge of the English chancery as a lawcourt is unrivalled, discusses its juridical role in law and literacy. Cynthia Neville shows how its authority extended as far as the Anglo-Scottish border. There is also an authoritative contribution by Athol Murray on the Scottish royal chancery. All in all, this is a very useful book. It has taken an initiative

from French Canada to bring specialists in France and Britain together in this way.

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MARGARET HARVEY. *The English in Rome 1362–1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 45.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 278. \$59.95.

Margaret Harvey's study takes its chronological starting point from the foundation of the English hospice of St. Thomas in 1362 and ends in 1420, with the reestablishment of a single more or less undisputed papal curia at Rome after the disruptions of the Great Schism. The author is primarily concerned not with pilgrims but with Englishmen (and a few women) who were resident in the city for lengthy periods. Some of their business and property dealings with one another and with their Roman neighbors are illuminated by archival material still preserved at the Venerabile Collegio Inglese, the linear descendant of the hospice of St. Thomas. The snapshots of English laymen and women who lived and (often) died in Rome, and who pursued a number of fairly humdrum occupations, such as the making and selling of "paternosters," will for many readers be the most interesting feature of the book. The story of Alice Proude's troubled pilgrimage in 1407 and the help she received from the officers of the hospice repays attention, and there is an intriguing suggestion that the recluse Catherine Kelsey who received papal permission in 1399 to return home to visit family and friends may have been kin to the William "Kelleseye" who in 1400 remembered St. Thomas's hospice in his will (not the only London citizen to do so).

The records imply that the number of English lay residents declined in the latter half of Harvey's chosen period, presumably because the chances of doing profitable business in Rome seemed to have diminished. Much of the second half of the book is devoted to the curialists, English clerks who sought to make a career in the papal curia if only to advance their ultimate prospects at home. Special attention is given to the careers of two individuals, John Fraunceys and the cardinal Adam Easton. The prospects of English curialists were inevitably affected by the politics of the schism and by papal relations with England (an area on which Harvey is an established expert), and their numbers too were in decline by 1420.

To what extent did these disparate individuals constitute an "expatriate community"? The difficulties of portraying them as such obviously stem partly from the limitations of the source material: bare notarial records of property deals cannot take the place of the letters and memoirs of the Anglo-Roman expatriates of the nineteenth century. Nor were all English residents, lay or clerical, involved with the hospice of St. Thomas, so that institution cannot in fact provide an

entirely adequate central focus. Perhaps it is also a reflection of the nature of the sources that no rounded sense of how the hospice functioned really emerges. What does emerge is less a portrait of a community than an amplified prosopography of English residents, derived predominantly (although not solely) from the hospice archive so far as the laypeople are concerned and from a variety of papal and English sources so far as the curialists are concerned. In the latter instance, there is relatively less emphasis on the particulars of residence in Rome; we have, rather, a series of summaries of ecclesiastical careers in which there was a more or less important or lengthy Roman phase. The chapter on Cardinal Easton's writings and ideas in some ways seems to belong to a different book.

It is surprising that there is not even a brief sketch of the history of the English in Rome before 1362. It was, after all, an already existent *universitas Anglorum* that in that year purchased the house where the hospice of St. Thomas was to be based. The statement on the book's jacket that this was "the first English hospice for poor people and pilgrims" might surprise a reader who was aware of the *schola Saxonum* founded, according to legend, by King Ine of Wessex and certainly in existence before 800. This fell into decay and ceased to exist when Innocent III took the site over in 1201 for his hospital of Santo Spirito; but a page or two on provision for English visitors to Rome before 1362, or its shortcomings, would have put the foundation of the new hospice into a fuller perspective.

The use of Italian nomenclature is occasionally bothersome: to spell Siena (the city) like "Sienna" (the pigment) seems a Victorian throwback in a book published in 1999, and if we can have the "Orsini," must we have "the Colonnas"?

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

JOHN LARNER. *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 250. \$29.95.

As his book's title suggests, John Lerner's main theme is the role played by Marco Polo in the growth of European geographic knowledge from the late thirteenth through the nineteenth century. Along the way, he provides a thorough but accessible guide to Marco Polo's Book (as Lerner refers to it, capitalized) and the changing European contexts in which it was received, while addressing questions raised by recent Polo scholarship. His arguments throughout are informed by expertise in the Book's textual tradition and specific content of the various editions, which is important, given the great differences among versions.

After reviewing European geographical knowledge about Asia before the Mongol period, a biographical survey of what is known about the Polos brings Lerner

to ask "did Marco Polo go to China," a question recently revived by Frances Wood in her book of the same title (1996). Lerner deals convincingly with the *ab silencio* arguments that Polo could not have reached China because his Book fails to mention tea drinking, foot binding, cormorant fishing, and so forth. Lerner is perhaps most persuasive here in his simple logical point that had Polo cobbled his account together from other sources, as skeptics maintain, then those sources themselves must be condemned as fraudulent for leaving out the same things. However, while maintaining that Polo indeed reached Cathay (north China) and Quinsay (Hangzhou), Lerner does acknowledge that the Venetian (or his coauthor Rustichello) exaggerates Polo's status in the Mongol government and the extent of his personal travels in South China. Certainly no governor, as his Book claims, Polo was probably a minor Mongol official, perhaps in the state salt monopoly.

Many questions about the authenticity of the Book are resolved simply by understanding its genre. Views that it is a travelogue, merchant handbook, missionary guide, or religious catalog of marvels are all refuted here. Beneath Rustichello's embellishments, Lerner argues, the Book was a chorography (local or regional description) of lands unknown to medieval Europeans, especially the territory of the Mongol Empire. Lerner's contribution is to show how this genre differed from anything in the classical or medieval European tradition. (Contrary to a common impression, there are in Marco Polo's Book few of the irrational marvels and none of the monstrous races that European writing had for centuries situated in "India.") In fact, in its generally dispassionate, secular, almost scientific tone, the Book most resembles the traditional Chinese form of geographic/anthropologic writing, known to China specialists as "local histories" or "gazetteers." Although Polo knew no Chinese, Lerner speculates that he could have been influenced by this approach to geography via the Mongol court, which was familiar with Chinese literature and categories of knowledge.

This leads to Lerner's most surprising insight: that the very tone and style of the Book, as well as its content, are evidence of its author's long residence in Mongol lands. Polo is generally tolerant of non-Christian religions (unlike some of his later translators/editors) and exhibits no culture shock with regard to things still novel and astounding to his European readers centuries later. Lerner thus concludes that we should view Polo not as a Venetian who visited China but as a Mongol court functionary who, after passing all his adult life in China, left his psychological home (perhaps out of political necessity, as Khubilai neared death) and returned to the Christian West. Even in the Genoese prison where he cowrote the Book, Polo retained the worldview of a Mongol imperial officer. His coauthor Rustichello, the writer of chivalric romance, employed oral-epic flourishes and aggrandizing exaggeration in the original Franco-Italian version to make Polo's dry, systematic description more market-

able; in so doing, he ultimately confused readers through the ages as to the fundamental nature of Polo and the Book.

Larner's later chapters survey the subsequent history of the Book in Europe. Ironically, despite Polo's own efforts to dispel myth, the Book was often treated as a literary work and anthologized with such works as *The Voyage and Travels of John Mandeville* (1356–1357), as a geography in the European sense: namely, a catalog of marvels. Nevertheless, Polo's influence on European geographic knowledge was great, as is clear from Larner's treatment of its influence on Christopher Columbus, Jesuit missionaries, and nineteenth-century Great Gamers, for all of whom the Book was part of the intellectual environment.

Polo specialists will no doubt find much grist here, as will teachers of world history. Besides a handy synopsis of the Book and an interesting debate on whether it is Orientalist, Larner provides the information and perspectives needed to put the Book in its contemporary and subsequent European contexts and thus to appreciate its contribution to European knowledge of and stimulus to exploration of Asia.

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KAREN OFFEN. *European Feminisms 1700–1950: A Political History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxviii, 554. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

Karen Offen's long-awaited book provides an ambitious and substantially fascinating comparative narrative of themes in the history of European feminism. Spanning from Madrid to Warsaw, Athens to Moscow, Edinburgh to Zurich, Stockholm to Milan, her 250-year periodization is configured around modern European political history. Refusing to see the history of feminism as a history of philosophy or discourse, her richly documented text provides neither biographical nor textual studies of the key feminists and feminism of the countries and periods in question. Instead, Offen narrates feminism as politics, jockeying alongside each era's mainstream politics. Reclaiming the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment for feminism, she rejects gloomy previous feminist analyses, insisting that debates about women and gender were at the heart of the Enlightenment project. She integrates feminism within the politics of nineteenth and early twentieth-century republicanism, nationalism, liberalism, socialism, imperialism, fascism, and, eventually, the Cold War.

Rather than periodizing feminism, as historians and philosophers often have, in terms of the aquatic metaphor of the wave—"first wave," "second wave," and so forth—Offen postulates an alternative geological metaphor. Lkening patriarchy to the surface rocky crust of the earth, feminism becomes the molten magma beneath the surface, variously simmering, bubbling, seeking out fissures through which it may erupt with differing magnitudes, depending on historical

circumstances. At times, that hot feminist flow was dammed. At others, it reconstructed the landscape, its new formations improving women's status or situation.

A major impetus for Offen's study is her belief that European feminism is minimized within understandings of the continent's history. Thereby, an impoverished and inaccurate account of that past prevails. She laments the dominance of Anglo-American content in published histories of feminism. Hers is a mainly continental focus, one admittedly Francophone in emphasis, in what is much more than a narrative of neglected European feminist contributions to political history. Offen reiterates her own longstanding distinction between "individualist" (egalitarian, equality-seeking) feminism of the Anglo-American tradition and the "relational" (sex differences and gender-roles respecting) tradition of European feminism, centered on women's distinct specificities, especially in relation to motherhood. Offen's project is to instantiate the latter tradition, so eclipsed hitherto by undue hegemony of the former.

The achievements of this authoritative book are many. Preeminently, Offen brings to life intricate sexual politics battles and their protagonists all across Europe. Some of the usual canonic suspects loom, but many more will be entirely new even to expert scholars of European history and of the history of feminism respectively. Her important book is henceforth essential reading for experts and generalists alike. It will be deservedly influential.

Because of its importance and influence, Offen's geological metaphor, and the "relational" characterization of much European feminism, warrant further scrutiny. Her locating feminism within its mainstream political context via the metaphor of erupting "magma" has costs. While that political context emerges as dynamic and richly historical, feminist "magma," once characterized, seems fixed, almost transhistorical, in Offen's narrative. Its details differ across nations and periods examined, but it is its socialist, nationalist, or fascist engagements that provide the ostensible historicity here rather than developments *within* feminism itself. The chemical/ mineral formula of magma is predetermined and predictable.

Consequently, notwithstanding the apparent dynamism of magma's volcanic movement, Offen's "relational" characterization of European feminism is static. A fuller genealogy of this orientation would enhance its persuasiveness. For instance, the claims of Swedish feminist Ellen Key (1849–1926), advocate of motherhood as the grounding for women's enhanced status, critic of the working mother, and even one-time opponent of woman suffrage, were widely, internationally debated. Were Key's Progressive-era texts milestones in this "relational feminism," extending previous tendencies? What of her disputes with others like United States theorist Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935)? Gilman, believing Key's version of feminism hegemonic, would have been surprised by Offen's contrary claim. Yet reducing the former orienta-

tion to "European-ness" belies Gilman's identification with, and influences from, many European feminists and her own reservations about the "feminism" of some American peers.

In fact, most feminist activists and theorists, on all sides of the Atlantic and Pacific, displayed *both* Offen's "relational" and "individualist" elements. Historian Nancy F. Cott calls feminism "Janus-faced," hoisted between critique of gender patternings, especially femininity, and support of women, as they are, in a patriarchal world. Offen's dichotomization overrides these complexities in feminist thought, a problem compounded by the strange thinness of the terms "relational" and "individualist"—neither capturing convincingly their designees.

Moreover, Offen's exclusion of feminist developments in European settlements abroad permits no consideration of, for instance, early twentieth-century commentators' comparisons of Key, Gilman, and South Africa's Olive Schreiner as the three greatest feminists of the day. Yet feminist gains in new and colonized societies influenced European feminists, especially when European politics proved recalcitrant longer than newer Anglophone ones. What delayed or obstructed equality and specific provisions for women in many European cultures? How politically effective was "relational feminism," compared with its "other," the equalitarian feminism of England, North America, and cultures in their spheres of influence? Was "relational feminism" another name for investment in sex complementarity and dimorphism, resisting critique of "gender"—patriarchally constructed masculinities and femininities? How might "relational feminism" have been the product of particular European, or specifically French, conditions? Since Offen's project eschewed comparison with North American or Pacific Rim feminist politics and thought, these questions remained muted.

Notwithstanding these reservations about the geological metaphor of feminism as "magma," and the limitations of "relational" versus "individualist" feminism, this is a thoroughly researched, bibliographically impeccable, and interpretatively feisty history. Offen boldly puts to rest some dead-end arguments within the historiography of feminism and persuasively identifies double standards, past and present, to which feminism—but not other politics—is held, by its friends and foes alike. Its ambitious scope spotlights a large, diverse Europe, challenging historians of that continent and of feminism. At the political and economic birth of the new European Union, it is timely for the continent to remember its feminist pasts.

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MICHAEL HUGHES. *Diplomacy before the Russian Revolution: Britain, Russia and the Old Diplomacy, 1894–1917*. (Studies in Diplomacy.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xii, 222.

Michael Hughes specifies his book is not "about British policy towards Russia between 1894–1917." Nor is it about Anglo-Russian relations in the same period. Instead it is about "the organization and operation of the British and Russian diplomatic establishments during the final years of what has conventionally been termed the 'old diplomacy.'" It has two themes. "The first emphasizes the extent to which the organization and operation of the national diplomatic establishments of prewar Europe were governed by domestic considerations." The second takes issue with the critics of "old diplomacy" who argued that pre-1914 diplomatic institutions and procedures had changed little in the previous decades. Hughes seeks to show that major changes took place in these institutions before 1914 and both "were profoundly affected by developments which took place in the domestic environment." Two factors led Hughes to choose these institutions. First, "they represent two extremes on a kind of continuum" (liberal representative government to autocratic), while his own study showed "that the changes in the organisation and operation of both . . . can be looked at through a similar prism." The influence of Russian and British diplomats over administrative and political developments was very limited, and thus they had little control over events leading to the Great War (pp. ix-xi).

Responsible or not, the foreign ministries were soon made scapegoats for the bloodshed. Critics attacked them for being incompetent and the preserve of an indolent and poorly educated elite. Hughes says this was unfair, because his research demonstrates that in the decade before the war substantial reforms had eliminated many old abuses. By 1914, both foreign ministries were staffed with well-trained men able to deal effectively with their important work. The Foreign Office, in fact, was seriously understaffed for what they were expected to do. More seriously, neither foreign ministry could actually count on determining and executing the foreign policies of its government. In Britain and Russia, other ministries, the armed forces, the press, and pressure groups actively sought to get control of policy. In both countries the foreign ministries prevailed, but only with great difficulty.

This was fortunate, because the other contenders were far less pacific and usually wanted to pursue a more bellicose policy than the foreign ministries. Rather than promoting war or proving negligent while it erupted, the foreign ministries were largely responsible for promoting better relations between the two countries. Hughes suggests a close study of foreign ministries elsewhere might produce similarly revisionist results.

Or maybe not. Anglo-Russian relations had a very peculiar character. Throughout most of the nineteenth century they were always near boil; war only happened once, but hostilities could have erupted many times. The two empires were too different to allow anything else, until the rise of Germany struck fear in both, and Russia lost its fleet in a disastrous war against Japan.

This allowed the two foreign policy establishments to create the Anglo-Russian entente, which together with France was designed to prevent Germany from expanding any further. Thus there was a great deal of truth in the charge that the "old diplomacy" bore a substantial responsibility for the Great War. It could be said that these officials were promoting war even when they sought to smooth relations between their countries. Improved relations between Britain and Russia only turned the violence of European politics toward new adversaries. Peace with Britain meant hostility, perhaps even war, against Germany.

There was a great deal to criticize by those who had been excluded from the process. This was what Woodrow Wilson meant by secret diplomacy. Decisions were taken at the highest level and carefully sheltered from the public. This was particularly painful in Britain, where politics was not yet democratic but many groups rightly felt entitled to participate in decisions of this kind. In Britain, the tsar was hated for his rabid anti-Semitism and despotism. All served to throw obstacles in the path of any treaty and render management of the entente difficult. Russia was vastly different (virtually no one had any right to be consulted), but when the Bolsheviks came to power, they repudiated all Russia's treaties, badly warping international relations until recently.

This is not to suggest that a comparative analysis of foreign ministries is not welcome—exactly the opposite. Until recently a detailed study of any aspect of the Russian Foreign Ministry was simply not possible. While Hughes has consulted the British archives freely, he was not able to do the same in Russia. Only about one third of his study relates to Russia specifically. He is limited on the Russian side to published documents, memoirs, and secondary works. A more detailed study might reveal why one was so successful while the other failed miserably. It is also clear that consequences for the scapegoats involved differed radically. Why did Lord Grey and his officials enjoy a long and honored retirement while the entire staff of the Russian Foreign Ministry suffered early death or painful exile? In transforming the imperial Foreign Ministry into their own Foreign Commissariat, the Bolsheviks retained not a single official or clerk. In Britain not a single man lost his job, let alone his life. This must say something significant about the differences in the two institutions.

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DOREEN EVENDEN. *The Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 260. \$64.95.

Midwives are historically vital: they delivered most babies into the world. Even in the United States, where male obstetricians were exceptionally successful in ousting their female rivals, midwives continued to play

an important role in health provision until the end of the nineteenth century. (Their modern American fortunes are another story.) Despite this, they have been a relatively minor topic for historical scholarship.

In many European countries, the practice of midwifery was more systematically regulated, and hence midwives are more visible. This was not the case in England, so finding out about them is much more difficult. One of Doreen Evenden's achievements is to demonstrate that, by patient and systematic trawling of a variety of archival sources, it is possible to uncover a good deal about the social and economic standing of the more elite among their occupation.

Although midwives had no college or guild in early modern England, they were often licensed by church authorities, largely out of concern for the baptism of newborns whose lives were in danger. The system broke down during the English Civil War and Interregnum, but the archives of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Dean of St. Pauls contain the names of almost 1,200 midwives. Sometimes supporting documentation, such as character references and assessments of professional competence, survives. These women were obliged to present themselves at ecclesiastical visitations of the parishes, records of which have been preserved. Some midwives or their husbands made wills, which provide indications of their wealth and family networks. Poor Law records occasionally record payments to midwives for the delivery of women on relief. One anonymous midwife left an account book recording payments received along with the names and addresses of some of the women she delivered.

Evenden has mined these and related archival sources to provide us with a full picture of the lives and social standings of her largely forgotten subjects. She concludes that midwives do not deserve the older stereotype of ignorant bungling hags. Although a formal system of apprenticeship did not exist, most would-be midwives learned the art by becoming an assistant of an established practitioner. They, their husbands, and their families were mostly solid citizens of early modern London, owning property, paying hearth taxes and poor rates, and capable of acts of mercy and charity. She substantiates this collective portrait by close examination of the records of the midwives of selected London parishes.

At one level, Evenden's conclusions are hardly surprising and simply reinforce the recent scholarship on the subject. By contrast, most earlier historical generalizations were based on the comfortable whiggish assumption that our forebears lived in societies riddled with superstition, ignorance and social chaos. Until the twentieth century, historians of English midwifery were males, who always took as accurate the sharp words of the occasional male midwife who was keen to capture the obstetrical market, and exploit the fact that only males were allowed to use instruments such as the forceps in difficult deliveries. Evenden's achievement is considerable, but she is also well aware

that there are still many facets of seventeenth-century London midwifery that are lost to us. We do not know, for instance, how many women practiced occasional, or even regular, midwifery without ecclesiastical licensing. Much of their financial standing has to be inferred from indirect scraps of information. Issues of motivation, the practicalities of training, and competence are also obscure. Nevertheless, Evenden's patient and systematic hunting has paid rich dividends, and her monograph is a substantial contribution to women's occupational history as well as to the wider story of health care in the world we have lost.

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DAVID B. RUDERMAN, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key: Anglo-Jewry's Construction of Modern Jewish Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 291. \$39.50.

David B. Ruderman's cleverly conceived and well executed study won this year's Koret Jewish Book Award in History. The book richly merits this recognition, for Ruderman challenges conventional wisdom in two significant ways. He identifies himself, first, with a group of younger scholars who have challenged our traditional understanding of the *Haskalah*, the Jewish enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Secondly, and more specifically addressed to England, he tactfully but firmly rejects Todd M. Endelmann's exclusively social construction of eighteenth-century Anglo-Jewish development with its dismissal of eighteenth-century Anglo-Jewish thought as lacking significant content. English Jews, Ruderman asserts, made their intellectual mark as they "attempted to reformulate their own religious identity in the light of their exposure to modern English culture" (p. 3). Ruderman's two arguments are, needless to say, connected.

On *Haskalah*, Ruderman joins a revisionist movement that challenges the obtaining Germanocentrism. German Jews, so the argument goes—particularly the intellectual circle that blossomed around Moses Mendelssohn and his disciples (the *maskilim*)—defined and developed the modernizing movement that took Jewish thought via enlightenment categories into modern European culture. Closer examination of the debate about and process of Jewish emancipation and its relation to the *Haskalah* has demanded new insights and a considerably more nuanced view.

Jews in eighteenth-century England suffered cultural slights and political restrictions, but nowhere in Europe did they have comparable economic and social scope. They were bankers and stockjobbers, prizefighters and thieves, artisans and craftspeople. They were the solid, emerging "middling sort" so fast becoming the backbone of Hanoverian England. They were larger and smaller than life size, but, most important of all, they had become and were fast becoming more English. Many, although certainly not all, social barriers bent where they did not break during the eighteenth century.

From Masonic lodges to informal groups, social and intellectual contact increased.

This rapid absorption of English culture, Ruderman contends, saw an unprecedented parallel decline in Hebrew, Spanish, Portuguese, and even Yiddish. Those who sought to preserve and pass on Jewish norms and values to Jewish youth had to do so through English translations. As this tidal wave of English swept over Anglo-Jewry, English Judaism came to resemble Anglicanism and English Nonconformity in ways it would never do in Central or Eastern Europe. Judaism even borrowed and effectively deployed Anglican and Dissenting strategies and responses to enlightenment and scientific secular challenges. To explain this, Ruderman adapts Roy Porter's conclusion about the English enlightenment, contrasting continental philosophes with their concern for contentious opposites "to English thinkers, who strove for comprehension and harmony in the cosmic and social orders" (p. 17).

Ruderman's gallery of thinkers includes both Jews and gentiles who entered the lists of biblical commentary and translation. English scholars had, after all, laid some foundations for expertise in Hebrew. Ruderman turns first to Benjamin Kennicott, canon of Christ Church. Kennicott's elaborate project of collecting Hebrew texts, reconstructing and ultimately retranslating the Hebrew Bible generated discussion and debate, much acrimonious, among Jews and Hutchinsonians. Then moving from translations and recriminations, all considered in great detail, Ruderman introduces his favorites such as David Levi, a late eighteenth-century one-man antidefamation league famous for his public controversies with Joseph Priestley, both theological (Jews and Unitarians are not kindred souls) and political (Jews are loyal subjects who reject French revolutionary ideas). Abraham Ben Naphtali Tang, one of the most interesting of Ruderman's thinkers, brought warmed-over deism sauteed with Voltaire to his advanced formulations for late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Judaism. Tang is, in many ways, Ruderman's emblematic example, for "Tang's ballistic and forensic style emerges directly from his intellectual and social encounters with English culture and his own Jewish community in London" (p. 109). How better to describe England's highly unsystematic *Haskalah*?

Chapter four, on political radicalism, is excellent on freemasonry and the role of lodges but far less compelling on the impact of democratic sociability growing out of the Wilkesite movement and its radical successors. Having done extensive work on the Protestant Association (the proper nomenclature is politically significant) and its quondam leader, Lord George Gordon, I fail to find Ruderman's interpretation of Gordon's conversion to Orthodox Judaism or Lord George's later political tergiversations compelling. I would have preferred Ruderman bring his analytical skills to bear on the continuing and evolving extraparlimentary organizational world that did so much to

shape discourse, politics, and society in Regency and early Victorian Britain.

Ruderman's reader should be prepared to share his generous appetite for text and detail of argument. As one would expect, small errors are few and far between. It is J. G. A. Pocock, not Pococke, and Edmund, not Edmond, Burke. This is a good and important book. Rich rewards await the patient reader in this elegant history of English Jewry and the *Haskalah*.

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KEIR WADDINGTON. *Charity and the London Hospitals 1850–1898*. (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell & Brewer. 2000. Pp. xi, 252. \$75.00.

British hospitals were originally philanthropic institutions that provided the sick poor what comforts and care prescientific medicine could muster. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a revolution in medical treatment and in the institutional structure that provided it. By examining a sample of London hospitals, Keir Waddington provides a valuable examination of a critical aspect of this transformation. Waddington's study traces the story of the London hospitals' struggle with the complex interaction of chronic funding shortfalls, conflicts between traditional forms of management and the demands of the increasingly empowered medical personnel, and the rapid increases in both patient load and the costs of scientific medicine. Most histories of British hospitals have dealt with the familiar themes of great men and women, the achievements of modern medicine, or the professionalization of the medical practitioners. This one fills a gap by focusing on finance and administration.

By the 1890s, London boasted twenty-one general hospitals, eleven hospitals with medical schools, and sixty-seven specialist hospitals. Of these, Waddington chooses seven upon which to base his study. Two, Guy's and St. Bartholomew's, represent the relatively rich endowed hospitals. The London originated as an early eighteenth-century voluntary hospital while University College, London serves as an example of a nineteenth-century teaching hospital. The German Hospital is representative of the several institutions serving immigrant groups, and the Royal Hospital for Diseases of the Chest and the Hospital for Sick Children are two distinct representatives of the specialist hospitals. Waddington demonstrates that, although these institutions varied greatly in financial base, mission, and the communities they served, they also shared many of the basic problems faced by all hospitals at this time. Chief among those problems was obtaining adequate funding, and to it he devotes the largest portion of the book.

Mid-nineteenth-century London hospitals were financed by a mix of investments and charity. For a few, like Guy's and St. Bartholomew's, endowments in real property minimized for a time their dependence on the

latter. But for the rest, direct charity in the form of subscriptions, donations, and legacies was the largest part of their annual income. Costs increased as a result of rapidly expanding patient loads and the spiraling expense of new medicines and equipment, and the hospital governing boards were forced to seek new sources of income. These took the form of appeals to the population of the whole metropolitan area for money that would then be divided up among the hospitals via annual grants. Thus were born the Sunday Fund (1873), the Saturday Fund (1874), and the Prince of Wales Fund (1897), each of which tapped a somewhat different charitable pool. Given that the average Victorian family gave more than ten percent of its annual income to charity in the 1890s, reliance on it was a defensible strategy for quite some time (p. 60). Yet the costs of modern medicine continuously threatened to outstrip even generous philanthropy. By 1897, University College Hospital had a deficit of such proportions that it had to close off a quarter of its beds and the London hospitals as a group, according to Waddington, faced an endemic financial crisis that lasted until the establishment of the National Health Service in 1948 (p. 99).

The other major theme Waddington addresses is the conflict between lay governors and an increasingly assertive medical community. At mid-century, most of the London hospitals were governed by their subscribers. Roughly speaking, the greater the contribution, the greater the role a subscriber could play. This amateur, philanthropic, volunteer administrative structure had assumed sacred status and efforts to modify it were resisted with great success. Yet the demands of the doctors for a greater role in determining hospital policy were harder to counter the more scientific medicine demonstrated its growing power to heal and cure. Nonetheless, the medical men did not gain control of hospital administration. Waddington examines this struggle in considerable detail and shows that by 1900 they had only modified the old system and gained grudging influence on rather than control over determination of hospital policy.

Waddington concludes with a brief discussion of the growing fear among the hospital elites that their chronic financial problems would necessitate state intervention. His treatment of this episode illustrates how tenaciously the Victorians clung to the voluntary system in the face of their financial difficulties, the mounting evidence of the value of state aid to medical institutions on the continent and even in the United States, and the growing role of the Local Government Board in providing poor law dispensaries and hospitals in Britain itself. The hospital governors viewed state aid in terms of centralization and were convinced that it constituted "an attack on the 'spontaneous efforts of individuals or voluntary groups'" (p. 194). The London hospitals maintained their independence until the 1940s.

This is a well written and well researched addition to

the growing literature on both the late Victorian medical revolution and London charity.

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ROLAND HILL. *Lord Acton*. Foreword by OWEN CHADWICK. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 548. \$39.95.

Outside the historian's universe, John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, eighth baronet, survives incarnate in one apothegm of liberal political theory: that "power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Inside that universe, he is an "eminent Victorian" whose more political writings on the theme of liberty date mainly from his tenure, following J. R. Seeley, as Regius Professor of History at Cambridge (1895–1902). Yet even Acton's best-known studies posthumously collected as *The History of Freedom and Other Essays*, shed little light on much of Victorian history and retain the feel of an uncompleted project, a history of liberty that commences with the ancients and ultimately fails to expose the full extent of Acton's worries about the threats to freedom posed by contemporary democracy. These reviews and occasional pieces nonetheless develop the core ideas of Acton's social theory: that religious and civil liberty are inextricably intertwined, and that both are to be secured by abridging the scope of the state's power. Acton was a man of another age, at home in the eighteenth century but ill at ease in the twentieth, unwilling to see the state as other than a specter to be feared, perhaps in part because it would displace a church he loved far more, and whose absolutist pretensions were now far less worrisome.

Roland Hill's book is a magisterial, exhaustively researched study of the man that should stand as the definitive biography for a very long time. It falls neither into the trap of claiming him foremost as a Cold Warrior, nor, perhaps more temptingly, into that of inflating his liberal Catholic religiosity to a saving grace for modern historiography. Hill appreciates the quirky, enigmatic nature of Acton's position as, *rara avis*, a Catholic Whig, educated abroad under the great German Catholic scholar Ignatz von Dollinger because Cambridge University remained firmly Protestant, yet serving as a Whig MP between 1859–1865 and becoming an enduring friend of William Ewart Gladstone. Returned as "a moderate Whig . . . also a moderate Catholic" (as his father put it) for Carlow, in Ireland, where only 236 electors out of a population of 9,000 qualified under an £8 household franchise, Acton found Westminster life disconcerting and hardly ever spoke in the House of Commons. "He agreed with nobody and nobody agreed with him," he remarked to Mountstuart Grant Duff; such is not the stuff of which partisanship is composed. "The one supreme object of all of my thoughts is the good of the Church," he wrote

his wife, and not much could be done for it in the Commons.

Much more appealing was Catholic journalism, into which he poured most of his energies while an MP. In an age when the great periodicals dominated public intellectual debate, it was a worthwhile pursuit, and Acton succeeded in making the *Rambler*, founded in 1848, a leading journal for lay converts whose influence greatly outstripped their numbers. This was, nonetheless, a tough furrow to plough. "I am nobody," Acton lamented in 1880, lacking, as a liberal, support from Rome; as a Catholic, the sympathy of most Britons; as a liberal Catholic, the aid of most British Catholics (Archbishop Henry Manning endeavored to have him excommunicated). Yet this was also his apprenticeship as a historian, and working in Italian archives gave him the opportunity to extend and deepen his interest in Vatican politics and occasionally to land his support to particular causes, notably the controversy over papal infallibility.

By the late 1870s, Acton had begun in outline the grand history of liberty, conceived as an excursus into philosophy of history on an almost Hegelian scale. Yet sustained concentration on writing eluded him. He turned down the chance to become Gladstone's biographer, but the Regius Professorship, achieved in part through his close proximity to the queen as a lord-in-waiting, a post Gladstone had gained him, drew forth his most sustained efforts. Ignoring, perhaps dismissing, Seeley's imperial vision, Acton plunged into lecture writing and met with much acclaim. Producing the *Cambridge Modern History* gave an immense fillip to both discipline and institution. In his later years, Acton warned of the destructive potential of both nationalism and socialism, yet he conceded the compatibility of socialism and Christianity and the necessity of aiding the poor where private enterprise had failed them. No vapid national chauvinist, his Catholic cosmopolitanism gave his ideas a European dimension many contemporaries lacked, and a sophistication and delicacy that still repay study.

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JAMES G. NELSON. *Publisher to the Decadents: Leonard Smithers in the Careers of Beardsley, Wilde, Dowson*. Assisted by PETER MENDES. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 430. \$35.00.

Amid the public hysteria following the imprisonment of Oscar Wilde, the Decadent movement in literature and art might have suffocated but for Leonard Smithers. In the 1890s, he was the publisher who published where others feared to tread. When Aubrey Beardsley was fired from the *Yellow Book*, Smithers created his own journal, the *Savoy*, and appointed Beardsley art editor. After it was turned down by Heinemann and John Lane, Smithers issued Arthur Symonds's *London Nights* (1895), which was universally vilified by the

critics, and he began Wilde's literary rehabilitation by issuing *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (1898).

No one is better qualified to write Smithers's biography than James G. Nelson, who pioneered the study of "marketing modernism." The conventional wisdom that Nelson upset held that the great modernists were pure artists untainted by commercialism, who had to struggle with timid publishers and a philistine reading public. In *The Early Nineties: A View from the Bodley Head* (1971) and *Elkin Mathews: Publisher to Yeats, Joyce, Pound* (1989), Nelson examined publishers' ledgers and correspondence and found that the early modernists were very much concerned with promoting themselves and maximizing earnings. Their publishers genuinely appreciated modern literature, but they were also canny businessmen who knew how to sell to a growing niche market for avant-garde culture. This book is the third volume in that trilogy, which has opened the way for an emerging school of revisionist literary history. Other notable works in that field include Ian Willison *et al.*, eds., *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace* (1995); Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt, eds., *Marketing Modernisms* (1996); and Joyce Piell Wexler, *Who Paid for Modernism? Art, Money, and the Fiction of Conrad, Joyce, and Lawrence* (1997).

Smithers understood what historians of censorship have come to recognize as a universal law: the likelihood of suppression varies inversely with the price of the book. In 1889, Henry Vizetelly was imprisoned for publishing six-shilling translations of Emile Zola. Meanwhile, Sir Richard Burton had issued his still more erotic *Arabian Nights* in a privately printed limited edition priced at ten guineas: it earned him £10,000 and no jail time. Smithers, who for a time was Burton's collaborator, calculated that he could make his fortune publishing up-market pornography and decadent literature. Of course, the boundary separating the two was hazy, but therein lies Smithers's importance: he cemented the alliance between literary modernism and erotica, opening the road that led to *Ulysses* (1922), *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), *Tropic of Cancer* (1934), and *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969).

Taste was the key. Smithers grasped that erotica could be marketed as literature if it was packaged in finely printed limited editions. And he knew how to use scarcity value and snob appeal to push back the boundaries of taste. His catalogue once offered a copy of Thomas à Kempis's *The Imitation of Christ* "most tastefully and appropriately bound in HUMAN SKIN," reminding the discerning collector that, "Owing to the severe restrictions of the medical schools, and the prejudices of Medical men, it is extremely difficult to obtain any portion of dead humanity" (p. 52).

A more adventurous cultural historian might see here an early attempt at marketing the transgressive, ultimately leading to Thomas Harris's *Silence of the Lambs* (1988). As a case study in the sociology of taste, Smithers seems to cry out for the kind of analysis that

Pierre Bourdieu might perform. But Nelson is more meticulous than daring: he has written a careful, traditional bibliographical study, honoring Smithers as a producer of aesthetic books.

Smithers certainly deserves that homage. Although he had his eye on the bottom line, he genuinely cared about outcast writers and took risks on their behalf. Like most truly innovative entrepreneurs, he was too far ahead of his time: the market simply was not ready for him. It would be another half-century before anyone could make a fortune selling "tasteful" pornography (Hugh Hefner and the Grove Press immediately come to mind). Partly because he treated Beardsley and Wilde so generously, Smithers went bankrupt in 1900. He then tried to survive by producing pirated editions of Wilde's works, until he died in poverty in 1907. *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* was the only title on his list that sold well, and Smithers was so used to dealing with a niche market that he did not know how to exploit a popular success. "He is so fond of 'suppressed' books that he suppresses his own," Wilde complained (pp. 202–203). The problem, he frankly told Smithers, was that he was "accustomed to bringing out books limited to an edition of three copies, one for the author, one for yourself, and one for the Police" (p. 202).

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INA ZWEINIGER-BARGIELOWSKA. *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption 1939–1955*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 286. \$65.00.

Shortly after the outbreak of war in September 1939, some 44 million ration books were issued in Britain: the buff-colored R.B.1 was distributed to everyone over five years of age, younger children were given a green R.B.2, and special ration documents were issued to itinerant groups of seamen and travellers. The apparatus for restricting consumption of food—and eventually clothing and other miscellaneous goods—was a structure of massive complexity, covering millions of transactions between customers, retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers. More significant still, rationing was a current through which social transformation flowed. Few, if any, in Britain were surprised to see its introduction at the start of the war. But equally few would have predicted that rationing of domestic consumption would continue in some form for the next fifteen years, with rations even more meager for hard-pressed civilians in the postwar years than had ever been the case during 1939–1945.

Extending the analysis of controls and austerity beyond the war years and into the mid-1950s is one of the strengths of this consistently impressive book. Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska draws together several lines of argument in her thesis, ranging comfortably across the boundaries of different disciplines as she explores the connections among government policy, consump-

tion, and gender and party politics. Her overarching contention is that the rationing episode of the 1940s and 1950s is a critical site on which to explore the relationship between state and society in twentieth-century Britain. Several main conclusions emerge: "fair shares" and equality of sacrifice were ideals rather than a common experience after 1939; gender differences were more important than class differences in terms of how restrictions on consumption were experienced and responded to; public consent for austerity measures changed radically once the war was over; and the continuation of rationing in the postwar period had serious ideological and political ramifications.

At a generalized level, none of the main strands in the book's thesis should be completely unfamiliar to students of 1940s and 1950s British history. Indeed, the author has rehearsed some of the arguments about postwar rationing, gender, and politics in previous writings. Instead, it is the analytical detail and meticulous accumulation and use of archival data—drawn largely from the Public Record Office and the Mass Observation archive—that mark this book out from the rest of the available literature. It is commonly known, for example, that a black market flourished during wartime and beyond, but the subject tends to be discussed only briefly in more wide-ranging surveys of the "people's war" or the "age of austerity." This book provides the first detailed assessment of the limits of public acceptance of the austerity policy and shows how the state struggled to enforce controls at a time when small-scale circumvention of rationing was widely regarded as a common sense response to shortages. Anyone interested in the administration of controls and their eventual dismantling will find a wealth of useful material here. There is a good overview, too, of the consequences of food rationing for the nation's diet, particularly the way in which nutrient deficiencies among the poorer classes were largely wiped out. As well as examining how controls were administered and enforced, the author looks at popular attitudes toward rationing. Despite the black market, there was broad public consent for wartime food controls, with Lord Woolton—the Minister of Food—remaining immensely popular; but clothes rationing caused almost constant public complaint, there was sporadic resentment at the ability of the rich to buy themselves a better standard of living, and the continuation of controls after 1945 caused a loss of support for Clement Attlee's Labour government.

Women in particular wanted to see controls scrapped. They carried the main burden of rationing and restrictions: improvising meals out of uninspiring substitutes like "mock duck," "mock cream," and "eggless sponge," giving up food to children or husbands, and struggling to maintain a comfortable home despite shortages of furnishings, household goods and clothing. "I don't queue; my wife does that," one man told Mass Observation in 1948, illustrating in a small way why women turned in large numbers against the

austerity policies of the postwar Labour government and toward a Conservative Party that promised to "set the people free." The author argues that the Conservatives built an antisocialist coalition of disaffected consumers after 1945 that was critical to the party's election victories of 1951 and 1955. Far from having a consensus about collectivism and the need to retain controls, postwar Britain saw an ideological contest in which victory went to the side that promised individual and market freedoms and prosperity today. This excellent and tightly organized book is essential reading for anyone who is curious to understand why one of the most successful British governments of the twentieth century lasted barely more than a term in office.

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ALICE HILLS. *Britain and the Occupation of Austria, 1943–45*. (Studies in Military and Strategic History.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xi, 222. \$65.00.

It must be said at the outset that this is a disturbing book, despite its publication by a reputable editor in a respected military series. It is a unilateral work, in which documents accessible and literature published since 1975 appear to have been methodically ignored; the work of Austrian scholars has been neglected without even the slightest hint of justification. There is an explanation for this: Alice Hills submitted (under the name of Joan E. Hills) at least the essence of her findings in 1975 for a dissertation approved at the University of London. She has not attempted to bring that study up to date. This is unfortunate, for despite several flaws in scope and detail, her book has its indisputable merits.

Although its misleading title seems to hint at an occupation of Austria by Great Britain since 1943, the book's table of contents quickly assures the reader that it is an analysis primarily of British planning and preparations for this probable postwar necessity as well as a treatment of the first half year of military control of liberated Austria by the British and the three other allied powers, from May to November 1945, when free elections were held in Austria and a new, democratically elected government replaced the highly disputed provisional Renner government.

It remains a remarkable fact about the Austrian problem of the 1940s that most initiatives undertaken in Austria's reconstruction originated in London. This was true, for example, for the first official formulation of allied policy—the Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943, on Austria—as well as for the military and political planning on Austria throughout the latter part of the war and even for the question of an accelerated transfer of responsibilities to Austrian authorities connected with the so-called Second Control Agreement signed by the Allies in June 1946. In short, British military planners and policy makers were most consistent in their efforts to prepare for the inevitable occupation tasks ahead, both political and military.

Hills traces the evolution of British thinking on Austria from 1943 to 1945 and relates it to the shifting necessities of coordinating the planning (at times even non-planning) of Britain's allies and of winning the war against Hitlerite Germany in Central Europe. While structured thematically, the book does cover the main issues as they developed chronologically. Its major deficiency is that important analytical contributions in the secondary literature on Austria from the mid-1970s onward, even those in the English language, have been ignored. This is true not only for two solid dissertations on much the same topic, each published in London (Guy D. D. Stanley, *Great Britain and the Austrian Question, 1938–1945*, submitted in 1973 at the University of London, and Robert G. Knight, *British Policy toward Occupied Austria, 1945–1950*, submitted at the London School of Economics in 1986), but also for several milestone monographs, only two of which need to be mentioned here: Robert H. Keyserlingk, *Austria in World War II: An Anglo-American Dilemma* (1988) and Günter Bischof, *Austria in the First Cold War, 1945–1955: The Leverage of the Weak* (1999).

Recent and even long-standing analytical contributions by several Austrian scholars, written in the German language, remain totally outside the scope of this study. This, however, seems to coincide with a trend noticeable for much of English-language scholarship lately, which can be summarized under the motto: if it isn't in English, it cannot be deserving of attention. Needless to say, this is a deplorable state of affairs, with impoverishing consequences for international scholarship.

What really perplexes the reader familiar with the historical issues described and analyzed in this book is the fact that major portions of the available documentary record are also missing. Again, two examples must suffice. There is no reference to the official documentation of postwar British foreign policy, *Documents on British Policy Overseas* (BDPO) in whose Series I at least volumes one and two contain several documents dealing prominently with Austrian issues. But by far the most serious omission involves the records of the British Military Government in Austria, on the level of both the Allied Commission for Austria, British Element (ACA/BE) and the zonal military administration in Carinthia (since May 1945), Styria (since July 1945), and the sectoral administration of Vienna (since August 1945). The reason is quite obvious: the record group FO 1020 was released for research only in the early 1980s, when most of the author's historical analysis incorporated in this study was already completed. No wonder, therefore, that the conclusive paragraph of the author's dissertation (p. 262) reads almost verbatim to the last page of this book (p. 199).

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PETER JUPP and EOIN MAGENNIS. *Crowds in Ireland, c. 1720–1920*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xii, 277. \$69.95.

The Irish crowd has made a comparatively rare appearance in Irish historiography. There is, for example, a vast literature on the Irish War of Independence, but the focus has been on British government maneuvers and Irish Republican Army actions, conflicts and debates. Crowd activity, which took the form of land seizures, strikes, occupations, and demonstrations have featured more as an interesting footnote. Yet as Tom Crean notes in this excellent volume, the period was also characterized by a ferment of crowd activity that involved both nationalist aspirations and more dangerous forms of social radicalism. Limerick was taken over by labor organizations that printed their own money and proclaimed themselves the legitimate local government. Nearby creameries were occupied, and "soviets" were proclaimed. One union leader explained the use of the Russian term: "I have used the hated foreign word simply because speakers of the English language have not as yet coined a word so expressive of reality" (p. 260). Since then, a rather sanitized view of the War of Independence and the subsequent Anglo-Irish Treaty has prevailed that has focused on the great drama of relationship between leaders such as Eamon De Valera and Michael Collins. The crowds have literally been written out of history.

This book goes along way to redressing this imbalance. It looks at crowd activity during the formation of the Irish Volunteers and the Orange Order, the O'Connellite agitation and the Fenian movement, the Land War and the War of Independence. Clare Murphy provides fascinating insights into how crowd activity was used to influence the outcome of elections where suffrage was limited to a small number. Eoin Magennis produces interesting material about how Dublin crowds rioted to lower the price of food in the 1750s. Overall, the book provides a good summary of the comparatively under-researched area of the Irish crowd in history.

I have, however, one misgiving. In their mission statement, editors Peter Jupp and Magennis state that Mark Harrison's *Crowds and History: Mass Phenomena in English Towns* (1988) was "the inspiration" for their volume. Harrison studied five hundred crowds in Bristol between 1790 and 1835. He attempted to promote an alternative explanation of crowd behavior to that which had been advanced by the pioneer Marxist historians Eric Hobsbawm, George S. Rudé, and E. P. Thompson. The latter argued that protesting crowds from 1700 to 1835 consisted largely of working people who had some notion of a "moral economy" and engaged in collective, but often relatively conservative, action when it was challenged or overturned. After about 1835, the more traditional conservative forms of action gave way to more forward-looking, organized forms of protest that were often informed by a vision of a more egalitarian social order. Harrison argues, by contrast, that crowd activity in the earlier period operated in a context largely shaped by the elite; that crowd activity was mainly peaceful and had a limited political focus. Most crowds, he asserts, tended to

emerge on nonpolitical occasions, and participation in crowd activity was seen primarily as an assertion of identity. Harrison's work is held in almost reverential esteem by the editors, which is a pity. There has always been a tendency to downplay attempts by crowds to develop their own political ideology and to dissolve their political struggles into a more generalized concern with identity. As Rudé points out, however, ideology in popular protests "is not a purely internal affair and the sole property of a single class or group." It tends to fuse the elements of the traditional, the folk memory, with ideas and beliefs derived from others. In the American Revolution, crowds gradually adopted the new discourse about "liberties" and the "tyranny of kings" from a stock of writings that go back to John Milton and John Locke. But the ideology of popular protest also drew on other concerns about everyday matters that went outside the constitutional issue. Counterpoising the political to the "apolitical" or the "spontaneous crowds" to "revolutionary elites" produces a one-sided view of a complex process.

The irony is that much of the material in this book provides ample evidence to question Harrison's approach. Brendan Mac Suibhne has written an excellent essay that challenges revisionist theories that the Irish Volunteer movement was merely a Protestant movement seeking to gain entry to the polity. He argues that there was a clear articulation of an Irish nationalist identity, which was underpinned by an elaborate invented tradition. Mac Suibhne shows quite convincingly that the election of officers and their removal from office reflected the fact that there was little "deference to traditional leaders" (p. 47).

Maura Cronin's article on O'Connellite crowds in the 1830s and 1840s places more emphasis on the role of "popular elites" in manipulating the crowd through the power of rhetoric. The term "popular elite" is inherently ambiguous, however, and she does concede that the Irish popular elite had a "generally lower social status" than was found in Harrison's work. Moreover, even though Cronin describes the future Chartist leader Fergus O'Connor as an "eccentric," she acknowledges that there were considerable class strains within the O'Connellite movement, with some of the peasantry hoping to gain twenty-acre farms with long leases rather than being solely concerned with the "constitutional issue."

Finally, Murphy's article on crowd activity during the Fenian movement and Stephen Ball's article on crowd activity during the Land War shows that forward-looking, organized, and political crowds of the kind described by Hobsbawm and Rudé played a huge role in promoting social change. Fenian crowds intervened at elections, holding "indignation meetings" when their chosen candidate was not selected by the upper-class electorate. Crowds also assembled in numbers estimated at approximately 600,000 at fifty-four meetings to demand an amnesty for Fenian prisoners. During the Land War, crowds assembled in "mock funerals" to warn individuals not to transgress unwrit-

ten laws against cooperating with landlord agents. In general, according to Ball, "Land League supporters of all ages rarely missed an opportunity to mount a demonstration" (p. 215).

Harrison's focus on the nonpolitical face of crowd activity sits uneasily with the highly political activities described in this volume. His stress on elite mobilizations downplays the self-activity of "ordinary folk," which is also demonstrated time and time again in this volume. It is despite Harrison's rather rigid framework that the editors have assembled an excellent collection of essays.

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ROBERT SLOAN. *William Smith O'Brien and the Young Ireland Rebellion of 1848*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2000. Pp. 320. \$55.00.

William Smith O'Brien is known primarily for his leadership of the "Rising of 1848," which in actuality was a tragicomic scuffle in Widow McCormick's garden in County Tipperary. This ignominious end, for which he was transported to Tasmania, has long overshadowed a distinguished, complex, and controversial career in Parliament and in Ireland. As Robert Sloan concludes in this excellent biography, O'Brien's memory did not prove to be "an inspiration" for future Irish nationalists. "His failure was too complete and ignominious . . . his actions in Tipperary have become a byword for incompetence," despite O'Brien being "the most noble, honourable, principled and patriotic politician of his age" (pp. 302-303). In meticulous detail, based almost exclusively on primary sources, Sloan examines O'Brien's life, from being the pampered son of one of Ireland's most ancient and distinguished families to the man who in July 1848 led a small and rapidly diminishing ragtag band of impoverished, hungry, and largely unarmed Irish peasants against the might of the British Empire.

O'Brien was born in 1803 into a family that, from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, claimed the high kingship of Thomond (Clare), before abandoning its royal claims and accepting a peerage during the reign of Henry VIII. According to Sloan, this "extraordinary family history" carried with it in O'Brien's mind a "sense of station, and of duty to Ireland, that is the key to understanding his political career" (p. 11). At the age of twenty-four he entered Parliament as a liberal unionist and, following in the family tradition, a supporter of Catholic emancipation. Despite being a member of the Catholic Association, however, he soon was involved in a quarrel with Daniel O'Connell that would continue for the next twenty years. At the root of this quarrel were O'Brien's resistance to O'Connell's demand for deference and absolute loyalty and the divisive, Catholic underpinnings of O'Connell's politics. Throughout his political career, O'Brien insisted on unity within the nationalist movement, a unity he hoped would embrace Orangemen,

landlords, and Protestants as well as Catholics of all classes. According to Sloan, "it was O'Brien who defied O'Connell more than any other Irish politician between 1835 and 1843. None was to match the persistence with which he asserted a principled independence" (p. 43).

O'Brien's independence was at no time more evident than during the repeal movement of the 1840s. After joining the Repeal Association in October 1843, O'Brien was widely regarded as O'Connell's primary lieutenant. However, in direct opposition to O'Connell, O'Brien soon found himself aligning with the members of Young Ireland and their call for a united Irish nation. This alliance was most evident during the debate on the colleges bill of 1845, when O'Brien and Young Ireland supported mixed education of Catholics and Protestants in the face of vehement opposition from O'Connell and the Catholic hierarchy. A year later, the two camps of the repeal movement again clashed, this time over whether physical force was an option for Irish nationalism. According to Sloan, during the next two years O'Brien failed "to give effective leadership" to the Young Ireland wing of the nationalist movement, having neither the "ambition" nor the "egotism of the would-be leader" (p. 165). Nonetheless, following the successful uprising in Paris in February 1848, O'Brien found himself drawn to the notion that an insurrection led by men of property could bring about a relatively bloodless revolution in Ireland. When the Irish insurrection occurred in July, the hoped-for unity of classes and active support of men of property did not materialize, however, while nearly two years of famine had sapped the energy and resolution of the great majority of Irish peasants.

Sloan portrays O'Brien as having been a highly principled man whose passage from liberal unionist MP to insurrectionary leader was consistent with his perception of what was best for Ireland. At one point, Sloan criticizes Richard Davis, whose *Revolutionary Imperialist: William Smith O'Brien 1803–1864* (1998) is the only other full-scale biography of O'Brien, for suggesting that the need for financial assistance from his parents influenced O'Brien's early political direction. Sloan's response is indicative of his entire approach to O'Brien: "[he] was not torn between two opposing influences . . . he was his own master and he pursued the dictates of conscience regardless of the consequences" (p. 53). Yet Sloan is not unaware of O'Brien's capacity to delude himself, initially about Britain's willingness to do right by Ireland, and later over the readiness of Ireland's propertied class and its famine-decimated masses to join together in open revolt. In many ways, O'Brien foreshadowed a later aloof, Protestant landlord, Charles Stewart Parnell. Unlike Parnell, however, O'Brien was a reluctant leader whose efforts at forging a united Irish party in Parliament and a revolution in Ireland fell on less

fertile ground than Parnell was to find fifty years later.

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J. N. HILLGARTH. *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth*. (History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. xxii, 584. \$72.50.

For most early modern European travelers, the Iberian peninsula was off the beaten path. As a result, we have far fewer travel diaries, retrospectives, and the like for Spain than for France, the Low Countries, and especially Italy. In this case, less may be more; in practical terms, there is enough travel writing about early modern Spain to make it a consistently interesting and varied corpus, but not too much so as to tire the reader with the same old stuff.

This is not to say that clichés were lacking. Travel writers indulged in intertextuality long before the term was coined, which is one reason why historians have traditionally held their offerings at arm's length. Other defects of travel accounts include their relentless favoring of predictability and, above all, the fact that, then as now, most of their authors saw only what they wanted to see, confirming rather than challenging their preconceptions. The possibilities for mistranslation and misunderstanding were infinite, even among well-informed and open-minded visitors. Nevertheless, travel accounts, for all their distortions, make up for many of their faults. They let us know what struck strangers—often political and linguistic foreigners to boot—as most worth noting while on the road. They thus provide not only descriptions of sites and cities but also one of the closest parallels to modern ethnography. What seemed exotic to foreigners was often the most normal—and thus least worth remarking—of practices and beliefs among the locals, and it is at this intersection of local realities and outsider perceptions that travel accounts render their services as historical sources.

What good news, then, that the medievalist J. N. Hillgarth has undertaken a systematic review of foreigners' attitudes toward early modern Spain. The texts he surveys include not only the writings of travelers but also diplomatic and commercial correspondence, political and religious polemics, and a broad range of literary genres. Taken together, these works show how, beginning in the sixteenth century, the Spanish monarchy attracted the growing and largely unprecedented hostility of most other Europeans, who envied its power and/or opposed its policies. Political rivalries and especially confessional differences contributed to the increasingly negative image of Spain as a land of superstition, tyranny, and ultimately of impoverished backwardness that scored huge propaganda successes in northern Europe. Much of this so-called "Black Legend," however, was invented from afar; those foreigners who actually visited the penin-

sula and wrote about their experiences there often issued more nuanced reports. While few discarded their prejudices altogether, many showed genuine curiosity and, in some cases, appreciation for distinct aspects of a largely unfamiliar society and culture. In particular, they made much of the ways Spain differed from the rest of Europe, by highlighting its Muslim and Judaic past (for some still its present, given the widespread suspicion that many Spaniards were secret Jews), the outward religious conformity assured by its Inquisition, and the peculiar mix of pride and poverty that was seen as the hallmark of Castilian nobility.

The profusion of citations and anecdotes in this impressively erudite book yields a mine of information based on prodigious reading and archival research. Hillgarth has not only waded through virtually all printed travel accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but he has also made extensive forays into unpublished sources ranging from the public and private papers of English diplomats, such as those of Sir William Godolphin, now at Wadham College, Oxford, to even more unlikely venues, including the College of St. Alban's at Valladolid, one of the key links in the chain of English Catholic education during the early period of recusancy and exile. As these two examples suggest, for all this book's truly European-wide breadth of coverage, at its heart lies one central relationship: that uniting Spain and England. It is indeed somewhat reassuring to find that with all the tension and mistrust between these two countries, certain visitors—the prolific writer James Howell, for example, or the diplomat's wife Lady Ann Fanshawe—were able to see beyond official propaganda to produce informed and sympathetic portraits of a people and place so rarely understood on their own terms.

The length and level of detail of this study are not for the faint of heart. It offers few general conclusions and covers some of its ground more than once. Still, I cannot think of anyone, specialist as well as general reader, who would not learn a great deal from it. Informative, judicious, and elegantly written, the book is a fitting testament to a historian who has made a distinguished career of living in as well as studying a country that, as he notes in its final pages, steadfastly resists all attempts to make its past look like that of any other.

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DAVID ORTIZ, JR. *Paper Liberals: Press and Politics in Restoration Spain*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 73.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2000. Pp. viii, 139. \$62.50.

A popular notion in Spanish historiography is that Spain has had both a "long history" and a "weak record" of parliamentary democracy. David Ortiz, Jr., digs deeper into this assumption by arguing that although liberal governmental *institutions* failed in late

nineteenth and early twentieth-century Spain, liberal *political culture* thrived during this period. Focusing on the Spanish (actually Madrilenian) press, not as an "institution" but as an "exogenous avenue of popular political expression" (p. 3), Ortiz seeks to demonstrate that the press challenged the legitimacy of Spanish political power by exposing electoral corruption (chapter one); that the press purveyed the classical liberal idea of separation of church and state (chapter two); that the press guided public debate on the "social question" (chapter three); and that Spanish journalists themselves recognized their "moral mission" (chapter four): i.e. that they were supposed to "educate and enlighten the public about their government and the vices and virtues of their political system" (p. 13). Ortiz's most convincing evidence as to the vibrancy of Spanish political culture during the Restoration is his data on the growth of the political press, in both quantity and variety. Ortiz shows that the 1883 press law "heralded an unprecedented growth of periodical literature" (p. 5).

Ortiz's central point—that liberal political culture "grew and developed during the regency of María Cristina from 1885 to 1902" (p. 10)—is theoretically as well as empirically important. It is part and parcel of contemporary interdisciplinary debates as to the relative autonomy (or lack thereof) of the cultural realm. Following Jürgen Habermas, Ortiz maintains that just as liberal institutions do not preclude authoritarian practice, "a full complement of perfectly functioning liberal institutions are not necessary to the development of liberal political cultures/public spheres" (p. 13).

Unfortunately, however, Ortiz oversteps the theoretical and methodological boundaries of his analysis. The fundamental problem is that liberalism in the regency press does not necessarily contradict the conventional "elitist" thesis; despite the existence of many brilliant, "enlightened" intellectuals, writers, and artists (e.g. Francisco Giner de los Ríos, who founded the Institución Libre de Enseñanza [ILE] which provided secular education for many liberal elites) and liberal and "reformist thought" (p. 49), Spain was beset by a "polarized" and/or "apathetic" population. As Ortiz acknowledges, for most of the nineteenth century more than sixty-seven percent of the Spanish population was illiterate, and evidence as to the actual impact of newspapers on organizations and people (e.g. that newspapers were read aloud and discussed in clubs and bars) is "scant" and "necessarily speculative" (p. 65). Ortiz's methodology involves a "thick description" of newspaper editorials and a more in-depth exploration of journalists' motives (p. 10). But without evidence of actual acculturation, Ortiz's argument that press activity "helped create a tradition of liberal, democratic political culture distinct from the rationales of the official state apparatus" (p. 40) seems circular. After all, "conventional wisdom" is not that there was no liberal Spanish political thinking in the late nineteenth century (quite the contrary!) but simply that liberalism

failed to take root during this period. Ortiz concludes that "the Regency press fostered and sustained an independent political culture of debate and contention" at odds with the "public apathy" (expressed by shrinking electoral participation) that eventually "dissolved the regime" (p. 123). But Ortiz does not discuss "public apathy" at all, let alone discuss the relationship between this apathy and the allegedly thriving liberal political culture incited by press activity.

There are other annoying, unsubstantiated assertions in this book. For instance, Ortiz's accusations as to the assumptions "based on the narrative of countries of the center" (p. 13) ring hollow (or at least dated) to me. Nevertheless, communications researchers and historians who want to know more about the Spanish press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries might enjoy this short book. Ortiz succinctly describes the origins and premises of various newspapers, significant intrapress debates, and the concerns and goals of Spanish journalists. In addition, he successfully demonstrates that many Spanish journalists were intent on purveying liberalism, which complements social historians' emphasis on the dynamism of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Spanish culture.

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WAYNE H. BOWEN. *Spaniards and Nazi Germany: Collaboration in the New Order*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 250. \$34.95.

Clandestine leaflets distributed by the underground opposition in Spain in 1942 pointed out that the Spanish Civil War had effectively been the first of Hitler's wars of invasion. Arguably, the Francoist side would not have defeated the Spanish government if it had not been for the aid proffered by Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Indeed, there may well have been no civil war at all; the rebellious forces were soon defeated in Spain's principal cities. By the end of the conflict, Heinrich Himmler's SS officers were involved in training Generalissimo Francisco Franco's police. Governmental agreements were made allowing the German state to pursue fleeing enemies in Spain and Spanish Republicans in France, but Spaniards did not cooperate in handing over "racial enemies" to the Nazis as was done so enthusiastically in France. Much of the Spanish press, however, was virtually controlled by Spanish and German pro-Nazi agents, at least to the extent that news of the world conflict was uniformly pro-Axis.

But there are problems with the concept of "collaboration" in Spain in the 1940s. Wayne H. Bowen does not really say what he means by the term. Both sides during the Civil War claimed that Spain would be occupied by foreigners in the aftermath. This was largely propaganda in the struggle "to save the nation." But revisionist history, regressing to the 1950s,

has begun to play down the Spanish aspects of the war and accentuate this clash of foreign powers and ideas (especially communism and fascism). Until recently, the understanding among most historians, however, has tended to be that if Spain lived an "occupation" in the early 1940s, it was one imposed and maintained not by Hitler but by Franco (albeit with Nazi help).

Emphasizing the Nazi role allows historians to relativize the repression carried out by Franco's dictatorship. And Bowen wastes no time absolving Franco from charges of fascism, citing the weakness of the fascist party in Spain, the Falange. This banal concentration on nominal rather than essential factors, begun in the historiography of the 1960s, has become something of a cliché. Bowen claims further that Spaniards in general naturally supported Nazi Germany because Hitler's war was a continuation of Franco's, for which they had been grateful. This sweeping assertion about Spanish society in the 1940s is not evidenced, however. It is based on soundings from and about a small and particularly unrepresentative section of Spanish society: committed, radical Falangists.

The subject of Hispano-German relations in the 1930s and 1940s, at subaltern level, is worthwhile and potentially very important. Gauging Spanish popular opinion during and after the Civil War, however, is problematic. This problem is intrinsic to histories of civil wars and revolutions, where difficult questions about allegiances, coercion, consent, and simple survival abound. This is also the case, for example, with occupied and Vichy France, which has since the 1960s been the central focus of historical studies and theory about collaboration. In the French case, when looking at society rather than the state, concepts like "accommodation" and "getting by" have become important interpretative keys. In Spain, however, survival often depended on accommodation with the Franco authorities, not with an occupying power. A more apposite comparison for the Spanish case is fascist Italy or Nazi Germany itself, though neither conducted a political purge to the extent of the Franco dictatorship. Spaniards survived or perished according to what Paul Preston dubbed "the politics of revenge" of the Franco state. (It is noteworthy that, years after Preston's coining of the term, "revenge" has recently been elevated to a category of historical analysis and explanation and transposed from the state on to individual Spaniards, absolving Francoism of unreasonable repression in the postwar period.)

In spite of its title, which suggests a rather broad treatment of "Spaniards," this book in fact examines the relationship of Nazi Germany with Franco's single state political organization, the Falange, and especially its foreign section. The author argues that this is novel since it is not a Franco-focused account. The centerpiece of the source material used are interviews with an ideologically assorted crew of old *Falangistas*, more or less compromised with the regime, and, importantly, previously little-used Falangist publications. In the process, some fascinating material on the Blue

Division is unearthed. The Blue Division was made up of about 18,000 Spaniards who fought for Hitler's cause in the anticommunist crusade on the Eastern Front by an agreement made with the Spanish government soon after the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. A further agreement to send Spanish workers was signed in August. Falangist intelligence reports tell the story about the call-up made by propaganda vans, which roamed those areas of Spain with the highest unemployment in 1941 and the greatest extent of hunger and disease. More than 1,600 people died of typhus in Spain in 1941, and the director general of health spoke of "medieval times." People would have done anything for a meal. The Blue Division was overwhelmingly Falangist, though it also included many non-Falangist, middle-class Catholics. While arguing that this represented a popular rush to volunteer, however, the book eschews social analysis. Instead, the book is an exploration of an intermediate component of state power, or rather, its most radical (minority) element. It is clear that "volunteers" stepped forward (or were found) for many reasons. It is also clear that many Falangists volunteered out of ideological conviction and wished to carry the anti-Communist crusade directly to Stalinist Russia. Later they would be hugely disillusioned by the conservative elitism of society under Franco.

Clearly, concentration on Franco's party does not make this book "history from below" in any meaningful sense. This, of course, is not what it sets out to do, but some consideration of the social aspect of the story might have lessened the sense of Falangist-Nazi relations taking place in a vacuum. Bowen's account is marred by a repeated tendency to make simplistic assumptions about the social context of the events and processes described. An example is his frequent assertion that the most pro-Nazi elements of the Falange were "working-class," or that "working class" Falangists adhered to particular party leaders (p. 45) and were enamored of the National-Syndicalist "revolution" just as they were Hitler's social revolution. As historians of Hitler's Germany long ago discovered in examining the social base of Nazism, the application of an undifferentiated concept of "working class" does not lead very far. The typical Spanish industrial worker or landless laborer was certainly no Falangist.

The problem is compounded by the manner in which the research findings are arranged. The location of some excellent archival material in the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (especially of the Interministerial Commission for the Sending of Workers to Germany) and the Servicio Histórico Militar is to be commended. Often such material is well used. However, the repeated use of footnotes to mention obscure documents in making the most anodyne and already established points of fact becomes irksome. This is particularly so when the use of secondary sources to establish the basic contours and to support assertions out of the blue is all but lacking. For example, the author says of the situation in 1941 that "The Spanish

Civil War had been long and bloody, and memories of it were still fresh, leaving a strong anti-Communist element in the Spanish population" (p. 106). There is no footnote, but the proposition is far from unproblematic. Exhaustion, horror, and traumatization there undoubtedly were. Whether people simply blamed "communism" is much to be doubted, however. Bowen essentially gets carried away by the rhetoric of his Falangist witnesses who overplay their powers of mobilization (and of memory?), and there are few references to published accounts to lay the basic foundations. Indeed, Bowen's preferred historians seem to be those once employed by Franco's own Ministry of Information, like Ricardo de la Cierva.

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PETER RUSSELL. *Prince Henry "the Navigator": A Life.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 448.

During the nineteenth century, the Portuguese first began calling Prince Henry "the Navigator," and his reputation was accordingly inflated. At about the same time in the United States, Christopher Columbus gained his celebrity. Columbus's ship has taken on water recently, but Portugal remains deeply anchored to Henry's personality and deeds. National pride prevents his homeland from dispelling popular myths that Dom Henrique was a heroic imperialist of the modern stripe, a mathematical prodigy, the founder of a school for explorers, and a sailor of repute. Despite truisms lodged in textbooks, Henry never moved to the solitude of Cape Sagres, did not invent the caravel, never shipped out farther from the Algarve than Morocco, and did not claim to be the far-sighted initiator of an ocean passage to India.

This first biography published in English in more than a century builds upon the base of the author's seminal *Prince Henry the Navigator: The Rise and Fall of a Cultural Hero* (1984) and the fruit of decades of multinational research. Peter Russell's magisterial study does not engage in debunking for its own sake but in hopes of uncovering the conflicted individual who is more interesting than the legendary peerless hero. This biography could not be a life in the traditional sense because too little of its subject's writing survives to allow us to know Henry's inner being. There is one newly uncovered letter in the appendix that displays a young man with a sense of humor, a storyteller's concern for details about the consummation of a marriage, and a connoisseur's appreciation for pageantry. It certainly leaves one wishing more of the same survived the wreck of time.

Prince Henry's career had previously been constructed primarily from the royal chronicles of Gomes Eanes de Zurára, who wrote after events he describes and always presents his subject as a Christian paragon of chivalry and piety. Indeed, the future prince is reported by his chronicler to have emerged from the

womb on Ash Wednesday 1394, embracing a simulacrum of the Holy Cross! Russell's text sets before us not a preordained culture hero but the third son of an insignificant king who ruled a poverty-struck land. Through self-actualization and a supreme sense of self-worth, Henry overcame the handicap of his birth order and limited resources. The prince, we learn, was driven by a quest for personal fame and the need to prop up his finances. He took Ceuta (1415), failed in a major effort against the Canaries (1424), suffered a debacle at Tangier (1437), conquered Alcácer-Ceguer (1458), and sent explorers to Africa in the 1430s and 1440s for the landings that led to trade and rapine.

These expansionist activities should not be classified as Renaissance preoccupations, since the author's goal in this study is "to reclaim Prince Henry and his achievements for the Middle Ages" (p. 12). Dom Henrique's ambitions are shown to be not that different from the ideological preoccupations of his contemporaries, save that he persisted whereas, when others matured, they settled for local aspirations. One underestimated motivation in Henry's life is the key role astrology played in setting out his path. His horoscope cast him as a man with a great destiny, and he followed his star. It is hard to categorize this interest as strictly medieval, however, since an astrologer similarly guided President Ronald Reagan, as his wife admits. It might be better, therefore, to consign ongoing arguments over periodization to history's dustbin.

Dom Henrique is presented in this multilayered text as a curious layman who sought to understand his world through the window of aristocratic values. He was the wealthiest magnate in Portugal, but he died, as he lived, in substantial debt. Despite his trading proclivities, he was often willing to exacerbate his relations with Africans by crusading as a soldier of the Church Militant. Prince Henry cited with approval Christ's declaration that he came to bring not peace but a sword.

The sporadic voyages dedicated to exploration depended upon a lack of distractions, suddenly available funding, and the prince's reputation, which attracted navigators. Henry is shown not to be a Portuguese patriot, since he would hire anyone—save a Castilian—to get a job done. Ca'da Mosto, his greatest explorer, was a Venetian. The ships brought back ivory, gold, cotton cloths, and black slaves. Henry's explorers demonstrated, sinisterly, that instead of relying on a dribble from trans-Saharan caravan routes controlled by Muslims, captives in vast quantities could be transported on long sea voyages. Even when stripped of the barnacles of myth, the prince's ships made a substantial contribution to Europe's knowledge and taught it how to exploit Africa's resources. Once begun, Prince Henry's cursed inheritance lives on.

This certainly must be rated the best volume about the man and his times. In addition to celebrating this masterful achievement, one must also admire Russell's

openness in pointing out that the painting of the figure in the well-known black cartwheel hat that dominates the dust jacket quite possibly started its career as a portrait of someone else.

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LARS M. ANDERSSON. *En jude är en jude är en jude . . . : Representationen av "juden" i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900–1930*. [A Jew is a Jew is a Jew . . . : Representations of "Jews" in the Swedish Humor Press ca. 1900–1930.] Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press. 2000. Pp. 622.

Within a single year (1999–2000), three Swedish doctoral dissertations were published on topics pertaining to Swedish anti-Semitism past and present. Lena Berggren's *Nationell Upplysning: Drag i den svenska antisemitismens idéhistoria* [National Enlightenment: Aspects of the Ideological History of Swedish Anti-Semitism] (1999) focuses on racially based anti-Semitism found not only in fringe movements but within established political parties in the period between the world wars. Henrik Bachner's *Återkomsten: Antisemitism i Sverige efter 1945* [The Return: Anti-Semitism in Sweden after 1945] (1999) analyzes the manner in which anti-Zionism and a pro-Palestinian stance have served to camouflage underlying anti-Semitic sentiment in the postwar period. Lars M. Andersson's magnum opus differs from the work of his immediate predecessors in that Andersson does not emphasize the overtly political or ideological dimensions of Swedish anti-Semitism but rather its manifestation in commonplace, everyday attitudes presumed to be shared by large segments of the population.

Andersson has chosen humor magazines, widely distributed during the first decades of the twentieth century, to explore this thesis, arguing that the medium of popular entertainment may provide insight into prevailing norms and values that are otherwise difficult to document. He has examined in detail the entire publication runs of fourteen humor periodicals, selected to provide a representative geographic and ideological cross-section during the designated time period. His study demonstrates conclusively that cartoons and jokes caricaturing Jews—many of them to contemporary eyes crudely anti-Semitic—were a common feature in the humor press regardless of place of publication or political orientation, a staple element cultivated by editors and illustrators and apparently appreciated by readers, who sometimes sent in "Jewish stories" of their own. The construction of a relatively consistently portrayed Jewish "other" contributed, in turn, to the creation of a norm for "Swedishness" that was a significant feature of the modernization process and an implicit underpinning of the welfare state.

In the introduction, Andersson provides a thorough overview of the history of anti-Semitism, both in Sweden and internationally. He posits that the phe-

nomenon has been under-recognized in Sweden, in part because the term itself has been defined too narrowly to encompass only deliberate and openly acknowledged anti-Jewish bias. The empirical portion of the dissertation is divided into three lengthy sections. The first analyzes the visual and linguistic codes marking a figure as "Jewish" (here and elsewhere, the use of quotes distinguishes the representational "Jew" from actual Jewish individuals), with particular attention to the prominent nose shaped like the number six and the palms-up gesture associated with greed. Many cartoons vary the theme that assimilation is impossible due to the "Jew's" divergent appearance. The second section focuses on "Jewish" attitudes toward religion and money. Anti-Judaism is directly connected to racially based anti-Semitism by representing biblical figures as possessing typically "Jewish" traits, notably mendacity, moral indifference, and the worship of Mammon. The image of the "Jew" as profit-mongering capitalist is especially notable in the left-leaning press of the workers' movement.

In the third section, Andersson scrutinizes the response of the humor press to an actual historical phenomenon, the gradual assimilation of the Swedish-Jewish population (which during this period numbered only about 7,000), and the rise to prominence of individual Jews in fields that included publishing, academia, and the visual arts as well as various mercantile professions. Influential, established Jews, or those so identified, were virtually always caricatured as "Jewish" in appearance and demeanor, a particularly startling revelation with regard to the explorer and politician Sven Hedin, whose heritage was only one-sixteenth Jewish and who himself had fascist sympathies.

Andersson has produced not only a groundbreaking study but one that leaves little room for future digging; this is a definitive work. By highlighting stereotypes that ordinary Swedes found amusing, Andersson reveals the prevalence of anti-Semitism during a period of profound social change. Although not of the virulent variety that led to the Final Solution, the pervasiveness of this casual, everyday anti-Semitism across a wide social and political spectrum contradicts a Swedish self-image of openmindedness and tolerance. The topic should be of interest outside Sweden as well; an English-language summary is provided. It is nevertheless unfortunate that the book is so long: 600 oversized pages, each set in double columns and a microscopic font, a format guaranteed to produce eyestrain. Printed in the usual manner, the text would have run to at least 1,500 pages and several volumes; the third chapter, on representations of actual Swedish Jews, falls somewhat outside the parameters of the investigation and could, in fact, easily have been published as a separate book. Reducing the sheer number of images analyzed in detail (approximately 250 are both repro-

duced and discussed) would have made the study more focused and accessible.

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KIRSI SIRÉN. *Suuresta suvusta pieneen perheeseen: Itä-suomalainen perhe 1700-luvulla*. [From Joint Family to Nuclear Family: The Family in Eastern Finland in the Eighteenth Century]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 38.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1999. Pp. 259.

ELINA WARIS. *Yksissä leivissä: Ruokolahtelainen perhelaitos ja yhteisöllinen toiminta 1750–1850* [Together as One: Extended Families and Collective Labour in Ruokolahti, 1750–1850]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 48.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1999. Pp. 248.

When John Hajnal, in the 1960s, presented his hypothesis about the demographic mechanisms of preindustrial Europe, an imaginary "Hajnal line" based on the age at marriage of women with a magic cut-off point at twenty-three could hardly be visualized. The use of a combination of age at marriage and household composition, based on the Laslett-Hammell classification system, created the image of a simple Eastern and Western Europe in the past. Time and empirical findings have made these simplistic divisions redundant. While most scholars engaging in research connected with family and household issues have moved on to create new agendas, the publisher of two doctoral theses in Finland states that "the international discussion" (i.e. the Laslett-Hammell classification system and the Hajnal line) have finally reached Finnish research.

The study by Elina Waris focuses on the economic and legal basis for the complex household groups in an eastern Finnish parish during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the way labor could be added and discarded depending on need. She makes good use of a combination of sources to show how the judicial system was utilized for economic purposes and how interfamilial relations fitted in with the system. Assets were transferred through adoption, wills, or delayed property division. The overruling aim was to maximize the use of ecological resources, and when the agrarian sector declined, the opportunities offered by St. Petersburg came into focus. Waris claims that because a large work group had been the hallmark of economic security, the shift toward smaller families was slow.

The effort to force a society where sharing a farm did not necessarily mean sharing a building and sharing a building did not necessarily mean sharing meals into the Laslett-Hammell household classification system is not altogether a success, and the author also reveals some staggering lacunae in her knowledge of comparative Nordic research. With these exceptions, the book contains interesting information and is quite a good read.

Kirsi Sirén's book is more of a disappointment. Apart from listing population statistics at length, the thesis is devoted to the question of the "Hajnal line." The author produces a map of the exact location of the line in Finland based on a calculation of household structure using a modified Laslett-Hammell system with a new category of more than two married couples. Sirén identifies this category as existing in between 8.6 and 13.8 percent of the households in a large number of parishes of east central Finland in 1766 and 1800. The cornerstone is the early age at first marriage of women in three parishes in the 1760s and the 1790s (in the smallest parish, the sample is twenty-six women, 1765–1769; in the largest, it is 122 women, 1795–1799). Irrespective of variation between the localities, she declares that she has pinpointed the "Hajnal line" east of which all demographic behavior was culturally determined. The fact that the study contains no information about areas immediately west of her line is not discussed. Neither is she concerned with the fact that her own localities show socioeconomic differences both in household structure and age at marriage. She also claims that women in eastern Finland married "on reaching fecundity" (p. 253), while her figures show mean ages between 20.3 and 24.1 (p. 116).

Considering the author's point about the difference in age at marriage between eastern Finland and the other Nordic countries, it is surprising that more than twenty years of Nordic research is missing from her bibliography. The limited information in Michael Flinn, *The European Demographic System 1500–1820* (1981) is deemed sufficient, while studies showing low ages at marriage for specific socioeconomic groups, such as Ingrid Eriksson and John Rogers, *Rural Labor and Population Change: Social and Demographic Change in East-Central Sweden during the Nineteenth Century* (1978), are ignored. Heldur Palli's book showing a mean age of years 24.2 for women in late eighteenth-century Estonia has also been excluded (see Palli, *Otepaa rahvastik aastail 1716–1799* [1988], p. 209.)

Using proverbs and oral history collections on marriage customs, an image of downtrodden women and powerful patriarchs is conjured up. Some data have been used selectively, citing sections indicating arranged marriages and excluding sections about free partner choice (see Eljas Raussi, *Virolahden kansanelämä 1840-luvulla* [1966], pp. 272–73). The underlying "eastern culture" is said to be centuries old and connected to the Orthodox Church; however, none of the parishes actually included in the study have any Orthodox population, and none of the narrative evidence is older than the nineteenth century.

The overall impression of this effort is one of supreme dissatisfaction to anybody with knowledge of the data sets and the literature used. The book is burdened with badly presented tables and appendixes with little relevance to the discussion, while the argument lives an independent existence based to a large extent on unsubstantiated hypotheses. The desirability

of printing doctoral theses in Finland has been questioned more than once during the past ten years. This book makes a good case for the need to revive the discussion.

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PHILIPPE HAMON. *"Messieurs des finances": Les grands officiers de finance dans la France de la Renaissance*. (Histoire économique et financière de la France.) Paris: Comité pour l'Histoire Economique et Financière de la France. 1999. Pp. xxxvii, 506. FR 249.00.

Philippe Hamon's sweeping group biography of the financial officers during the reign of Francis I of France possesses both the attributes and the faults of the typical French *thèse d'état*, those massive masterworks of historical research that neither universities nor presses in the United States could ever afford to sustain. Although the book comprises only one-third the original thesis, it is still over four hundred pages of densely packed information (plus notes, appendixes, and bibliography) about the financial and personal careers of the officials in charge of the royal finances during the French Renaissance. As a source of information about this cadre of treasurers and tax collectors, it is exhaustive and highly valuable. It will be an indispensable aid to students of the Renaissance monarchy and the development of the early modern French state. Its encyclopedic approach also is its main weakness, however, as there is no real argument or thesis binding the book together, except for the not surprising conclusion that royal service was financially and socially rewarding despite the risks it entailed.

Although there were only 121 of them between 1515 and 1547, the financial officers were pivotal to the functioning of the French state, and especially the French military. The cost of war in the sixteenth century was rising, because it was waged on a larger scale and with more technologically advanced weapons than in the Middle Ages, and Francis I fought a lot of wars. It was up to his financial officers to funnel money from the provinces to wherever it was most needed. This could mean the court in Paris, but often it meant a battlefield in Italy, and several officers actually died of wounds or disease trying to shepherd funds to royal armies. Even without the dangers of a stray bullet or microbe, the lives of financial officers were difficult and filled with risk. The nature of their duties required them to be extremely peripatetic and often to assume peripheral tasks overseeing the king's diplomatic, military, or even architectural projects. In an era before the creation of a true state bureaucracy, Hamon argues, the financial officers were members of the royal household, responsible for any and all duties touching on the collection, gestation, circulation, and expenditure of royal funds. Moreover, there was always the danger the king could turn on his financial officers, especially those whose wealth and pretensions had soared to excessive levels, investigate them for

profiteering, and require them to disgorge some or all of the profits they had acquired in his service.

Royal financiers enjoyed plentiful opportunities, licit and illicit, to enrich themselves. In fact, without semilegal and outright criminal manipulation of royal funds, the king's well would have run dry far more often than it did. The almost heroic willingness of the financial officers to scare up funds, often putting their personal money and credit on the line in the process, no doubt justified in the financiers' own minds their habit of skimming off the top now and then, especially in an era when there was at best a blurry fine between public and private finances and royal officers of all kinds were expected to supplement their incomes with various "*épices*." Yet the king was not above winking at these practices when it suited him, and prosecuting them later on, often targeting particular officers for political reasons. As there were no lack of volunteers to fill the vacated offices, however, a career in royal finance evidently was sufficiently lucrative to justify the risks.

Most of the considerable wealth and upward social mobility the financial officers achieved came from legal sources. The offices themselves were well paid and often brought in their wake substantial royal gifts and opportunities for financial speculation as well. Office holders invested their earnings very much in the same manner as that of the urban bourgeoisie from which most of them were drawn: in urban and rural real estate and public and private loans. Moreover, strategic marriages bound many of the financial families together, and in some cases to the more established nobility as well. Their hard-won family wealth and honor were fragile; a royal demand to balance the books could dismantle a patrimony constructed during decades of service. But in most cases financial office holding proved to be a winning proposition. Most financial office holders and their descendants managed to amass and conserve a considerable fortune, and not a few won noble status, the holy grail of the upwardly mobile in early modern France.

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LISA SILVERMAN. *Tortured Subjects: Pain, Truth, and the Body in Early Modern France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 264. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$20.00.

More than a generation has passed since Robert Mandrou and others began to chart the attitudes of the early modern French, and ever since, historians of France have been steadily adding color and detail to this mental map. Lisa Silverman's work attempting to explain the existence, persistence, and disappearance of torture fits into that tradition. Moreover, she provides further evidence and insight for students of the history of criminal justice and for those preoccupied with the body and the evolving medical and epistemo-

logical notions of the period. Using jurists' manuals and justice records from Toulouse, where there was a particularly sound regional foundation for the use of torture, Silverman argues that the practice betrayed a view of the body as the site of truth. The latter was often best discovered through the introduction of pain rather than through the volition of the accused. Hence this pure and enduring truth had sometimes to be wrenched (by the *estrapade*), squeezed (by the *brodequins*), washed (by the *question d'eau*), or otherwise painfully brought from the lips of the subject to be recorded by the agents of justice. Silverman carefully reconstructs some aspects of the environment that made torture an understandable and acceptable means of pursuing truth. Among the most fertile conditions she includes Christian ideals of redemption through physical suffering, the legal place of torture in inquisitorial jurisprudence, torture as an assertion of judicial power and civic independence in Toulouse, and the medical acceptance of pain as a necessary and useful symptom of underlying ills. Such conceptions, then, comprised the fundamental epistemology of truth and the body. Manuals of jurisprudence encouraged judges in training to use the salutary harshness of torture to prevent the disorder of crime from infecting the greater social body. What is more, many members of the legal elite in Toulouse participated in the "sacralized" suffering of penitential confraternities such as the Penitents Bleus. Even after the exculpatory value of the practice was lost in the early seventeenth century and the tortured accused could no longer be acquitted by a denial of guilt or a failure to confess, judges persisted in the use of torture until the mid-eighteenth century.

Such was the extensive cultural root system nourishing the practice of legal pain. But new modes of thought were also developing, despite the seeming inflexibility of the judiciary and the indifference of the literate public. Although public attacks on the question came late, Silverman argues that both statistics (which show a reluctance to torture after about 1650) and a close reading of judicial documents reveal a congeries of changes in attitude that gradually undermined the cultural bases of acceptance. There had long been doubts about the effectiveness of torture in eliciting confessions. Medical minds increasingly agreed that suffering could be a cause of disease, distressing to the patient and all those around her. The tortured subject, it had already been argued in the late seventeenth century, was actually being punished rather than merely interrogated, and also rendered useless for work. Moreover, the differences in human constitution made the practice unfair. The evidence, gained under coercion, was suspect. The tough could endure and, in any event, subjects of torture were as likely to lie as to tell the truth.

While few outside the legal system had witnessed torture, the literate public was made witness in the *causes célèbres* of the 1760s (including the Calas affair) and the wider publication of scientific inquiry into a

broad range of questions. Once considered a protector of the body social, torture was now attacked as deleterious to the society of free individuals, violating their rights as well as the law of nature. The evidence thus acquired was not only illegitimate, but animal suffering itself interfered with the processes of reason and reflection needed to find truth in an age when human agency and will, rather than the truth torn from the body, were paramount. Pain, once "desacralized," was not ennobling but a tool of the tyranny that reason abhorred, whose greatest victim was truth itself. Despite some notable judicial defenders, torture had lost its legal and cultural justifications and was abandoned on the eve of the French Revolution.

Although the author must make much of coinciding phenomena and therefore demands of readers a certain inferential faith, she mercifully avoids the Foucauldian connective "it comes as no surprise that" and has produced a significant contribution to the literature, a study that should be essential reading to all scholars of human pain in the cause of truth. And yet, one closes this book with a basic unease. Although the explanation is plausible for the extinction of legal torture in early modern France, the notions that the infliction or the threat of pain can extract truth and that physical suffering is somehow spiritually redemptive are stubborn and deeply embedded in Western culture, whether in foreign policy, military culture, athletics, religion, or the arts.

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LEONARD N. ROSEN BAND, *Papermaking in Eighteenth-Century France: Management, Labor, and Revolution at the Montgolfier Mill, 1761–1805*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 210. \$39.95.

From the sturdy newsprint of the morning paper to the reams of uniform stock that flow from our copiers and printers and the high-cotton bond of theses and dissertations, the availability, variety, and low cost of paper today would excite the wonder and envy of an eighteenth-century Frenchman. In a society in which a purchaser carefully examined the grade and quality of each ream of paper or printed item he bought (and even books were sold uncut and unbound, in stitched sections), a frequent consumer of paper in the *ancien régime* saw it as a major budget item. Badly made paper had holes and weak spots; it would tear, or blot the ink from a writer's pen or a printer's typeset. Demand (particularly for high-quality paper) grew steadily in the eighteenth century, but all paper—good, bad, and indifferent—was made by hand in rural mills. While Leonard N. Rosenband's monograph is primarily a study of one mill and its enterprising owners, it can serve as an English-language introduction to the whole subject of artisanal papermaking. The author also skillfully integrates his study into the growing body of work on preindustrial French manu-

facturing by Gérard Gayot, Michael Sonenscher, William Reddy, and others.

More capital intensive and time sensitive than most craft production, papermaking depended on the supply of old linen rags: the raw material of the trade. Although the monarchy went so far as to prohibit their export, supplies (and quality) of rags were always uncertain, and a millowner commonly dedicated two-thirds or more of his annual budget to their purchase. Rags were cleaned, sorted, and soaked in a sealed fermenting vat (*pourrissoir*) before being stacked for several weeks of carefully monitored decomposition. Sliced, the rotting rags were pulped and shredded by water-powered mallets (the only mechanized part of the process) and dissolved in tubs; the thicker the mix, the heavier and more costly the product. Pulp was dipped on rectangular wire-mesh frames to form individual sheets. Careful manipulation of the molds was necessary for the fibers to knit properly before sheets, couched between felt pads, were pressed and separated. A gelatin bath helped to bond the fibers and give the paper a smooth surface. Several days of air-drying and additional pressings followed. An efficiently run mill, operating multiple vats, could produce several thousand sheets of paper a day.

Skilled artisans (*compagnons*) supervised the pulping, managed the vats, and dipped, pressed, and finished the sheets. Both speed and care were vital; inattention could ruin a vat, or mar a sheet, destroying its value. Although largely an itinerant and seasonal workforce, lacking guild status, craftsmen doggedly maintained distinctive traditions. Skills were taught through an informal, but tightly enforced system of paid apprenticeship. Artisans also imposed their own network of rules (*modes*), ranging from ceremonial meals and drinking bouts to fines on noncompliant workers and demands for special treatment by employers. Millowners regularly complained of work stoppages (when a small fortune in decomposing rags could be lost if not pulped and processed on time), vandalism, insolence, and even physical violence from their workers.

Well before some of its members gained fame as balloonists in the 1780s, the Montgolfier family's fortune rested on the profits of their mills. Less conservative than other French businessmen of their era, the Montgolfiers were willing to experiment with technology and labor organization in pursuit of greater profits and efficiency. Encouraged by liberal royal bureaucrats in the Bureau of Commerce and proclaiming an enlightened dedication to rational reform of their trade, the Montgolfiers set out to modernize their Vidalon (Languedoc) mill in 1780. They purchased Dutch technology that shredded linen more efficiently and dispensed with fermentation, producing attractive and more uniform sheets. More ambitiously, they sought their own long-term workforce, hiring unskilled workers and training them in the intricacies of papermaking, free from the corporate mentality and *modes* of traditional artisans. These new workers would be

carefully supervised, disciplined, and paid, while the Montgolfiers presided firmly but benevolently over this *nouvel ordre*. When traditionally minded artisans in the mill protested, they met with a 1781 lockout, after which the Montgolfiers hired labor largely on their own terms.

Although it would benefit from more data on the economic consequences of these changes and the finances of the Montgolfiers' operation as a whole, Rosenband's analysis provides the reader with a model study of the tension between artisanal tradition and paternalistic reform in the eighteenth century.

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MICHAEL RAPPORT. *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: The Treatment of Foreigners 1789–1799*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 382. \$85.00.

Michael Rapport's comprehensive study of the treatment of foreigners in the French Revolution challenges the usual tendency of historians of this subject to focus on a systematic descent from cosmopolitan inclusion to xenophobic exclusion. While acknowledging and indeed amply documenting its general validity, Rapport manages to chip away at the edges of this basic narrative by highlighting the gap between revolutionary discourse and revolutionary practice. In demonstrating that revolutionary practice was never as universal as proclaimed in Constituent Assembly rhetoric nor as repressive as envisioned in legislation passed by the Convention or during the Directory period, he establishes the prevalence of a measure of continuity in the way the revolutionaries treated foreigners. "Behind the rhetoric," he states, "the revolutionaries took a practical approach," one in which "the dictates of national interest" served as a "guiding principle for successive French governments" (pp. 224, 238). Thus, for example, we see governments throughout the revolutionary decade seeking to retain or organize separate units of foreign soldiers for purposes of bolstering military manpower, although such practices contravened the dictates of cosmopolitan and xenophobic ideology alike.

Rapport's approach injects his work directly into current historiographical debates on the roots of French revolutionary repression. For in repeatedly underlining the "practicality" and "expediency" of the revolutionaries and their sensitivity to "circumstances," he explicitly sets himself against the tendency in recent revolutionary historiography, most notably in the work of the late François Furet and his followers, to see repression as being primarily driven by an intolerant and exclusionary ideology. Hence, for Rapport, the "bark" of revolutionary repression was not only habitually "worse than its bite" (p. 264), but the degree of harsh repression against foreigners that did occur is ultimately attributed to "the unprecedented intensity and adversity of the war, combined with

internal political conflict and civil strife" (p. 207). As he explains, "the erratic pulse of xenophobia quickened and slowed with the passing of each new crisis" (p. 146), with, for example, some of the most egregious efforts to arrest and seize the property of British nationals being presented as direct responses to developments in Toulon, where the French fleet had surrendered to the British navy (pp. 194–95, 200–01).

While Rapport is generally persuasive in his efforts to resurrect the much maligned *thèse des circonstances* and, in fact, provides an extensively detailed account of the connections between crisis and response, his fixation on the reactive dimension of revolutionary behavior leads him, however involuntarily, to sound at times like an apologist for revolutionary repression. In this regard, sentences like "circumstances soon drove the revolutionaries to impose more restrictions" (p. 143) recall the prose of early twentieth-century neo-Jacobin historian Albert Mathiez. Of more substantial concern is Rapport's failure to make a clear analytic distinction between a genuine reaction to an event and the use of that event as pretext. As difficult as it may be to untangle one from the other in an actual case, the possibility of the conscious manipulation of "circumstances" should at least have been introduced. Additionally, Rapport's efforts to downplay the explanatory power of revolutionary ideology are somewhat compromised by the static and unduly restrictive conception of revolutionary ideology with which he sometimes operates. Thus, departing at one point from his usual emphasis on circumstances, he identifies "anglophobia" as a primary cause of the harsh treatment of British citizens but can only allow himself to do so by sharply differentiating this anglophobia, "which stemmed from deeper cultural and political roots," from revolutionary ideology (p. 219). Similarly, he acknowledges the role of "shame" and "embarrassment" in the post-Thermidor repeal of repressive measures, but only because he sees these sentiments as completely distinct from the cosmopolitan and humanitarian dimensions of revolutionary ideology (p. 284). In both cases, ideology is entirely cordoned off from feeling and emotion, and revolutionary ideology, in particular, is treated as something wholly unconnected to attitudes and sentiments that predated 1789.

These misgivings aside, Rapport is an astute political analyst who does a fine job of conveying the many-sided pressures to which the revolutionaries were subject as they grappled with the dilemmas posed by the foreigners in their midst. Quite apart from the perhaps ephemeral historiographical debates in which it engages, his clearly written and thoroughly researched study should serve for some time to come as standard reading for those seeking a coherent narrative overview of French revolutionary policies toward foreigners.

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STEPHEN BIRD. *Reinventing Voltaire: The Politics of Commemoration in Nineteenth-Century France*. (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, number 9.) Oxford: Voltaire Foundation. 2000. Pp. xi, 223. £95.00.

The political histories of many countries are increasingly being broadened by attention not only to the individuals and institutions that have for so long been seen as principal actors but also to the assumptions about the uses of power that help determine the outcomes of political struggles. Stephen Bird takes this approach to analyze the debates that have commemorated Voltaire. Beginning with his association with the revolution of 1789 through his pantheonization in 1791, his use as a symbol of French patriotism whose work was a part of the cultural heritage of the nation, and his adoption by republicans as a precursor, Voltaire was turned into a significant figure in nineteenth-century French politics. He was also attacked as a symbol of the anticlericalism and rationalism that marked many bourgeois, and Bird argues that throughout the century he was a lightning rod for both supporters and opponents of the revolution and Enlightenment in French culture.

Bird's book examines these conflicts in great detail, considering both statuary and textual representations. A subscription campaign organized by the republican newspaper *Le Siècle* in 1867 to construct a statue of Voltaire in Paris appropriated him for the republican cause and also elicited clerical opposition to commemoration of the philosophe. Placement of the statue was delayed by the unwillingness of the imperial administration to offend Catholic support in the last years of the empire. Damaged during the Commune, it was eventually placed in the Place Monge in the fifth arrondissement—a placement that, Bird argues, effectively depoliticized the statue and its subject.

Other statues also demonstrate the contested character of the memory of Voltaire. As early as the 1830s, the new facade sculpted by David d'Angers for the Pantheon elicited controversy, with Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau figuring prominently. Several decades later, the new Louvre erected during the Second Empire featured a series of statues representing the great men of France. Voltaire was placed in this gallery somewhat incongruously, matched with Jean Racine, Jacques Bossuet, and Rousseau. After the foundation of the Third Republic in 1870, other commemorative opportunities appeared for a regime that often saw Voltaire as its precursor. The rebuilding of the Hotel de Ville in 1882 provided the opportunity to place a stone statue by Jules Félix-Coutan in a position of prominence to the right of the main entrance to the building. The early Third Republic also witnessed the erection of a Voltaire statue on the Quai Malaquais near the Institut de France. Finally, in 1887, to little fanfare, a bronze statue donated by the sculptor Emile Lambert was installed in front of the *mairie* of the ninth arrondissement.

The latter part of the book examines the dissemination of Voltaire's works through publication of his works and school textbooks. Working-class readers, as they became more numerous and more literate in the course of the nineteenth-century, had access to even the most controversial of Voltaire's works, such as the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764). This was possible through cheap editions available from booksellers or *colporteurs*, as well as through cabinets de lecture, lending libraries, or popular readings. In spite of the efforts of conservatives, therefore, Voltaire proved to be an important part of attempts to acculturate the working classes. Similarly, the treatment of Voltaire in schoolbooks shows that he was, surprisingly, included in books used by the conservative regimes before 1870 as an example of classical French style and a moralist. After the establishment of the Third Republic, new textbooks portrayed him as a protorepublican. As he became more consciously invoked by republicans as a precursor, however, conservatives tended to accentuate his anticlericalism and his patriotic lapses, such as his friendship with Frederick the Great of Prussia. Only with the turn of the century did Voltaire cease to arouse controversy and assume his current place in the canon of French literature, the representative not of a particular party but of the achievements of French national culture.

Historians' recent attention to commemoration and cultural memory often demonstrates the play of these cultural factors in conflicts over control and use of power. This study is firmly focused on the waxing and waning of Voltaire's image, and so there is little attention to the impact of attacks on or invocations of Voltaire on nineteenth-century French political culture. Nevertheless, it provides an important addition to our understanding of the political controversies of the nineteenth century concerning public culture.

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JEAN-FRANÇOIS CHANET. *Les félibres cantaliens: Aux sources du régionalisme auvergnat (1879–1914)*. Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa. 2000. Pp. 349.

The Cantal is mountainous, poor, and isolated: a high, unwelcoming plateau in southern Auvergne. Emigration, long, and short-term, helps folk make ends meet. After the railways came in the 1860s, a steady stream of migrants flowed to Paris, where the Auvergnat colony grew exponentially into the twentieth century. Home on the farm (meaning mainly the county town of Aurillac), this drain inspired a regionalist reaction dedicated to defending local traditions sapped by creeping modernity, and to reasserting the importance of local speech: a miscellany of *patois* related to the *langue d'Oc*.

In 1854, at Font-Ségugne near Avignon, seven poets who called themselves *félibres* (nurslings of the muses) created the *félibrige*, dedicated to the renaissance of southern French dialects. Proposed in 1887, achieved

in 1894, an Auvergnat branch was born at Aurillac. It and its review, *Lo Cobreto* (the bagpipe), functioned for only a few years before they ran into the sands. But the fortunes of the *Escolo oubergnato* provide Jean-François Chanet a golden opportunity to plumb the literary, political, religious, and social history of the Third Republic between 1870 the World War I.

Chanet calls first on geography to illuminate isolation, difficult communications, particularism, and agencies of penetration from outside: schools, of course; the church; emigration and the contacts it creates; and exchanges (economic, cultural, convivial). He provides a detailed account of the *Escolo*, its *félibres*, and their activities, disintegration, and decline. He analyzes their place and that of their regionalist and folklorist message in national politics and their local relations with the church, with public and Catholic schools, with friends and opponents of the republic.

His most important findings are, first, that a regional movement cannot free itself from national political issues. Like the original literary movement, to which it remained subsumed, the *Escolo oubergnato* was politically promiscuous. It brought together reactionaries and moderates, Republican, Bonapartist, and Catholic militants, in a common attachment to their native land and its speech, tales, music, dances, and wine. It did not last. Theoretical dissensions reft it; political and religious reorientations fractured its unity. All *félibres* were local and national patriots. But their founding inspiration equated modern civilization with mongrelization, and centralization with loss of identity. This condemned most *félibres* to forms of reaction and the *félibrige* itself to dissension, and it cut them off from a majority of Auvergnats who looked to Paris and Frenchification as avenues of economic and social promotion.

Secondly, in Cantal as throughout the *pays d'Oc*, the *félibrige*, which claimed to speak to and for "the people," was a pursuit of urban intellectuals, artificially bilingual but socioculturally francophone. In 1887, the first announcement of the *Escolo*'s foundation was published in French; in 1894, most speeches celebrating the golden anniversary of the *félibrige* were delivered in French; nine-tenths of *Lo Cobreto*'s circulation was among emigrants in Paris, and Parisian encouragement and support proved crucial throughout the *Escolo*'s brief life. Conversely, when regionalism resurfaced in 1940 as a political message addressed to all of France, it would be as a tenet of a "National Revolution" preached from an Auvergnat spa: Vichy. But that is another story.

Marginality, exiguity, and internal contradictions do not make the particulars less significant. And Chanet's sober study demonstrates how a flash in a provincial pan can illuminate stretches of history that go far beyond local dimensions, suggesting fertile comparisons with similar and different developments elsewhere and providing a commentary on political (and literary) scripts acted out on metropolitan stages. In all

these respects, Chanet's unassuming enterprise turns out to be a model local history and a model for local histories of which we have far too few, at least as concerns France.

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JEAN-PHILIPPE MATHY. *French Resistance: The French-American Culture Wars*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 211. \$29.95.

Since the end of the Cold War, French-American cultural relations have grown markedly more contentious. In the absence of strong ideological polarization, intellectuals and journalists in each nation have increasingly seized on what they see as most different about the other nation and presented it as a menace to their own. Thus, American critics from the right and old left alike have denounced the strange, hydra-headed beast they call "French theory" as a source of dangerous, destabilizing relativism. French neo-republicans have caricatured the United States as a sort of high-tech Austria-Hungary, lacking a core of common republican values and therefore prey to the centripetal forces of identity politics. Ironically, each side blames the other for what is called, in French and English alike, "political correctness."

Jean-Philippe Mathy's judicious survey of what he calls "the French-American culture wars" provides a good introduction to these quarrels and joins a growing body of quality work on the subject (notably by Eric Fassin and Richard Kuisel). Mathy surveys different battlefields, from American perceptions of French poststructuralism and the bicentennial of the French Revolution to French attitudes toward American multiculturalism. He draws mostly on the work of well-known intellectuals (including Régis Debray, Luc Ferry, and Jacques Derrida on the French side; Richard Rorty, Charles Taylor, and Tony Judt on the American), and his source material will mostly be familiar to readers of *Le Débat* or *The New York Review of Books*. But his subtle readings make for a welcome change from the stereotype-laden polemics that sometimes trail the jumbo jets back and forth across the Atlantic.

On occasion, the book proves frustrating. The chapter on the bicentennial of the French Revolution oddly singles out Judt, a historian of twentieth-century France, and Liah Greenfeld, a sociologist, as the principal American voices expressing a view of the revolutionary tradition as illiberal. Mathy passes over the more influential Simon Schama and fails to discuss the vociferous debates on the subject in the United States. An interesting attempt to trace American attitudes toward "French theory" back to an early modern British cult of "common sense" and practicality remains half developed and overly reliant on Greenfeld's much-criticized historical sociology of nationalism. Finally, Mathy sets down his own opinions with so

delicate a touch that it is not always clear what those opinions are (the book's confusing title doesn't help matters).

The book's overall strategy is to highlight the complexities, ambiguities and nuances within both French and American culture. Mathy wants to expose the notion of a full-throatedly "pluralist" America irrecconcilably opposed to a firmly "universalist" France as a simplistic ideological construction—one deployed in both countries, albeit with very different spins. To a certain extent, the point is well taken. Too strong an emphasis on America as a mosaic of ethnic groups obscures the extent and power of American cultural homogenization. Too strong an emphasis on the French Republic as an illiberal engine of cultural conformity exaggerates the extent to which it has, in practice, tolerated and even encouraged both regional and ethnic diversity, as emphasized in the recent historical work of Jean-François Chanet and Anne-Marie Thiesse.

Yet Mathy himself goes too far in his corrections, to the point of obscuring real cultural differences (full disclosure: some of my own review essays are grist for his critical mill). Following Gérard Noiriel, he plays down the importance of American pluralism by observing that "ethnic diversity is largely symbolic in contemporary immigrant societies" (p. 164). True enough. But such symbolism can, of course, have enormous importance in people's lives and also an enormous impact on cultures as a whole. If one looks to the way in which ethnic and regional groups have contributed to art, literature, and popular entertainment, then the differences between France and the United States actually look quite stark. To take just one, obvious, example, France's Jewish community has produced many celebrated artists and writers, but very few who influentially flaunt their Jewishness in the manner of a Woody Allen or Philip Roth (even if *their Jewishness* is a "reinvented," quintessentially American Jewishness). Following Chanet, Mathy argues that even France's notoriously centralizing Third Republic tolerated regional languages but fails to add that it only tolerated them as pastoral, folkloric relics of the rural past, not as potential languages of power or commerce or modern literature.

I would argue that while it is easy to exaggerate the opposition between American pluralism and French republican universalism, neither is this opposition quite so much a contemporary, ideological construction as Mathy believes. This said, Mathy deserves applause for his succinct survey of the terrain, his many insights, his advocacy of a pluralism rooted in democratic values, and his passionate commitment to reversing what he calls "continental drift" (p. 170).

DAVID A. BELL
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SUSAN A. CRANE. *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 195. \$39.95.

Susan A. Crane thoughtfully addresses a large theme in the intellectual and cultural history of Germany during the decades after the Napoleonic Wars: the growth of a new interest in the past and its relationship to the rise of nationalism. What distinguishes her work from other studies that also treat this subject is its particular focus not on literary creation or argument (i.e. historical narrative or historically framed advocacy of political positions) but instead on practices that resulted in the identification and assemblage of historically charged objects. Much of what she writes pertains to attempts at historic preservation, for which inventories of historic ruins and other "monuments" (undertaken, for example by the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel) served as a valuable tool. In addition, Crane treats efforts to amass "coins, weapons, costumes, heraldry, documents, manuscripts, and more; anything that, when viewed, inspired that shared, exalted feeling of historical consciousness" (p. 17). Many of these objects ended up in built museums. But many of the verbal texts, whether written (e.g. old manuscripts) or oral (e.g. folk tales and local legends), were "collected" in publications such as the famous *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (a repository of documents from the Middle Ages that continues to expand) or one or another of a large number of periodicals that contained the word "museum" in their titles.

The trajectory Crane seeks to chart is one in which men who began their careers as collectors for reasons that had to do with "the experience of historical sublime . . . an aesthetic response to a peculiar sensation" (p. xii) went on to try to engage others in collective collecting. They wished to "wake" their countrymen from their ahistorical slumbers. The individuals about whom she has the most to say, the little-known Joseph von Lassberg and Hans Freiherr von Aufsess, were aristocrats who put a good deal of energy into stocking their castles with antiques. But both also played important parts in fostering group activities. They not only belonged to historical societies (which, starting in 1819, sprang up in great profusion during the period) but also contributed to other joint ventures. Lassberg worked closely with the brothers Grimm, using various contacts in order to supply them with records of legends and other materials. Aufsess stood out most notably as the moving force behind the creation of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum that was established in Nuremberg in 1852. Crane relates the efforts by these and other like-minded individuals to spread historical consciousness to the growth of a middle-class "public sphere." In the sector of this sphere that she investigates, increasingly well organized networks of preservationists and collectors sought both to rebuild a sense of continuity after a time of turmoil and to nourish patriotic affections for a German fatherland. The larger significance of historical collecting—in particular its political dimension—is, however, somewhat sketchily developed, and the reader must for the most part piece it together for her or himself.

Well read in the literature on the history of museums and on other tools for fixing and institutionalizing memory outside as well as inside Germany (such as works by David Lowenthal and Pierre Nora), Crane also displays familiarity with and a taste for the perspectives of cultural historians and literary critics of a postmodern bent (such as Hayden White and Richard Terdiman). Unfortunately, however, her uses of their approaches and terminology tend too often to obscure rather than to illuminate the terrain she seeks to survey. Upon completing her book, this reviewer found himself wishing for a bit more of the clarity and the accessibility displayed in another volume that appeared at roughly the same time as hers, James J. Sheehan's *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (2000). Less theorizing about consciousness and more straightforward exposition of what the reader ought to know about the ways in which consciousness was made manifest in the practices and the results of collecting would have enhanced the usefulness of her book for other historians of history as well historians of modern Germany.

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JAMES J. SHEEHAN. *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 258. \$35.00.

James J. Sheehan's book represents a disguised return to the kind of people with whom he began his distinguished career in German history: that is, people with a strong sense of duty to the improvement of collective life through the promotion of enlightened and enlightening institutions. We might call such people liberals, which in a general sense of the word they were. But it would not do justice to this succinct and informative study to see it as primarily a study of the politics of art museums. Rather, Sheehan weaves together the "intellectual, institutional, and architectural" histories of art and museums to show how eloquently these grand buildings can evoke for us the history of the nineteenth century, with its still powerful influence on our own perceptions of what art is and does (p. xii). In broad terms, these museums expressed a new understanding of art as something distinctive and valuable in and of itself, a new preoccupation with the perceiver rather than the creator of art, a new hopefulness about the capacity of artistic objects to improve individuals and society, and a new consciousness of past time and loss. The subtle variations of intention and ideology among all the people who held such attitudes and the quite different ways in which they constructed both organizations and actual buildings constitute the substance of the book.

Sheehan leads the reader through more than a dozen museums, from the era of princely states in the

late eighteenth century through the era of major metropolises in the early twentieth. This guided tour—or *marche*, a term he adopts from French art criticism, meaning "the imaginary experience" of walking through a building in the mind's eye—explains how museums gradually shifted from royal spaces made available to the public, to places standing alongside and claiming "equal status with dynasty, church, and army," to dominant public institutions in the heyday of the museum age in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, to markers of civic prestige and participants in an increasingly complex art market at the turn of the century (pp. 70, 73). Sheehan's insights into the complexities of his museums' relation to their social and political contexts take us far beyond the old social-historical clichés about museums as reflections of princely glory or monuments to bourgeois confidence. Instead, we encounter personally modest princes deferring to artists and hemmed in by bureaucracies, confident administrators manoueuering among art dealers and politicians, architects finding a variety of ways to cope with problems of lighting, organization, and movement, and the occasional visitor overwhelmed by it all (although visitors, Sheehan acknowledges, are hard to catch in the act). We even encounter the heavy hitters of German philosophy—Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Schiller, G. W. F. Hegel, Friedrich Nietzsche no less—expounding on aesthetics, that branch of abstract inquiry into the beautiful and the good that the English-speaking world cannot decide how to spell, let alone appreciate, and has thus often regarded with suspicion. Sheehan's confidently brief synopses of their ideas and their influence remind us that any preference, any pattern of conduct, any attitude in relation to art reflects aesthetic decisions almost inevitably derived from some version of these philosophers' thoughts. It is one of the more understated contributions of this book that it instructs us calmly and persuasively about the continuing importance of aesthetic debate.

As a work of cultural history, the book also raises questions of comparability, inviting us to think not only about museums in other times and places but also about other kinds of formal cultural activity. Sheehan provides from this perspective an exemplary study of how to assess the relevance of what used to be called high culture to everything that surrounded it. The museums undeniably made claims to universal recognition as places representing the transcendent value to society and individuals of autonomous art, and they did so in a context simultaneously local, national, and international. Sheehan is particularly adept at explaining the interactions of these levels of cultural life in the sustenance and promotion of art, as museum creators sought to balance the potentially conflicting needs of local prestige, cultural nation-building, and attention to great art of the past that was for the most part not German in origin (whatever German might mean). Unlike the cultural field of music, which by the end of the nineteenth century had settled upon a canon of

classical music that was almost exclusively the product of German-speaking composers, the art world adhered to a definition of artistic masterworks that supposedly transcended linguistic and national borders. Still, Sheehan uses the phrase "German art world," and the national designation is not meaningless. As he shows throughout, art museums both reflected and contributed to a consolidation of national self-understanding around the central concept of *Bildung*, by which public institutions might provide the means to connect the finest creations of humanity to the development of individuals—to connect, in other words, art and life. Perhaps the most persistent lament of his museum builders and museum critics was that these great institutions had still failed to make that connection. Sheehan shows us first, that the sense of failure was inevitable, given that the very idea of the past carried with it a "muted sense of loss," and, second, that actual failure was nearly as inevitable, given the "tension between universality and exclusiveness which lay at the core of nineteenth-century culture and society—the tension between the aspiration to have institutions that would be open to everyone and the structural inequalities that made these institutions inaccessible to all but a minority of the population" (pp. 14, 115). Still, failure is hardly what springs to mind in contemplating these buildings, and this marvelous book allows us to understand more fully both our own pleasure in such places and our sense of fatigue at the expectations they seem inevitably to lay upon us.

CELIA APPLGATE
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MATTHEW LEVINGER, *Enlightened Nationalism: The Transformation of Prussian Political Culture 1806–1848*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 317. \$49.95.

The history of Prussia is replete with ambiguity and almost Hegelian paradox, as Matthew Levinger reminds us in this innovative attempt to reevaluate that state's political culture in the first half of the nineteenth century. Like many recent historians, he questions the utility of the older *Sonderweg* model for an understanding of modern German history; and, in this study, he shows that developments in Prussia have to be understood as variations on larger European themes. He comes to arresting conclusions that will force historians to rethink older notions about the Prussian reforms, the origins of modern German nationalism, and the political dynamics of the *Vormärz* era.

Levinger contends that the Enlightenment, with its model of rational education and of a reasonable, self-regulating civil society, struck especially deep roots in Prussia, and that its legacy persisted there until well into the nineteenth century. Influenced by this tradition, Prussian reformers after 1800, and especially 1806, posited a harmonious, conflict-free relationship between a rational monarchy and a rationally

educated populace. The reformers' model of a "peaceful coexistence" between monarchy and state shaped the rhetoric of early nationalism in Prussia, in which the "nation was originally mobilized for the king, not against him" (p. 229).

In an effort to avoid what he calls the pitfalls both of idealism and of socioeconomic determinism, Levinger then focuses on the discourses of early nationalism in Prussia. Happily, he does not succumb to a discursive determinism either, emphasizing instead the interactions between discourse and action. As a result, he quite effectively delineates the contested, the ambiguous, and the consensual aspects of early nationalist thinking in Prussia. The author contends that, as a result of Enlightenment discourse in Central Europe, ideals of national unity and harmony in the context of a monarchical political system had an "overdetermined" character that shaped the concrete proposals and the discursive strategies of Prussian reformers before 1815 and of nationalist writers before and after that date. Yet important ambiguities remained. Was the nation "Prussia" or "Germany" or both? Was the king or the "nation" the real sovereign? Although bureaucratic reformers and aristocrats alike embraced the ideal of a harmonious, monarchical community, popular nationalist writers challenged this notion. With the polarization of political discourse after 1815, the author writes, the bureaucratic-aristocratic supporters of the "party of fear" triumphed over the "party of hope" around Karl August von Hardenberg. But political allegiances and outlooks remained amorphous throughout the era, and Levinger rightly notes that Hardenberg was no friend of popular nationalism, while "reactionaries" were not necessarily hostile to representative assemblies.

The chapters that deal with the post-1819 legacies of enlightened nationalism are among the book's most compelling. Levinger shows that Restoration-era conservatives were confronted with the ironic fact that restoration was impossible in Prussia. Thus their own discursive and political strategies contributed to the strengthening of the monarchical state, rather than to a resuscitated corporative-*ständisch* system. Similarly, in 1848–1849, most revolutionaries were less interested in the overthrow of monarchy than in what one activist called "the struggle for rational freedom." The results of the revolution were more ambiguous and more significant than the older literature sometimes suggests; and, according to the author, those outcomes reflect the persistence of the discourse of Enlightenment in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Levinger's study is the best book currently available in English on the Prussian reforms and on early German nationalism. Reflecting a thorough command of the secondary literature and of German archives, it reevaluates the political views of many well-known figures and critically reassesses the work of the great reformers themselves, especially Hardenberg. Finally, it introduces other significant but less-known person-

alities, such as Friedrich Wilhelm Carové or Christian Gottfried Nees von Esenbeck.

Inevitably, of course, some aspects of the book are less satisfying than others. At the outset, for example, the author pays lip service to trendy methodological concepts—Michel Foucault's "historical a priori" or Claude Lévi-Strauss's overused metaphor of cultural myth as *bricolage*—to which he subsequently pays little overt attention. More seriously, he downplays the significant differences between Karl vom Stein and Hardenberg. Finally, by emphasizing Prussian distinctiveness in his last chapters, he runs the risk of reintroducing the *Sonderweg* thesis. Clearer references to other countries, like Great Britain or the Low Countries, would have strengthened his argument and shown that reformers elsewhere were also looking for alternatives to revolutionary violence. Still, these are relatively minor points. Levinger's book will set a long-lasting standard for English-language scholarship.

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STEVEN R. WELCH. *Subjects or Citizens? Elementary School Policy and Practice in Bavaria 1800–1918*. Melbourne: University of Melbourne. 1998. Pp. xii, 437.

Steven R. Welch takes up problems and questions introduced into the history of European education in the 1970s and addresses them in the context of the German state of Bavaria between the era of the French Revolution and World War I. These problems include the political impulses behind and the political effects of elementary school reform; the nature and condition of the teaching corps; changing state and religious agendas vis-à-vis elementary educational policy and actual classroom practices. The book is, for the most part, clearly written, and the primary research is competent, if limited in scope. Welch consulted an array of sources in state and local archives in Bavaria, most of them pertaining to educational policy debates and the implementation of educational policy.

That said, the book is ultimately disappointing on several counts. First, although the author promises to get beyond a mere policy history to examine practice on the ground, the sections on practice tend to be thin and based on too little evidence to bring to life the world of the elementary classroom of nineteenth-century Bavaria. This failure would have been understandable were there not already published scholarly monographs that accomplish what Welch's book attempts. His framing and approach draw on the earliest works of the then "new history" of education of the 1970s and early 1980s; he misses the opportunity to incorporate and learn from more recent works.

This shortcoming is related to the author's more general failure to set his scholarship in a larger historical and historiographic context. Since these interesting questions about the history of education were first formulated in the 1970s, there has indeed

been created a substantial body of historical scholarship pertaining to them. Moreover, surrounding historical literatures—on the history of European and German liberalism, the history of the profession of teaching in Europe, the history of Catholicism and religious primary education, as well as the history of political development in Germany and in particular German states—all could have been brought to bear upon the research at hand. The book's bibliography and, more to the point, its conceptual framing suffer from these absences.

This problem of lack of contextualization beyond the evidence from the Bavarian archives really limits both what Welch can argue about Bavaria and his potential audience as well. This is unfortunate, because Bavaria is an interesting region; its history can provide comparative correction of generalizations about Germany too often based on the case of Prussia. But such an argument would best be made by regional history framed in terms of larger German or European historical developments, and with regional particularities highlighted through nuanced comparison.

Such a framing of Bavarian educational history would be useful in the context of a number of historical debates. To offer one example, our understanding of liberalism would benefit from a focus on its evolution in a predominantly Catholic German state such as Bavaria. Welch recognizes the interconnectedness of the history of education and the history of liberalism, to be sure. But since he limits himself to Bavarian archival materials, he fails to engage with important recent work on German liberalism that happens to be set in other localities. Fuller consultation of the historical literature may also have helped Welch to clarify his own argument. In his concluding chapter, he invokes critiques of the Enlightenment project of which educational reform was a key dimension. And at moments throughout the text, he points to examples where liberals' commitment to educational reform in the face of popular opposition pushed them toward undemocratic stances. Nevertheless, the book's prevailing narrative pits liberal advocates of "progressive" school reform against religious and conservative opponents. This narrative is still interesting and important to examine, but Welch's analytic frame slips back and forth between the rhetorical poles of nineteenth century politics and the author's own rather underdeveloped stance that sometimes attempts to depart from this dichotomy.

A final comment on the book's publication process is perhaps appropriate here. This monograph appears in a series published by the History Department of the University of Melbourne, a series, according to the jacket cover, "flowing from research undertaken by staff, post-graduate students and research associates in the Department." While such a series is indeed a creative solution to the problem of limited opportunities for publication of historical scholarship, it should still entail a thorough review process parallel to that of a university press. Such a review process gives crucial

feedback and suggestions for revision to an author before publication, and in this case may have offered the author the opportunity to reframe his research with a broader audience, and broader questions, in mind.

MARY JO MAYNES
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BARBARA HAUBNER. *Nervenkitzel und Freizeitvergnügen: Automobilismus in Deutschland 1886–1914*. (Sammlung Vandenhoeck.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1998. Pp. 225.

This book exhibits all the strengths that one might expect from an automobile enthusiast. Who would not chuckle upon learning that even the shortest auto tour was usually made even shorter in the first years of the twentieth century by the following misfortunes, as described by a driver who wished nothing more than to get from Melk to Linz: his engine constantly overheated; he ran over a chicken and had to suffer the irate protests of local residents; he bent an axle; he stalled out in front of an inn where fifty farmers surrounded his machine to have a look; then he blew a gasket. The next day this same driver set out to take his mother to a train. In his driver's diary he recorded, "Directly behind Wheat Church the spark plug broke. No replacement. Missed the train. Car towed home by horses" (p. 56).

The fact that this driver was surrounded by local townsmen—once for running over livestock and once, it seems, just because they were curious—only hints at the magnitude of both conflict and wonder inspired by the early automobile. The auto, which used common roads rather than its own dedicated tracks like the railroads, gave rise to new debates over public and private space. For example, did children have a "right" to play in their neighborhood streets? Early auto drivers startled horses and caused frequent accidents, sometimes fatal. Even should a car pass peacefully, the amount of noise and dust it kicked up still incensed local residents. Drivers blamed accidents on pedestrians and the rank stupidity of rubes; pedestrians saw things the opposite and pressed for new laws making drivers liable. Nevertheless, many still viewed the automobile as a kind of magic vessel that would "spring the bounds of our epoch's need for conquering space and time" (p. 135).

The early automobile was a plaything of the super wealthy. Without counting fees paid to elite "driving clubs" and other miscellany, car owners could expect to pay a minimum of 4,000 marks for a vehicle and another 2,000 in repairs, oil, and gasoline each year. Gas was sold first only through local pharmacies; parts could be had only through special order. There were no "mechanics," and owners had to repair the delicate machines themselves—if they did not employ chauffeurs to do it for them. Many owners paid expenses of over 8,000 marks and up per year. By contrast, when Carl Benz, Gottlieb Daimler, and Wilhelm Maybach

first brought their newly invented machines to market, the average industrial worker earned less than 750 marks annually. This did not prevent automobile lobbyists from arguing against special road taxes because the car served the common laborer as a "tool."

Barbara Haubner addresses the entrepreneurial inventors like Benz, Daimler, and Maybach who created the German auto industry. She also explores the German automobile clubs, auto racing, and generally enthusiasts during the period before World War I. There is much room for future expansion on this theme. Robert Wohl has shown how another technological novelty, the airplane, inspired the Italian and Russian futurists as well as the French avant garde in these same decades. Haubner notes that the French led world automobiling until about 1907; in fact, they bought up the vast majority of Germany's early auto production and more or less invented auto racing. Might both the plane and the car have been part of a much larger techno-national enthusiasm? Peter Fritzsche's *Nation of Flyers: German Aviation and the Popular Imagination* (1992) suggests that, at least by 1914–1918, German "air mindedness" lacked little in ardor when compared to the French. Did Germany react similarly to the automobile, arguing that German national values most suited its use, even though other nations showed the same fervent enthusiasm while insisting no less on their own uniqueness? And were German modernists as bent on transcending "time and space" through technological speed and power? For instance, Franz von Stuck and other well-known artists contributed to a rakish—if short-lived—automobile magazine, *Das Schnaufferl*. F. T. Marinetti's Futurist Manifesto of 1909 is a prophesy out of a car crash, and the spectacle of human beings propelling themselves at great speed, encased in metal, into immovable objects still holds us spellbound. There would seem to some continuity between Marinetti and the frisson of Dale Earnhardt's end. Kristin Ross (*Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*, [1996]) has discussed the near cult of speed, death, virility, and power that surrounded the auto in 1950s and 1960s France. Car culture is now over a century old. How did it come to be in the country and time of its birth?

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BELINDA J. DAVIS. *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 349. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

That warfare, although a male activity, could not proceed without the support of women is a fact that has long been known to historians. But the effect of war on women themselves—their social and economic status, their reproductive roles—has been extensively studied only since the emergence of the fields of women's and gender history. Early accounts of women

on the home front of World War I presented the wartime experience as a turning point in a heroic and successful struggle for political rights and social emancipation. More recent research, including Ute Daniel's *The War from Within: German Working-Class Women in the First World War* (1997; German edition 1989), paints a more pessimistic picture of hardship and privation and points out that the improved economic opportunities afforded to some women were temporary. Like Daniel, Davis is concerned with working-class women and emphasizes hardships rather than emancipation. But Davis presents these women not as victims but as political actors, whose central concern was not the status of women-issues such as woman suffrage hardly interested them—but rather the transformation of the German state.

Davis identifies her study as a microhistory, which focuses on one city, Berlin, and on one set of problems, the provision of food to a population composed largely of women and children. Soon after the onset of the war, the British blockade of Germany caused shortages of almost all essential foodstuffs, which most severely affected the poorest women. By virtue of both class and gender, this was traditionally the most oppressed and powerless segment of German society. But, as Davis shows, under wartime conditions, the poor woman, "a figure without political rights," nonetheless exercised "great symbolic power" (p. 136).

This power was exercised through organized activities designed to force military and governmental authorities to provide the food that was necessary to the survival of working-class households. These activities, which included raucous demonstrations, riots, and the theft of food supplies, have seldom been regarded as political. But Davis shows that the Berlin women gave their protest a political meaning by linking it to an ideology of popular sovereignty and demanding a government that was responsive to the needs of the people. And, owing to the concern of the military authorities about the disruptive consequences of civil unrest, the women often met with success. Such measures as food rationing, the improved provisioning of the Berlin population, and the inclusion of women among the "hard laborers" who were entitled to extra food were adopted in response to popular protest. Davis concludes that the civilian population's loss of faith in the imperial government's ability to provide food was a major cause of this system's collapse and its replacement by a republic based on popular sovereignty.

The women made food into a political issue by emphasizing not just its caloric content but its powerful symbolic meanings. In their written and oral propaganda, bread and butter stood for prosperity, potatoes for satiety, turnips for poverty and starvation. Sometimes they contested the traditional meanings assigned to foods such as meat, which was associated with masculinity and strength. Sometimes food and eating rituals carried class connotations. Despite the difficulty of finding food independently, the women

often refused to patronize the public dining halls that were established in poor neighborhoods because they were unwilling to surrender the familial privacy that was still permitted to the rich.

Davis's sensitivity both to the material and symbolic dimensions of these women's life-world makes this a rich and rewarding study. A wide array of source material is presented in a narrative that is empathic without being sentimental. The narrative could have been enhanced by a fuller explanation of the political context. Not until the final chapters does Davis describe the women's response to the German political parties, such as the Social Democrats and the Independent Socialists, and to international events such as the Russian Revolution.

In the short term, the Berlin women did indeed, as Davis claims, practice "an effective form of politics" (p. 238). Davis's assessment of the long-term effect of the women's actions is less clear. Indeed, their triumph was ephemeral, for their power to produce political change arose entirely from the extraordinary conditions of wartime and disappeared with the restoration of peace and normality. But however brief its duration, the Berlin women's protest provides a striking example of the power even of the most oppressed groups, under the right circumstances, to influence political events.

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TIMOTHY R. VOGT. *Denazification in Soviet-Occupied Germany: Brandenburg, 1945–1948*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 137.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 314. \$49.95.

Antifascism was among the few positive autostereotypes of the East German society when the German Democratic Republic (GDR) broke down more than a decade ago. At the heart of this myth lies the conviction that denazification in East Germany was successful, at least compared with West Germany. Since 1989, this myth has come under strong attack because of a general reevaluation of East German history, the wave of neo-Nazi activism, and because there is no single positive myth about the GDR that would not have been fiercely criticized after the reunification of Germany.

In view of the politicized nature of most of the existing literature, Timothy R. Vogt has been very successful in keeping a balanced view upon denazification in East Germany. He contends that postwar western and eastern historiography were equally blinded by ideology. In the GDR, antifascism played a central role in legitimizing the regime. According to the official vision of denazification, the government punished the high echelons of the National Socialist Party but successfully reeducated the majority of its members who had only been misguided. On the western side of the iron curtain, the East German denazification was portrayed as an effective and hence again successful tool for building up a Stalinist system.

Based on the case of one of the eastern states of Germany, Brandenburg, Vogt demonstrates convincingly that denazification failed in the postwar years. A major problem were its contradictory goals, which ranged from purging and punishing former Nazi activists to integrating them into society. Other reasons for the failure were conflicts between central and local authorities and the resistance of the population. The analysis concentrates on the Denazification Commissions that were formed according to the model of the American zone (p. 79) in December of 1946 and existed until the beginning of 1948. The task of these commissions was huge. In Brandenburg alone, 273,000 people or more than twelve percent of the population were former members of Nazi organizations. Although only ten percent of them were eventually summoned by the commissions, it was impossible to control the implementation of convictions. Moreover, the commissions were increasingly torn apart by contradictions between orders by central authorities and the exculpating role of local networks. Because of these networks, the Communists could never gain effective control over the denazification. Moreover, the commissions met with widespread resistance in the population. Because of these factors, they were closed in 1948. Based on a representative sample of 2,740 cases tried by the commissions, the author shows that there was some political, generational, gender, and social bias in the treatment of former Nazi activists. Young people, women, workers, and agricultural laborers had the best chances to be cleared from their past. However, Vogt's exhaustive source work contradicts the theory that denazification was used for consistently purging opponents of the new system and certain social classes and hence was an instrument of Stalinization.

After having read the book, the question still remains open: why, in spite of the many drawbacks, its unpopularity, and eventual abandonment, did the myth of an effective denazification in East Germany come into being. According to Vogt, the explanation lies in the successful propaganda of the Communist regime and the desire of the population to forget about the Nazi past. Yet this argument is not entirely convincing in view of propaganda failures in other areas and Vogt's own proposal of a joint German history that unites all four zones of occupation. According to this model, much more explanatory power should be assigned to the demonization of the denazification in the West, which ironically strengthened this myth on both sides of the iron curtain. Moreover, failures can be relative and have to be viewed in a long-term perspective. If one goes beyond Vogt's time limit of 1948, considerable differences between West and East Germany remain. Only in the Federal Republic could former high Nazi officials like Hans Globke or Theodor Oberländer rise to the highest positions in the government. Moreover, Vogt overlooks the fact that almost a quarter of the population in the Soviet zone were forced migrants whose Nazi past could hardly be

checked. The indigenous population used this as an effective argument against a radical purge.

Vogt's empirical research is admirable and must have cost him years, like other GDR historians who came under the spell of the opened archives. The biggest fault of the book is that Vogt wrote a book about the Soviet zone of occupation without consulting Soviet sources. While this is regrettable in principle, it also produces opinions about the occupiers that oscillate between noting "a lack of Soviet support for Denazification" (p. 40) and assigning them a central role in the very same process (p. 79). In view of these contradictions, one can only agree with Vogt that "there is much to be learned about the denazification program through research in Russia" (p. 133). Had the author exploited the Moscow archives, his attempt to compare the four zones of occupation would have been much more convincing.

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RAYMOND G. STOKES. *Constructing Socialism: Technology and Change in East Germany 1945–1990*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 260. \$42.50.

Throughout its troubled existence, East Germany (GDR) extolled the virtues of socialism and its unprecedented construction on German soil with the aid of "unfettered" science and technology. A sober analysis of East German technology, and more generally of East German history, is provided in this engaging book by Raymond G. Stokes.

Looking first at the period up to 1958, Stokes analyzes the technological traditions inherited by the GDR, the war damage, Soviet occupation, the 1953 crisis, and the creation of a socialist system of industrial innovation. He focuses next on the three years to 1961 and examines the efforts to exploit the Hanover and Leipzig Trade Fairs for technological knowledge, the development of petrochemicals and semiconductors, and the introduction of Soviet notions on group technology and technological standards. Finally Stokes deals with the "fresh start to endgame" between 1961 and 1990: technology after the building of the Berlin Wall and under the New Economic System, the end of the Ulbricht era, the promotion of secondary and substitute materials under the "Sero" system, the role of the Stasi, and the development of electronics in the 1980s. His conclusion addresses the country's decline and collapse, "neither of which was preordained from the outset" (p. 200), and stresses the role played by the inherited technological tradition and systems in the country's longevity.

Stokes has produced a valuable and eminently readable overview of East Germany's technological development. Although the general contours of the story are not new, many of the facets he investigates, and the

nuances he presents, are. He deftly weaves previous and ongoing scholarship with his own archival research, and in parts two and three he profiles topics that previously have received insufficient attention. Stokes draws profitably on his knowledge of earlier German industrial history and his previous research into the development of the German chemical industry. Throughout the book, he delineates the role of the Soviet Union and of East-West relations in the GDR's technological and economic fate.

A central issue for Stokes is whether systemic or other factors accounted for the GDR's technological and economic lag behind other countries. Arguing that the GDR's system of industrial innovation was not static or "fundamentally flawed from the outset" (p. 5), he believes that it might, in principle, have been changed to function more effectively and is critical of some decisions of technology policy. Stokes seems, however, to overestimate the negative effect of factors such as the size of the country and limited raw materials and to overrate the potential of Sero and the Stasi to foster dynamic technological change. He does not enter into the intricacies of the planning and price systems and their various changes over time. Such work has been done by other scholars but by excluding these considerations he possibly underrates the tenacity of endogenous obstacles to industrial innovation and diffusion.

His interpretation of a few other issues might also be queried: for instance, how far Soviet norms were adopted in the GDR or how successful the recycling system was. So, too, might his contentions that the GDR's national system of innovation was created mainly between 1953 and 1957 (pp. 46–52), that the political leadership did not begin to single out electronics as a priority for development until the late 1970s (p. 181), and that the "constant reorganization" of industry during the first decade after the war "necessarily involved a splitting up of research and development capacity" (p. 40). In the latter instance, it was rather the case that on creating the associations (VVBs) from a large number of enterprises, GDR planners wanted to eliminate what they perceived to be uneconomic fragmentation and duplication of research and development (R&D) capacity. Another issue is the power of the planners to harness the R&D system to the economy: Stokes argues that, from 1949 to 1953, this was greatly hampered by "a huge part of the R&D establishment" being "entirely outside their control" in the Soviet joint stock companies (SAGs) and the other factories of the nationalized sector, the VEBs (p. 39). Although the SAGs produced primarily for Soviet needs, it cannot be assumed that their R&D had no significance for the East German economy. Moreover, by the end of 1949 the German Economic Commission had actually taken direct control of the most important R&D establishments in the Soviet Occupied Zone, almost three quarters of which were in the nationalized sector or worked directly for the VEBs.

The above demurrals, however, do not detract from

Stokes's overall achievement. This book is a major contribution to our understanding of GDR technology and can be commended to anyone interested in the technological and economic history of Germany.

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M. E. SAROTTE. *Dealing with the Devil: East Germany, Detente, and Ostpolitik, 1969–1973*. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 295. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

In this excellent book, M. E. Sarotte explores the process of rapprochement (known as *Ostpolitik*) between the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) from 1969 to 1973. The story is told from the East German point of view. Sarotte deploys a wealth of archival evidence and reaches some new and fascinating conclusions. Overall, the book is lucidly written, thoroughly researched, and well structured. It also includes a useful essay on the nature of the primary sources in a Communist dictatorship. Furthermore, the author has conducted interviews with key policy makers and consulted a wide range of secondary works. In short, this is a very impressive piece of scholarship, which should be consulted not only by historians of the former GDR but also by students of postwar international relations.

As Sarotte demonstrates, the ruling Communist Party of East Germany, the Socialist Unity Party or SED, hoped to gain financial support and political recognition by engaging with the FRG. The economy of the GDR was in poor shape, particularly between 1969 and 1973. Western credits were therefore deemed necessary to give the Communist system a new lease on life. Furthermore, the GDR had been a pariah state since its foundation in 1949—the only country in the Soviet bloc to be denied diplomatic recognition by the West. The East German regime was desperate to remedy this situation and offset the resulting deficit in its international legitimacy. Significantly, SED and Soviet claims that they wished to prevent another war in Europe were genuine; after all, any military conflict would have been fought on the territory of the GDR and many leading Communists had traumatic memories of the years 1939 to 1945. In fact, a key finding of this study is the importance of political ideology in the decision-making process. Ideological rhetoric was not used merely for show in talking to the FRG; it characterized internal Politburo debates as well.

In return for what it sought, the SED was prepared to concede almost nothing. Eventually, however, it was forced to compromise as a result not only of West German but also Soviet pressure on those occasions where there was a divergence between Moscow and East Berlin's interests. In the end, the outcome of the German-German negotiations was mixed from the GDR's point of view. A significant conclusion of this

study is that the Soviet leadership "micro-managed" the SED throughout the German-German talks. The hypothesis advanced by the political scientist Hope Harrison for the late 1950s and early 1960s that the East German tail wagged the Soviet dog does not apply to the detente era; the Kremlin always got its way when it wanted to.

This is not to suggest that the SED always kowtowed to Moscow; the East Germans sometimes pressed their own agenda. And here Sarotte makes a new and original contribution to the debate surrounding the overthrow of Walter Ulbricht as East German dictator in May 1971. Until the early 1990s, scholars and observers assumed that Ulbricht was removed on account of his opposition to *Ostpolitik*. Then, over the past half decade, this conventional wisdom has gradually been replaced by its complete opposite: that the SED first secretary was deposed because he was too much in favor of rapprochement. Sarotte, however, interprets these events differently. The replacement of Ulbricht by Erich Honecker was not due to the former's quite complex views on relations with West Germany but rather to the amount of initiative he was showing. It was his reluctance to let the Kremlin take the lead that proved his undoing.

Sarotte succeeds brilliantly in putting the German-German talks into the context of relations between the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China. Indeed, a central theme of this study is the interrelationship between local and global politics. Although it has long been established that Richard M. Nixon and Henry Kissinger linked various U.S. foreign policy initiatives in different parts of the globe, Sarotte demonstrates that, to an extent not previously appreciated, a similar dynamic was in operation on the Eastern side.

One can find very little to criticize in this book. There is, however, one point worth mentioning: the author does not consult my own work on Ulbricht's policy towards the FRG (see, for example, Peter Grieder, *The East German Leadership, 1946–1973: Conflict and Crisis* [1999]). She is therefore not quite up to date with the secondary literature. This, however, does not detract from the quality of her scholarship, which is first class in every respect.

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GIOVANNI CIAPPELLI and PATRICIA LEE RUBIN, editors. *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 316. \$90.00.

This handsomely produced book is based on a 1996 London symposium and includes sixteen essays by as many authors. It is divided into four parts on the materials, imagery, family strategies, and transmission of memory in fifteenth-century Florence. Editors Giovanni Ciappelli and Patricia Lee Rubin use the preface and introduction to frame an interdisciplinary ratio-

nale and survey the results, paying close attention to connecting links and current scholarship. Despite rumors to the contrary, Florentine Renaissance studies are vigorous and productive. Still mostly an Anglo-American specialty, still a scholarly city-republic bound together by competition, community, and pride of place, a field that arrived as a historiographical force some forty-odd years ago is back again with exchanges across differences in disciplinary perspective and approach.

The triad of the title is a sign of this, as is the range of contributors, old hands and younger scholars (with the usual unfortunate omission of literary historians) and the variety of topics represented in the book. Memory is the pivotal term and guiding theme. There is a nice irony in the transformation of Florence, home to Jacob Burckhardt's first-born moderns, into a kind of overgrown memory theater. But Florence is, after all, a world-class repository of cultural memory, and memory has become a fashionable subject of historical research that will accommodate practically any practice, artifact, or institution as a mnemonic text, trace, or tactic. Case studies in artistic patronage, family history, and legal terminology thus become case studies in commemorative forms and functions in Megan Holmes's piece on Medici stalwart Giovanni Benci's family-promoting commissions at the convent of Le Murate, Lorenzo Fabbri's essay on the exiled Strozzi family's nostalgia for their hometown, and Thomas Kuehn's analysis of the lawyers' attempts to reconcile *memoria* by blood tie and agnatic inheritance. Several essays read whole genres in literature or the visual arts for cues or as cues fixing or retrieving some memorable message. So, for example, Lauro Martines examines the uses of vernacular poetry as an acclaiming or defaming political weapon, and Alison Wright teases out the increasingly complex formal codes that portraits in painting and sculpture, so to speak, "remembered" in order to signal and aggrandize their subjects' intention and status. Along similar lines, Andrew Butterfield, borrowing from archeology, proposes structural correlations between tomb types and social hierarchy; Géraldine Johnson coordinates the format of Marian reliefs with the emerging half-length sculpted portrait bust to memorialize family values, piety, and individual identity; and Brenda Preyer and Amanda Lillie show, respectively, how city palaces and country seats were sited, built, and remodeled as, literally, places of memory. One form of family memory, the surname, proves to be quantifiable in Anthony Molho's analysis a substantial increase to one in three Florentines with surnames from 1345 to 1427 and a leveling off thereafter, a profile that he attributes to needs for tracking generations in republican institutions based on but leery about family identity.

It is not a criticism to say that this heavy traffic wears the category of memory very thin. By and large, the contributors do not go in for the polarization of memory and history, the exaltation of some supposedly remembered past over tamer conventional versions, or

the sheer obfuscation that has become a kind of occupational hazard in this line of work. Introductory chapters to the different parts tend to be pragmatic and inclusive. Patrick Geary offers an informed taxonomy of scholarship on memory that includes historiography, intellectual histories of the formal arts of memory, and studies of how people actually remember in many ways and for many reasons; Rubin provides a complementary survey of the repertory of mnemonic impulses and ideas at work in Florentine visual culture and art. In keeping with the high standards of specificity among Florentine historians and art historians, essays with broad themes pan from wide angle to close focus, from context to case. Ciappelli thematizes this maneuver, showing how, from the thirteenth century on, "the impulse towards the commemoration of family became at once more diffused and more precisely realized" (p. 33) in family memorial books of which Florentine *ricordanze* were one of a kind, the most numerous and elaborate. Nicolai Rubinstein returns to the connection between family history and the consciousness and composition of Florentine history that he analyzed many years ago and anchored, as he does here, in the work of statesman and historian Francesco Guicciardini.

The preface says the essays are not a "synthesis" but a "sampler" (p. x). They are arguably more than that precisely for the multileveled panorama and unredemptive tenor of the ensemble. Gone are dichotomies that used to be presented as more or less exclusive historical and historiographical alternatives in Florentine Renaissance studies: "feudal" vs. "bourgeois"; sacred vs. secular; individual vs. collective; high vs. low culture; symbolic vs. real meanings and functions. Instead the old binaries are mixed in the strategic calculus of conditional choices. Florentine and Renaissance exceptionalism figures still, but not so much in singularities, radical breaks, or new departures as the circumstances that made the calculus especially complex, variable, and productive in Florence. Both the smug and the muckraking strains of Florentine historiography have given way in concrete proposals for further research or reflection: for example, Margaret Haines on the need to bring artisan family strategies into the picture, or Samuel Cohn's epilogue on the strategies of forced forgetfulness that the state and the church deployed against the elite cults of family memory. Interdisciplinarity does not mean collapsing disciplines but a richer interplay of materials and resources for interpreting them. In their maturity, Florentine Renaissance studies look remarkably fresh.

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JUTTA GISELA SPERLING. *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice*. (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 417. \$45.00.

Jutta Gisela Sperling's book is unusually interesting on a number of counts. The title points to one of these: the fact that the topic under discussion combines female monasticism, usually believed now to fall under the purview of women's studies but previously a subsection of ecclesiastical history, with political theory. A second is the period of Venetian history chosen for investigation, for it is not the fabled and familiar Renaissance circling around 1500, where some convergence of convent and state mythology might have been expected, but what Sperling calls the "late Renaissance," a period encompassing the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and occasionally parts of the eighteenth. A third intriguing peculiarity is her choice of methodologies, as she plumps for a difficult-to-manage mixture of "structural anthropology, discourse analysis and institutional and economic history" (p. 17). Her sources are also pleasingly heterogeneous and wide ranging, constituting the fourth count, because in the first half of the book she has used in the main contemporary printed works and in the second half she switches to archival documentation. It is uncommon to find an author who seems at ease with both types of source, but Sperling is. A fifth rarity is that, unlike many works of historical scholarship, the book genuinely attempts to present an original thesis. Sperling has sound reasons for all these unusual and generally very welcome preferences and has written an enormously assured and fascinating book, but as with any essentially pioneering study, doubts sometimes surface.

The book is divided into five chapters that cover distinct topics but are thematically linked. The first chapter focuses on an important historical conundrum: why girls from the Venetian patriciate were placed in convents in ever escalating numbers from the sixteenth century onward. Sperling disputes the traditional view that the cause was a desire on the part of families to preserve patrimonies otherwise threatened by dowry inflation. Instead, she substitutes the hypothesis that the Venetian patriciate engaged in an increasingly unbalanced spiral of gift exchange, using their daughters as the currency of exchange, by assigning them to a life in the convent. The resultant "waste" of patrician female reproductive resources, although beneficial to patrician families in the short term, was, she claims, hugely detrimental to the body politic in the long term. Sperling uses the anthropological concept of the *potlatch* as her guiding principle here, with mixed results. The second chapter examines the changing contours of the metaphor of virginity within the body politic. One of the strengths of this section is the sophisticated textual reading provided of Venetian and other Italian treatises (for example, by Paolo Paruta) on Venetian politics, policy making, and myth.

The third chapter focuses the lens more clearly on the convents themselves by investigating the theology and politics of *clausura*. This is more normal terrain in a book on convents, and true to her mission, Sperling insists on the political nature of the imposition of

clausura after Trent. She refers to the Venetian convent reforms of the 1520s but sees them differently, claiming that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities then lacked the power to reform finances and morals in a thorough fashion. There is no reference to the crucial point that Venice differed from most of the rest of Western Europe in its nonenforcement of Boniface VIII's bull *Pericoloso* of 1248, demanding the enclosure of convents; *clausura* was a different issue in sixteenth-century Venice than elsewhere. The chapter on the economic aspects of convent reform is excellent, especially in its nuanced understanding of the possibilities for cooperation and resistance on the part of the convents. The final section returns to a discussion of convents and state sovereignty and examines the political significance of convents to the patriciate, and convents' use of their own limited political power. Several convents (in particular S.M. delle Vergini and S. Lorenzo) attempted to defend their privileges and their right to autonomous rule.

This book would make worthwhile reading for anyone interested in Venice, convents, women's history, or political theory and statecraft. It has been intelligently constructed, is written in a convincing and almost hypnotic style, has long and fruitful footnotes and appendices, and is theoretically sophisticated. Whether its central thesis on the relationship between convents and the body politic is perceived to be wholeheartedly successful will depend upon the inclinations and background of the reader, but it is beyond doubt that the book has opened up for debate a whole new area of vital importance.

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SANDRO BELLASSAI. *La morale comunista: Pubblico e privato nella rappresentazione del PCI (1947-1956)*. (Istituto Gramsci Emilia-Romagna, number 3.) Rome: Carocci editore. 2000. Pp. 382. L 48,000.

No force was more central to the vast changes that swept postwar Italy than the Italian Communist Party (PCI), whose numbers had swollen from a few thousand in 1943 to over two million by the end of the decade. With the demise of Benito Mussolini and the monarchy and with the major institutions discredited—to a greater or less extent—by their identification with fascism, the PCI rushed into the vacuum.

The PCI saw its task as one of social and cultural remaking of Italian society. In switching from its earlier Leninist vanguard party model to a mass membership model, the party sought to remold the huge number of people who flocked into its fold. Sandro Bellassai examines four crucial areas in which the party worked toward this end: the activist-party relationship; family; gender (with separate sections on men and women); and the political education of children. Bellassai draws on publications and internal documents of the PCI and its allied organizations, especially the

Unione Donne Italiane (UDI) which had over a million members by 1950, and the Associazione dei pionieri d'Italia (API), the Communist children's organization.

What was most notable about the PCI in the early postwar years was its massive effort to create a capillary organization that would permeate Italian society. As Bellassai points out, the ideal was a Communist militancy marked by a totalizing quality: that is, Communist identity and allegiance were to be at the center of virtually all aspects of the member's social life. As he writes, "the principal characteristic of organizational work is probably the permanent hyperactivism of the cadres" (p. 51). What most interests the author, though, are the "moral" aspects of the PCI socialization, meaning by this the complex of values promulgated by the party.

Moving to a mass membership model in these years posed a number of challenges to the PCI leadership. Levels of literacy among the working class were low, and until recently only the Fascist Party and the Catholic Church had had any capillary organizations. While the PCI embraced a mass membership model, it never was willing to entirely give up the simultaneous—and incompatible—ideal of every member as activist whose life was devoted to the party.

The issue of the party's relation to its activists has previously been explored by other authors, and there is relatively little new in the treatment accorded the topic in this book. More original are the other sections, particularly those on gender and children. The PCI presented itself as at the vanguard of equal rights for women, yet, as Bellassai shows, the picture was full of contradictions. The most compelling image of the Communist within the party was the virile male industrial worker, contrasted with its opposite, the effete bourgeois male. Moreover, in this period there was no challenge within the PCI to the traditional gender division of labor, at least insofar as taking care of children, cooking, and household tasks was concerned; all were relegated to women.

Yet there were innovations in the PCI gender ideology. They can be glimpsed in the 1950 statement of purpose of the UDI magazine, *Noi Donne* (We Women). The magazine's goal, its director wrote, was "to make known the kind of new woman who has arisen from the War of Liberation and from the struggles for peace and work. We must make known and make loved the woman who is honest, sane, strong and courageous, who is neither elegant, nor perfumed, nor countess-like, but who holds the world's future in her fist" (p. 254). The traditional view of the woman's sphere as limited to the home was directly challenged by the PCI, which argued that women should actively participate in the public sphere, in politics, and in the economy. At the same time, however, the PCI rejected feminism, which it identified with the bourgeois world. Men and women, in the PCI view, had a common enemy: capitalism. There could be no better evidence of this in the PCI world view than the fact that, as

another *Noi Donne* article of the time declared, “female emancipation has already been achieved in the USSR” (p. 256).

While the PCI attempt to organize women was, in many ways, a success, the party’s efforts to organize small children proved to be a failure. The memories of the fascist organization of small children in paramilitary groups that met on weekends was too recent for many Communist parents. Although the API reached 140,000 members aged seven to fourteen by 1954, groups were concentrated almost entirely in the heart of Italy’s red belt (Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany in the center-north) and in the large cities. In much of the country, the organization scarcely existed.

The PCI’s twin goals were to remove children from “clerical influence” and to teach them instead “democratic” values. Of all the PCI activities of these years, none were as fiercely combated by the church. Typical was the church’s relentless campaign charging API’s adult leaders with sexually perverting the children under their tutelage. Emblematic was Cardinal Schuster’s claim in 1950 that the Communists “are instituting . . . schools of corruption where the children are being systematically initiated into vice” (p. 329).

Bellassai offers a clearly written examination of the moral ideology being promulgated by the largest communist party outside those countries under Communist Party rule in the postwar years. While it might have examined certain topics more systematically—such as the extent to which the Soviet Union was held up as the model of morality and the ways in which the United States was used as the exemplar of moral evil—the book offers much of interest. Its virtually exclusive use of official party and party-linked publications and, to a lesser extent, documents, does, however, limit its scope in important ways. The lack of any oral history, and the relatively limited use of memoirs, mean that little insight is offered into how ideology was actually communicated in practice, and how members reacted to it. Likewise, little is said about regional differences, which are so important in Italy.

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ANDRÁS GERŐ. *Emperor Francis Joseph, King of the Hungarians*. Translated by JAMES PATTERSON and ENIKŐ KONCZ. (CHSP Hungarian Studies Series, number 1; East European Monographs, number 556.) Boulder: Social Science Monographs and Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, Wayne, N.J.; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 2001. Pp. ix, 250. \$34.00.

In this book, András Gerő attempts to outline the personality and reign of Francis Joseph I, emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, as king of the Magyars (1848–1916), by placing an emphasis on the monarch’s personal relationship with the Magyar people. The primary sources the author relied on include the

correspondence of Francis Joseph with his mother, from 1838 to 1872; letters written to his wife, the Empress Elizabeth, between 1854 and 1898; and an exchange of letters with Catherine Schratt. Gerő also made use of works by Josef Redlich (*Kaiser Franz Josef von Österreich* [1924]) and Steven Beller (*Francis Joseph* [1956]) and knew of Egon Conte Corti’s important opus, *Mensch und Herrscher, Wege und Schicksale: Kaiser Franz Joseph I zwischen Thronbesteigung und Berliner Kongress* (1952).

It is to the author’s credit that he has successfully achieved his goal of examining and psychologically analyzing the monarch as a human being. Within the framework of a biography, Gerő looks at the monarch’s attempts to get closer to, and to understand, the inner world of his Magyars, to find his way in the political labyrinth of their country so that he might solve its complex political problems. Although most of the king’s personal efforts ended in misunderstandings, and his sincere attempt at a reconciliation with the Magyars was misinterpreted, Francis Joseph at least established a policy to reach his goal.

This book is not so much a biography but rather a history text, a cleverly drawn picture of over six decades of Hungarian politic-social history evolving within the framework of the dualistic Habsburg Empire, during which time period the constitutional and political relationship established in the Compromise of 1867 became reality and continued uninterrupted until the emperor’s death in 1916—in fact, until the collapse of Austria-Hungary at the end of World War I.

True to its narrative, and because of its nature, the book breaks into two parts. In part one, (ten brief chapters), Gerő deals with the first thirty-seven years of the life of Francis Joseph, summarizing his approach under the general designation “On the Way to the Hungarian Royal Throne.” In part two (eight chapters), he debates the last forty-nine years of the life and reign of Francis Joseph, now the crowned Hungarian monarch, and attempts to present him as a human being, a person who comes alive in the correspondence, and in the anecdotes, of his contemporaries. Here I offer a caveat: although Gerő remains objective in his treatment of, and takes a sympathetic tone toward, his subject, there are pages in the book that seem to have come from the pen of a fiction writer, and not the author of a serious monograph. The book does not reach the academic level established by Redlich or the fine-tuned characterization by H. R. von Srbik (*Aus Österreichs Vergangenheit: Von Prinz Eugen zu Franz Joseph* [1949]). And yet, it is Gerő’s merit that he presents a new interpretation—based on primary sources—of a well-known and widely regarded subject. The author’s success is enhanced by the reliable work of the translators and the careful typography, for which Peter Pastor, editor of the series, deserves due recognition.

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DAVID CESARANI. *Arthur Koestler: The Homeless Mind*. New York: Free Press. 1999. Pp. x, 646. \$30.00.

Upon its partial serialization in London's *Daily Telegraph* and subsequent publication in the United Kingdom, David Cesarani's biography elicited two related but distinct controversies. In the *New York Review of Books*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, and elsewhere, Cesarani was attacked for violating the terms by which he was bound in using the Koestler archive in Edinburgh. Michael Scammell, Koestler's official biographer, charged that Cesarani ignored his pledge to deal exclusively with Koestler's Jewishness and instead produced a full-scale—in fact, massive—biography, trampling on territory vouchsafed for Scammell. On a more popular level, Cesarani was upbraided for relating the details of a rape that featured prominently in the *Telegraph*: in 1952 Koestler raped filmmaker Jill Craigie, the wife of his friend, Labour Party stalwart Michael Foot. Criticisms of Cesarani centering on his treatment of this crime inferred that he sensationalized Koestler's troubled life and spread malicious gossip.

Regarding both of these imbroglios, Cesarani deserves to be defended. He was right to use the Koestler Edinburgh archive, as his book, true to its aim, mainly concerns "the Jewish question" in Koestler's life. Furthermore, he was correct to include the story of Jill Craigie's rape, because the incident is consistent with the portrait Cesarani details of Koestler's violence toward women and his tumultuous personal relations. As horrible as this revelation is, however, Koestler's image had long been besmirched. It was widely believed that he bullied his wife, who was much younger than himself and in fair health, into killing herself when he committed suicide. Koestler also compromised his posthumous reputation when he dedicated a large share of his estate toward the establishment of a chair in investigating the paranormal.

For the most part, Cesarani has produced a perceptive study of one of the most fascinating and wide-ranging writers, and pivotal political figures, of modern times. Koestler is best known for his novel *Darkness at Noon* (1940), a masterpiece that revealed the inner dynamics of the Stalinist purges. One of Cesarani's objectives is to put *Darkness at Noon* in historical perspective. Yet the biography also seeks to correct much of Koestler's substantial, autobiographical oeuvre. While *The Invisible Writing* and *Arrow in the Blue* remain outstanding literary achievements, they are, Cesarani convincingly argues, intentionally misleading. Koestler constantly refashioned his past in order to make his journey—mainly from communism to anti-communism to grand interpreter of the relations between science and society—more linear and universal, as opposed to zigzagging and Jewish. The guiding thread in this unwieldy book is not so much Cesarani's response to other scholarly treatments of Koestler as it is to Koestler's imagination of himself. Despite Koestler's emphatic protests to the contrary, his Jewishness,

Cesarani writes, markedly influenced almost every aspect of his life. Koestler's Zionism, then, was not just a temporary station but a large part of how he viewed himself and the world. Likewise, one of his strangest and most pilloried books, *The Thirteenth Tribe* (1976), should be seen as a failed attempt of Koestler wrestling with and trying to subdue his Jewishness.

There is a vast amount of material in this book that scholars of modern history will find of little interest. Yet some sections—such as Koestler's encounter with Langston Hughes in Russia—might make worthwhile reading. Despite its girth and authoritative tone, there remain unexplored dimensions of Koestler's life and even his Jewishness. Cesarani would have been on firmer ground in discussing his subject's early years, and exposure to Jewish religious instruction in particular, had he consulted the work of Michael Silber, a leading scholar of Hungarian Jewry. Furthermore, although Cesarani is correct in seeing Koestler's Jewishness as central, he could have been more specific in showing how his experience as a non-German Jew immersed in German culture had a decided impact on his life. Much of this is reflected in Koestler's journalism in the German-Zionist press, such as the *Jüdische Rundschau*. Cesarani also fails to notice that the title of *Darkness at Noon* is a paraphrase of John Milton, who was himself paraphrasing the book of Isaiah; here Koestler practices the type of textual appropriation that the critic Harold Bloom would say makes Koestler's writing "Jewish." Especially because Scammell's project is in the pipeline, and because Koestler was prodigious in a number of disparate realms, there may yet be room for reevaluations of Koestler's influence. And who knows what may be unearthed in materials from Eastern Europe and in declassified documents? Whatever its drawbacks, Cesarani's biography is a sophisticated illumination of Koestler's relationship to Jewishness, his perceptions of Jewry and humanity in his own time, and his ardent passions and ghostly, destructive relationships.

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AVIEZER TUCKER. *The Philosophy and Politics of Czech Dissidence from Patočka to Havel*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 295. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

The present work grew out of the author's doctoral dissertation but was enhanced by further research undertaken in Prague and then while he was teaching at Palacký University in Olomouc. Aviezer Tucker completed the book during a postdoctoral research fellowship at Columbia University. His book attempts to examine the relationship between philosophy and politics, using the Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia and the writings of Jan Patočka and Václav Havel as a case study. In his introduction, Tucker writes that "only during rare periods of historical crisis

can we observe the merging of philosophy and politics, when politics requires the intellectual resources of the philosophical pre-political and pressing political problems force philosophers to find practical and yet moral answers to these problems . . . Czechoslovakia's Charter 77 dissident movement was a rare historical moment when philosophy and politics united" (p. 1). Much previous analysis of dissidence neglected the philosophical dimension. Correcting that absence, Tucker notes that his approach "introduces multidimensional thinking into the analysis of East-Central European thought through the critical explication of Charter 77's philosophy of human rights" (p. 9). In particular, he examines the way in which the dissidents used phenomenology as the foundation for their philosophy: "Phenomenology appeared as a radical method of inquiry that constitutes a revolt of individual consciousness against an alienating ideology and system" (p. 10).

The primary philosophical task facing the dissidents was to provide a foundation for their demand for human rights beyond simply holding the Czechoslovak government accountable to its ratification of the final act of the 1975 Helsinki Human Rights Conference. "Since Patočka and other Charter 77 dissidents supported universal and absolute human rights, they required an equally universal and absolute philosophy of human existence that human rights should defend. Patočka went on to argue that to be human "means to care for our souls by living in truth and creating a just society where care for the soul is possible" (p. 58). In the context of Czechoslovak socialism at the time, this stance led to dissidence, defined here as "life in public truth [that] requires of dissidents not just that they strive for a society where they can practice their dialogical search for truth, but also that they share the truths, when they find them, with other members of society even when it causes displeasure" (p. 58). Thus, "dissident politics is readiness to live in conflict with power, a readiness presupposed by life in truth" (p. 119).

Although the environment within which they operated defined every activity as political, the Charter 77 dissidents thought of themselves as apolitical for a variety of reasons. One reason for this apolitical self-definition had to do with the fact that, for years in Czechoslovakia, the only political philosophy had been Marxism, and after 1968 Marxism—even in its "humanist" and "reform" versions—was discredited. Here Tucker refers especially to the Czech philosopher Karel Kosík, noting that Kosík had been "the main philosopher who attempted to lay the philosophical foundations for reform communism before 1968" by emphasizing the "inauthenticity, irresponsibility, manipulation, and dehumanizing effect of the Communist system" (p. 125). Although a more complete discussion of this topic is outside of the scope of Tucker's study, it should be noted Kosík originally studied under Patočka, that they both drew heavily on Martin Heidegger's phenomenology, and that they had a great

deal in common. For a complete understanding of the philosophical foundations of dissident thinking in Czechoslovakia, one should therefore look at both of these figures. (See my *Varieties of Marxist Humanism: Philosophical Revision in Postwar Eastern Europe*. [1992]).

Tucker's contribution in this work is not only to outline the philosophical basis for Charter 77 but to also note its limitations. The "Heideggerian politics of authenticity is appropriate for a persecuted dissident. But when dissidence ends and political power and responsibility are assumed, it is insufficient" (p. 180). Further, "in the long run, the greatest mistake of Havel and the dissident government was their reluctance to reform the corrupt and inefficient Czech state institutions" (p. 205). Despite this critique, however, Tucker notes that "the dissident movement . . . was successful in preserving and even developing Czech culture through the 1970s and 1980s," and "was crucially important during the first stages of democratization" (pp. 249–50). This is a valuable work, well worth reading.

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REBECCA HAYNES. *Romanian Policy towards Germany, 1936–40*. (Studies in Russia and East Europe.) New York: St. Martin's, with School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London. 2000. Pp. viii, 205. \$65.00.

Rebecca Haynes discusses diplomatic moves by Romanian and German leaders on the eve of World War II. She argues that the direction of Romanian foreign policy was then chiefly in the hands of Romania's German King Carol II, whose foreign ministers' pro-neutral orientation replaced that of the pro-French minister Nicolae Titulescu at the end of August 1936. Romania's major goal continued to be the preservation of its enlarged size owing to the Paris peace treaties concluding World War I. Haynes refutes efforts by Romanian historians—such as Eliza Campus, Viorica Moisuc, Mircea Mușat, and Ioan Talpeș—to depict Romania as a loyal pawn of Western powers, which appeased German ambitions and thereby sacrificed Romanian lands. Instead, she contends that King Carol pursued friendly, neutral relations with each power and close ties to Germany. Such a course pointed toward a German guarantee of Romania's territorial integrity that would indeed be obtained after revisionist Eastern European states had annexed slices of Romania, and Carol would subsequently abdicate in early September 1940.

This monograph emphasizes process rather than particulars, what the political and diplomatic principals wrote and said to each other being on the center stage and substantive issues often in the wings. One example involves the economy. In chapter two, we begin to learn about a Romanian-German trade accord that would be signed on March 23, 1939. In

chapter three, we wind through a maze of negotiations embroiling the shenanigans of a Romanian diplomat in London, Viorel Tilea, who leaked an anonymous tip to British foreign office personnel about Germany's demand for a monopoly of Romania's exports. Haynes cites a post-World War II Tilea letter for the name of an affluent Bucarest industrialist as the hitherto anonymous informant. The economic treaty itself gets short shrift, being simply described as encompassing airplanes, petroleum, arms, and foodstuffs. Haynes avoids elaborating on the "[r]econstruction of the Romania [*sic*] air industry with German help" (p. 55) that we presume was to safeguard the Romanian homeland from threats by Hungary to Transylvania, the Soviet Union to Bessarabia, and Bulgaria to southern Dobrogea (threats she repeatedly mentions elsewhere in her book and especially in chapter six). Also missing is an analysis of Romania's petroleum production until chapter five, where she tells about Romania's oil trade at the end of 1939—including the remarkable growth of oil exports to Germany via the "Oil for Arms" pact of March and May 1940—although without reference to the March 1939 accord. Furthermore, she eschews specifying Romania's agricultural products exported to and arms imported from Germany, or analyzing the significance of such trade. But she effectively rebuts the notion that the March 1939 accord constituted a German monopoly of Romania's exports.

Haynes frequently alludes to the Romanians' hopes and fears in conjunction with foreign challenges and particularly German calculations. Lurking in the shadows was an ogre, the Soviet Union, that menaced Romania's security and eventually prompted its diplomats to embrace "anti-bolshevism, antisemitism and fear of panslavism" (p. 176) and to rely on Nazi Germany for the country's safety.

This story's manifold peregrinations rest solidly on extensive archival evidence in Berlin, Bonn, Bucarest, and London together with published documents, diaries, and memoirs. Moreover, Haynes appraises the views of some other investigators, whose works have appeared in Romanian, German (Andreas Hillgruber), English (Dov B. Lungu), and occasionally in French (Philippe Marguerat). Careful proofreading might well have caught glitches that sometimes disrupt the narrative. Also, English renditions of German phrases, terms, and abbreviations wherever introduced would have helped non-German readers. Among curiosities that need clarifying are such assertions as that "France was economically self-sufficient and employed a system of imperial preference" in doing "little to absorb the agricultural produce of its East European allies" (p. 7) during the Third French Republic (1870–1940), and "[t]he effect of the 1938 Anschluss and Munich agreement was to destroy the validity of the Paris peace treaties" (p. 177). In addition, "Carol's royal house of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was" probably the senior and not "a cadet branch of the German imperial family" (p. 7).

Haynes's use of dependable primary testimony and

her sophisticated analysis of findings illuminate the nature of Romanian-German relations during the late 1930s. She deserves our applause for her discoveries and her insights.

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STEPHEN P. FRANK. *Crime, Cultural Conflict, and Justice in Rural Russia, 1856–1914*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 31.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 352. \$55.00.

Stephen P. Frank's central concerns in this wide-ranging monograph are elite representations of peasant culture, rural crime and punishment, and the functioning (usually disfunctioning) of the Russian judicial system from the mid-nineteenth century into the revolutionary era. This expansive narrative also addresses narrower topics that have attracted other scholars' attention during the revitalization of legal and peasant studies in the last decade: *samosud* (informal justice), hooliganism, and honor litigation. Frank weaves all of these and other themes into an animated argument about peasants and state law. His major theses fit squarely into the resistance paradigm: the state and peasants held conflicting notions of crime and justice, and the divide between these two distinct cultural worlds only intensified after emancipation. In Frank's view, Russian peasants identified state law with police, administrative authority, violence, and terror; they therefore, and increasingly in the last years of the empire, resorted to village-level justice rather than the ineffective legal system to punish offenses against their communities.

For the most part, Russian elites also saw peasants as outside the law and hostile to it, widely shared presumptions that Frank convincingly displays with generous citations from officials, scholars, and reporters. What makes this book more complicated and interesting than its thesis of a divide between state law and rural culture is Frank's inquiry into rural crime and peasant efforts to deal with it. In his view, peasants devised their own solutions to criminality because state law had let them down. Using statistical reports produced by administrative and judicial institutions, as well as archival records, he argues for the ubiquity of peasant-peasant property crime in Russia. Peasants were concerned with and beset by theft, arson, and horse theft, in Frank's account; the problem with the legal system was that it did not provide rural people with satisfactory protection against these assaults on their communities. Therefore, his argument goes, peasants, frustrated by low conviction rates and lenient sentencing by the circuit courts, "concluded that justice was not to be found in official institutions" (p. 310) and turned to extralegal means to address these social ills. This is a new twist on the "outside the law" thesis, one where the onus for extralegality lies with the state: peasants actively sought criminal sanctions through the

law, only to be disappointed and pushed into "popular justice."

In this multifaceted study, not all the arguments line up. In his exploration of hooliganism, theft, and banishment (one of the most provocative topics of the book), Frank reveals many fissures within village communities and thus strikes a blow against the generalizing didacticism of Russian elites who believed in "a" peasant mentality. But in the face of his own evidence of divisions and change within villages, Frank insists that there was indeed a distinctive "peasant culture," hostile to that of the outside world. It is in this murky realm of telling readers what peasants—collectively—thought and believed that Frank's methods are least convincing. Despite his disqualification of elite perspectives on peasants, he relies on ethnographers' and journalists' often sensationalist accounts of village retribution as major sources for his own representation of peasant values. How to employ the rich ethnographic record without falling captive to the ethnographers' own preconceptions is a perennial problem for research on peasant mentality; Frank's accounts of village violence and shaming rituals do not escape their origins in elite fears and fascinations. His representations of what peasants did and how they understood their actions depend on a second inappropriate source: the historiography and ethnography on peasants at other times and places. The book is studded with citations to scholarship on colonial literatures, less for revealing comparisons than for explanations based on the dubious notion of the generic peasant. Other scholars' interpretations of other generalized peasants in Africa, South America, Asia, or early modern Europe are cited as evidence for what nineteenth and twentieth-century Russian peasants are said to have "believed." This dependency on exogenous histories as testimony to belief—a doubtful enterprise in any case—does no justice to the agency, capacity for analysis, or individuality of Frank's peasant subjects in their confrontation with specific institutions, economic circumstances, and social opportunities.

The effort to sustain a two-cultures argument as well as the resistance paradigm sets other limits on Frank's interpretation of his voluminous research. In his conclusion, Frank insists that his book challenges the notion of 1905 as a turning point in peasant attitudes toward the state, in part because the dichotomous opposition of state and peasant had not changed since the emancipation and in part because the whole half century had been one of increasing frustration of peasants confronted with inadequate governance. This is a new variant on the "crisis of the old regime" argument, posed in culturalist terms. The problem, as with Frank's argument for peasant otherness, is the evidence. Throughout the text, Frank cites an ever-sharpening hostility to state law, an ever-increasing resort to extralegal justice, a steady deterioration in the containment of crime; in the early twentieth century, he claims, "peasants felt a crisis had befallen the

countryside" (p. 277). It is very difficult to prove such conclusions. Frank's statistics are not up to demonstrating a steady increase in calamity, perceived crisis, or even per capita rural crime and declining usage or avoidance of the courts. Since his overall estimates of criminality omit cases from the township courts where most rural misdemeanors were prosecuted (statistics on township criminal convictions do exist, contrary to his claim), his materials do not provide a basis for looking at crime and punishment in the countryside generally, nor for showing that peasants, as an estate, were drawing away from state law.

Fortunately for students of the law in Russia, the ambitions of Frank's book overflow the confines of his arguments. His chapter on punishments, where he exceptionally relies on township court records (from Riazan' province), displays peasants' antipathy to corporal punishment well before it was abolished. His consideration of banishment and its meanings should provoke more research into this phenomenon, which offers a fruitful glimpse of what villagers considered beyond their pale and how these considerations changed over time. One of the most important contributions of the book is its chronological sweep, which should have permitted an analysis of how rural society changed in Russia in more than a half century and how elite views also altered in this period. Precisely this intersection between changes in rural society and elite attitudes was the subject of Cathy Frierson's monograph, *Peasant Icons: Representations of Rural People in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia* (1993), to which Frank nowhere refers. His commitment to the thesis of the separate peasant world resistant to the state inhibits a more judicious interpretation of his promising materials.

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WAYNE DOWLER. *Classroom and Empire: The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities, 1860–1917*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 296. \$65.00.

Colonial empires of the nineteenth century promoted, each in its own peculiar way, the use of favored (state) languages and the spread of literacy. Schooling in these multiethnic states was a controversial undertaking, though, since cultural colonialism was pulled between encouraging cross-cultural communication through bilingualism and making knowledge of the state language the sole criterion of acceptable literacy. The Russian Empire was as actively engaged in this project as other Western empires. Wayne Dowler argues in his thoughtful study that Russia's educational establishment devised and (sporadically) promoted a unique and creative linguistic solution for its eastern peoples.

His approach to the subject emphasizes, as the title indicates, the political process that launched and accompanied initiatives to develop schooling among the

empire's non-Russian subjects. He highlights events in the area of the Middle Volga, where a large population of non-Russians, mostly Tatar, was concentrated. These peoples were largely of Muslim faith. Orthodox proselytizing efforts had brought (willingly and unwillingly) some converts into the established church, while among the non-Tatar peoples, many had retained their ancestral, animistic practices. For long, Tatars had supported a large network of Muslim schools (*maktab* and *madrassa*) and had provided missionaries for Islam among neighboring settled and nomadic peoples. In these terms, Dowler has chosen an area that is exemplary of the ethnic and religious diversity of the empire's population. He is persuaded that his study will contribute to an understanding of the "nature of Russian imperialism" (p. x). On balance, he judges the impact of tsarist schooling among non-Russians to have been constructive, though not with the results anticipated by the imperialists.

Dowler's principal evidence for this conclusion comes through his extended discussion of the work of Nikolai Il'minskii. The author draws a sympathetic portrait of this fascinating man, a polyglot (fluent in Tatar and Kazakh, and well versed in Arabic and Persian), educator, patriot, and devout Orthodox believer. Il'minskii's training in the Orthodox Academy in Kazan (the center of the church's missionary activity) began his linguistic prodigies and set him on the path to becoming the foremost defender of bilingual education in the empire. It seems (though Dowler is vague on this point) that, early on, he made his life's goal the strengthening of the Christian faith among non-Russian Orthodox believers and the winning to the church of half-hearted believers (those enrolled in the church by force) and infidels. But all had to be won over voluntarily, through schooling structured to their needs in their own languages. He and his followers prepared literacy books (with a strong Christian message) and adapted the Cyrillic alphabet to transcribe native languages. It was a mammoth undertaking.

Dowler suggests that this generous view of education (for the time) was rooted in Il'minskii's Herderian "romantic nationalism" (p. 44). Just how his Slavophilism (such is the customary label for Russians of this philosophical bent) translated into a commitment to educational bilingualism is a point that the author regrettably elides. It goes to the heart of the politics of cultural diversity within the Russian Empire.

That official acceptance (albeit grudging, sporadic, and very contested) of such diversity is even conceivable within an empire long vilified as the "prison of nations" goes a long way to suggesting the importance of Dowler's contribution to our understanding of the Russian Empire. His inquiry into the empire's educational politics on the Volga borderlands contains a richer harvest of information on cultural currents than the title would suggest. The very first chapter explains the importance of Il'minskii's rise to prominence as a response to the strength of the Islamic message among the non-Russian peoples in that region. The 1870

regulations for state schooling there heeded Il'minskii's call for schooling in native tongues. Dowler traces the impact of this decree through the eastern borderlands, looking closely both at its impact on schools for Orthodox communities and at efforts to promote "Russian-native" schooling (i.e. native language training followed by classes in Russian) among the Muslim population. Dowler finds the results a mitigated success, which is to say they failed to meet the expectations and hopes of the educational establishment. Yet despite growing Russian nationalist hostility toward educational (linguistic) diversity and repeated claims of Il'minskii's failure, his schooling policies remained "a model for elementary education" along the eastern borderlands until the fall of the empire (p. 187).

Dowler makes clear that the issue of religious and national loyalties was present in debates over schooling policy throughout the last half-century of the tsarist regime. Setting the Il'minskii bilingual school model against the "worshippers of the 'idol' of the state [Russian] language," and against "the confessional schools that build barriers between peoples" (i.e. the Muslim schools), permitted its supporters to, claim to defend the best imperial interests (p. 181).

But the pedagogical methods that they used to teach native languages found adepts as well among modernist Muslim educators (*jadids*), whose "new method" schools (combining native language learning and Arabic) proved far more popular within the empire's Muslim community than the "Russian-native" schools. Their adaptation of his method implicitly rendered homage to Il'minskii's genius as an educator.

Later, Soviet pedagogical experts promoted instructional methods of bilingual language schooling in non-Russian areas similar to those created by Il'minskii. How his work survived and, in its own way, thrived is a cautionary tale in the unexpected effects of imperialism, Russian-style. Dowler's account, well researched and clearly written, deserves the attention of anyone interested in Western colonialism's cultural impact on its subject peoples.

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ANNE E. GORSUCH. *Youth in Revolutionary Russia: Enthusiasts, Bohemians, Delinquents*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 274. \$35.00.

Some revolutions eat their children; others refuse to allow them to become adults. Perpetual infancy might not seem like such a bad idea, unless you happen to be an adolescent. One of the themes of this impressive book is the manner in which the political culture of the New Economic Policy (NEP) instituted a disciplinary regime that spoke endlessly about the problems and responsibilities of youth while removing young people

from active and meaningful political participation. Anne E. Gorsuch portrays NEP in a valuable new light by depicting its role in the development of what Katherine Verdery has called "Socialist Paternalism."

While every culture reveals something of its hopes and fears in its representations of its youth, Gorsuch demonstrates that in the early Soviet Union youth was an especially potent concept, "not just a stage in human development" but "a revolutionary way of seeing the world" (p. 16). The party press devoted a great deal of effort to depicting ideal and deviant youth; the polarization was so sharp that many young people who did not fit the positive model were effectively denied participatory subjectivity. Among the collaterally damaged, Gorsuch suggests, were young women who were "marginalized" and "excluded" by the "masculinized culture of the Komsomol" (p. 96). Readers will find particularly compelling her nuanced discussions of the rhetorical roles played by femininity, backwardness, and pleasure.

Gorsuch's well-written and richly documented book professes to offer a look at the "great variety of activities and interests among urban youth in early Soviet Russia" (p. 2). In this respect, one can see her straining against the weight of her evidence; she stresses the era's anxiety and ominous disciplinary pressures but still wants to highlight in NEP the diversity that Richard Stites and other historians have celebrated. When writing about Soviet flappers, bohemians, and delinquents, she keeps trying out the word "resistance." She cites James C. Scott, Dick Hebdige, and Derek Sayer to suggest that nonconformity might be an empowering, consciously chosen, and politically resonant behavioral tactic. In her use of quotations, one can see her fitting Western theory to Russian data: "Dick Hebdige argues that belonging to a subculture is 'a declaration of independence, of Otherness, of alien intent, a refusal of anonymity, or subordinate status. It is an *insubordination*.' So too with the *besprizornye* [homeless children], who were not just positioned as different by others but also constructed their own 'consciousness' of 'otherness or difference'" (p. 150). Yet Gorsuch comes close to admitting that these ideas hang about as well as a Soviet bureaucrat's two-piece suit. She shows how, in Russia, such subversive construction of identity was the product of poverty and often took forms of violence directed internally, at other members of a subculture. Resistance was not so much consciously chosen as inflicted upon the "resisting" subject.

Inflicted in more ways than one. An old-fashioned structuralist would point out that the diverse, resisting practices of Soviet youth were representations cultivated by the Komsomol (Communist Youth Organization) in order to foster its own sense of identity through opposition. Gorsuch allows that the Komsomol press often "emphasized the anti-Soviet aspects of behavior which may in fact have been little more than irreverent or simply disinterested" (p. 169). Yet when discussing this behavior, she sometimes forgets to ask

who is speaking. Did interest in Sergei Esenin really lead young people to gather in "suicide leagues" (p. 180)? Was the mother of one young member of the Komsomol so opposed to his participation that she "brewed a batch of liquor, got her son drunk, and dragged him in front of the Komsomol secretary so that he would be expelled" (p. 49). Behavior or discourse? In the court of history, such testimony should be admitted not as to its truth but as hearsay, for what it reveals about the speaker.

In her introduction, Gorsuch writes: "bolstered by additional sources, I am more comfortable than some with talking not only about representation, but about reality" (p. 4). In effect, Gorsuch must triangulate: many of her sources are Komsomol publications, but she also relies on the accounts of Westerners and fascinating archival documents, most notably letters to party and Komsomol leaders. I wish she had foregrounded the tensions among her sources, examined them closely for bias and highlighted her own historiographic desire for them. Gorsuch has written a fine book about Soviet youth—nobody will be able to write comprehensively about the Soviet 1920s without citing it—but she has also produced an instructive account about the difficulties of transcending representation. (If one wants to find resistance in her book, here it is!) Soviet communism might best be categorized as a representational system, one devastating in its totalizing sweep. To accept this system as primarily mimetic rather than as tactical or fantasmatic may be wishful thinking, but it also reflects a humanistic desire to rescue people from language. In resisting the "creative" power of discourse, Gorsuch achieves a measure of solidarity with the people she seeks to study.

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KAREN PETRONE. *Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades: Celebrations in the Time of Stalin*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 266. \$39.95.

Soviet public culture was highly theatricalized, with festivals, parades, and demonstrations dominating from the beginning, a subject first explored in depth in James von Geldern's *Bolshevik Festivals, 1917–1920* (1993). Karen Petrone takes the analysis of Soviet "celebration discourse" into the 1930s, writing a "social history of celebration" (p. 1) that illuminates the dynamics of the relationship between party and people in a time of creeping authoritarianism and state terror. Through creative interrogation of the archival records of selected events, focusing on the failures and foul-ups, Petrone successfully demonstrates that, even during the Great Terror, there was plenty of room for individual initiative, passive resistance, or plain inefficiency. This is an original, interesting, and well-researched book.

The book (whose title is drawn from Joseph Stalin's famous 1935 declaration) centers on the "new outbreak of festivity" (p. 1) that followed the end of the First Five Year Plan. In the first part, Petrone looks at those types of celebrations that she argues were intended to serve as the foundation for Stalinist culture, even if the results were sometimes paradoxical. This is most evident in her discussion of parades, of which there were many in the 1930s. Regardless of type (military, industrial, physical culture, etc.), parades served to demonstrate not only specific political messages but also social, economic, ethnic, and gender hierarchies. Parades were also used to model behavior: Soviet men, women, and children were idealized as fit, well-groomed, smiling, and, most important of all, disciplined servants of the state. But the criteria for selection often undermined the morale of those who were not chosen: for example, the outstanding worker who was too short or thin or sallow to be allowed pride of place. Conflict and resentment—or a questioning of socialism's values—could result. Additionally, insufficient practice time, resistance, or boredom led to broken or badly executed routines or other embarrassing lapses that were even critiqued in the press.

The state's efforts to celebrate the accomplishments of Soviet adventurers—explorers and aviators—could also go awry. Heroes might inconvenience propagandists by dying or otherwise failing to achieve their well-publicized goals. Sometimes, however, failure could be "managed" to seem like success, as the Cheliuskin Arctic expedition of 1933–1934 shows. After all, if commander Otto Schmidt had planned better, or been less foolhardy, the Cheliuskin would not have been crushed in the ice pack, rendering the daring 1934 air rescue unnecessary. Given the careful attention the press and public paid to the Cheliuskin affair, it is fortunate indeed that the Cheliuskinians were finally saved. Later expeditions were not so lucky.

The final chapter in this section covers the efforts to depoliticize the New Year's celebration by encouraging decorated fir trees (for the children, of course). Petrone demonstrates the potential dangers to the regime of converting a private practice (Christmas tree) to a public one ("collective" fir trees in schools). There were bitter debates about decorations—did the traditional colorful paper chains children made represent the chains of slavery?—and overconsumption of food, drink, and gifts. Fairly quickly, decorating the fir tree at New Year became the centerpiece of private and familial celebration rather than a public one, leading to the New Year holiday being celebrated like a quasi-Christmas, complete with Grandfather Frost.

The wealth of information and the richness of the analysis in the volume's first half are considerable. Unfortunately, the second part of the book is considerably less successful, and the division too often seems artificial. Here Petrone strains to apply her analytical framework to intelligentsia celebratory practices, examining the centennial celebration of Alexander Pushkin's death (1937), the twentieth anniversary of the

October Revolution (1937), and the Stalin Constitution (1936–1937). Given that these events were occurring against the backdrop of the Great Terror, it is not surprising that there was little authentic sense of celebration evident in the sources she uncovered.

The chapter on the twentieth anniversary of the revolution fits best into the overall scheme, and in my view it should have been the last before the conclusion. The planners of 1937's celebrations were destined to fail, given that the history of the revolution was being rewritten every day through the arrests of its founding fathers. The other two chapters are interesting but would have worked better as journal articles. Petrone's survey of the Pushkin Centennial is intriguing, in that it shows how literary history and criticism was politicized (it is hard to imagine a writer less "Soviet" than Pushkin, after all); her look at the reaction to the Stalin Constitution indicates that at least some citizens struggled to reconcile the very obvious deviations of the world's most democratic constitution from Soviet reality.

These are, however, largely aesthetic quibbles. Petrone has written an important book that contributes significantly to the growing body of historical scholarship on the Stalinist 1930s. By looking beneath the surface of the celebratory practices of this decade, she convincingly demonstrates that, regardless of the regime's intentions, these were not hegemonic texts. Rather, Petrone shows that participants subjected Stalinist celebrations to multiple interpretations that contest the degree to which Stalinism functioned as a "total" system.

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AMIR WEINER. *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 416. \$39.50.

Perhaps no part of the USSR featured a broader range of possible loyalties and choices for self-identification than did Vinnytsia, Ukraine, the site of Amir Weiner's study. His extensive research and command of a number of languages allow him to shed much new light on issues of Soviet identity, popular attitudes toward the regime, and nationality.

Weiner has several central concerns: World War II's displacement of the revolution as the defining myth of Soviet life and its service as the "foundational myth" of Ukraine after 1945; the "purification" of society, especially after the war; peasant attitudes in Ukraine; and the fate of the Jews and of extreme Ukrainian nationalism. His book effectively unravels the complexity of the last issue and the divisions among Ukrainians, especially between "westerners," who lived under Polish rule between 1918 and 1939, and the rest of the nation. The westerners' murderous anti-Russian and anti-Jewish policies and their eager collaboration with

the Germans did much to politicize relations among nationalities.

Weiner finds that, by 1941, Vinnytsia youth saw the Soviet regime as "not abnormal" (p. 308). He identifies an "emerging Soviet constituency in the villages" (p. 325) and provides a useful, original discussion of the appearance of "Soviet Ukrainian pride informed by the progressing revolutionary ethos" (p. 350). Positive attitudes toward the Soviet structure appeared to override the impact of the famine and terror of the 1930s, at least among some parts of the population. Strong cohorts in the villages, in particular women and returning soldiers after the war, opposed dismantling the collective farms.

The book argues that "class enemies were increasingly ethnicized," for example as Polish "pans" (lords) or Finnish "white samurais" (p. 350). But Weiner does not explore the indication of these examples that equating class enemies with ethnic groups applied largely to peoples outside the Soviet Union or to those internally exiled during the war (for example, the Chechens). He shows instead that local relations with Russians, sometimes termed "ours" by the Vinnytsia Ukrainians, were usually cordial.

The situation for Jews was far more difficult. Anti-Semitism characterized the Ukrainian countryside and became Soviet policy after the war but remained ambiguous in practice. Weiner terms the Jews the "ultimate outcasts" in Vinnytsia and draws parallels between Nazi and Soviet policies toward them, as he does for these regimes' general methods of "social engineering" (p. 8). However, he also emphasizes that Stalinist practice was not physical genocide. The number of Jewish communists in Vinnytsia increased from 1946 to 1948, although their presence decreased in relative terms. Some local communists were expelled from the party for anti-Semitism. Despite this feeling's wide presence among officials and the Gentile populace, it did not produce unmitigated repression of Jews.

There are some conceptual difficulties in Weiner's book. "Totalitarianism," not precisely defined, applies here to political systems that go much further than others in cleansing society. But this usage could describe the French government as it assailed the Cathars in the thirteenth century or to Russian generals' ouster of Jews from their homes in 1915. However, the phrase "totalization of Soviet practices in the quest for purity" (p. 191) is undermined by some of Weiner's material on the Jews. While noting the popular sources and resonance of much that happened, he sees Soviet behavior as rooted in "ideology" but does not discuss this term or how its articulation changed.

Sometimes little or no context is provided. The emerging Cold War is not mentioned, as though it had no impact on leaders' decisions. The Civil War of 1918–1921, which was particularly bloody and kaleidoscopic in Ukraine and prefigured many events of World War II, rates only a few lines. Yet brutality on many sides in 1914–1921 deeply influenced the devel-

opment of lethal Ukrainian nationalism and anti-Semitism.

Weiner omits recent works on the dynamics of Soviet terror and repeats old views on the "permanent and ever-expanding purge" (p. 22). But mass repressions in the USSR had distinct origins, targets, and declines. Terror and cleansing are deemed fundamental projects of the Soviet "enterprise," when within days of Joseph Stalin's death the trial of the (mostly Jewish) Kremlin doctors was halted and official anti-Semitism quickly lessened.

Despite these problems, Weiner's study generally leaves a deep and positive impression. His treatments of Ukrainian nationalism, the pro-Soviet constituency that existed in Ukraine even before the war, and how the myth of the war became both popular and useful for the regime are valuable contributions to our understanding of extraordinarily complex developments in the USSR.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

STEVEN HEYDEMANN, editor. *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. vii, 372. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

This is a very welcome, innovative, and original study of the Middle East. Although its eleven chapters, counting the introduction and conclusion, are authored by different scholars, the book is a well-integrated whole thanks to the contributors' consistent adherence to a central theme and a common concept and method. Editor Steven Heydemann is to be congratulated for this seldom-seen achievement. The conceptual frame he provides in the introduction is followed by a series of well-researched articles that apply the theory to concrete entities in the Middle East. Because the book regards war as a social process, its central theme is the relationship among war, institutional change, and the state, or, to be more specific, the impact of war on institutional formation, national markets, and state-society relations. This sort of empirical-theoretical approach has long been ignored by scholars of the Middle East who have viewed state formation either from a perspective shaped by the experience of early modern Europe or from a parochial vantage point that has included such factors as imitation among the various causes of political, social, and cultural change in the Middle East.

Heydemann uses as a starting point *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, edited by Charles Tilley (1974), which grew out of a project on European state formation and used the "European cases to test and refine systems theories of political development and modernization" (p. 5) elsewhere in the world. In Heydemann's book, the contributors demonstrate that in the Middle East a process of internal social and

political transformation, not interstate wars, turned the state into a centralized structure. In fact, that process is what expanded the state's capacities to extract war means, impose taxes, and institute conscription. In other words, the states in the Middle East did not emerge in competition with each other and gain identity in combat with their rivals, as Tilly posited. Instead, a variety of economic processes, financed internally or externally, both undermined old structures and created new institutions that now are the linchpins of the state in Syria, Iraq, and even Palestine.

Yazid Sayig analyzes in a lucid empirical-theoretical fashion the rise of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) since the mid-1960s. He finds the PLO emerged as a neopatrimonial state-society through the use of rent, populist nationalism, corporatism, and authoritarianism, while a politically ascendant lower middle class of rural-provincial background associated itself with the PLO's statist apparatus.

In his contribution, Joel S. Migdal claims that, in Israel, the war of 1967 produced a feeling of security, consolidated the sense of citizenship and broadened it to include the Middle East Jews, and opened the labor market to new types of social and physical mobility. Meanwhile, the economy grew at a rate of 8.5 percent and consumption by 12 percent in the period 1967–1973. War in Syria, though following a different route, produced a new society, too, for after taking power in 1970, Hafez Assad created a security state. He established strong political and social control, increased the state's extractive capabilities, effected popular participation in the regime's institutions, and generated substantial external rent without undue reliance on domestic resources. Although the army grew from 80,000 in 1970 to 430,000 in the mid-1990s (p. 152), this militarization was not a preparation for war but a means to extract social, political, and economic benefits that also stimulated the growth of the private sector after 1985.

Jordan's statehood often has been hailed as the result of the "Arab revolt" or, depending on the writer's ideological inclination, has been portrayed as the British reward to Amir Abdullah for fighting the Ottoman sultan, the titular ruler of Syria (which included Jordan), and the caliph of all Muslims. Tariq Tell, however, demonstrates in concrete detail that the "Arab revolt" of 1916 actually stemmed from the conditions of war, local strategies, and material incentives rather than the high politics of British treachery and Hashemite ambition.

Other articles reinforce the basic theme that World War II caused the countries of the Middle East to shift away from "market-based to statist development strategies" (p. 101) through import substitution industrialization. For instance, Robert Vitalis and Heydemann cite the Middle East Supply Centre, an Allied regulatory institution, as the central mechanism that diffused Keynesian notions of economic planning in the Middle East. Consequently, in Syria and Egypt state-led eco-

nomic development was not the result of the local capitalists' failure to support economic development or of the state's inability to manage markets. Rather, it grew out of the Allies' wartime efforts to organize and manage the economies of Egypt and Syria, the negotiations between local leaders and the Allies, and the subsequent transformation in the balance of power between state actors and local capitalists.

The same is true for Iraq, where "war making has achieved such extraordinary social, cultural, ideological centrality" (p. 259) that it has led to the reformulation of Iraqi political identity and self-mission as the defender of the Arab nation. Indeed, all these articles analyzing the relationship between war making and the mechanisms of extracting taxes, securing external rent, and achieving a degree of popular participation (but not democracy) explain the rise to power of Assad as well as Saddam Hussein (a civilian) far better than other theories that attribute change in these countries mainly to ideological, cultural, or personal factors.

Heydemann and other contributors analyze the phases of institutional development and state building by focusing on the economic effects of war and their subsequent social and political ramifications. The reader should be aware that Heydemann does not consider the experience of Europe entirely unsuited to explain the relationship between war and social change in the Middle East; he just does not accept the "experience of Europe as leading automatically to plausible hypotheses for explaining these connections" (p. 26). Proposing a two-way flow of ideas, he calls for a deeper, more detailed look at new data on Europe's experiment with statehood after 1600 and for the use of ethnography and participant observation in order to open the way to new hypotheses and ideas. I only wish that Heydemann had supplied a version of one of these badly needed "new hypotheses," however tentative. The collection also could have included a survey of the Ottoman state, which from its inception in record time (1286–1350) to its long disintegration (1800–1918) offers both tantalizing resemblances to and sharp differences from the European model. Many of the builders of the early modern state in Syria, Egypt, and Jordan were former Ottoman army officers. Islamic states, however small, had a sacrosanct model represented by the structure established during the Prophet's life; state and faith in Islam supposedly rose simultaneously. When the sacralization of the elites and their functions in the name of faith-state emerged later, the political-military elites first superseded the religious elites and then sought to harness them to statist service in the name of modernity and nationalism. Thus some of the old essence of the state survives today as new forces change the state within its traditional perimeters.

Paradoxically despite the vows to secularism made by the Ba'hist regimes in Syria and Iraq (and by Turkey), the new elites subtly used Islam as a means of control and popular participation but much less as a legitimizes of modernity than did Sultan Abdulhamid

II (1876–1909). The sultan created an Islamic model of peaceful change and modernization but was not understood by either his domestic opponents or his European adversaries (although the latter praised his ability to keep in check the fundamentalist movements). Nevertheless, these important side issues are only indirectly related to the main theme of war as a process of social change and to the laudable effort to employ new approaches and concepts in this most significant original work on the Middle East to be published in the last ten years. The editor and the contributors must be congratulated for their truly pioneering effort.

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USSAMA MAKDISI. *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 259. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.00.

In the past, historians chronicling the emergence of sectarianism and sectarian conflict in Lebanon and the wider Middle East approached their subject in three ways. Orientalist historians, as well as those who have taken self-serving communal histories at face value, have sworn by the essential and primordial nature of religious identities in the region. Others, writing mainly during the 1980s when social history was ascendant in the historiography of the modern Middle East, sidestepped the religio-cultural aspects of sectarianism and instead focused on the differential social and economic development of various communities that generated intercommunal tensions. Most recently, historians drawing from the work of the Subaltern Studies Group and others have identified sectarianism as a form of colonial knowledge that was transmitted by agents of the West to the inhabitants of the region.

Europe plays a central role in all of these narratives, whether by encouraging an indigenous reawakening to half-forgotten sectarian identities, inducing the economic differentiation of religious communities, or imposing Western categories of thought. Europe plays a catalytic role in Ussama Makdisi's marvelous book as well: European agents wage a "gentle crusade" to redeem native Christians and native Christianity; European gunboats abet the restoration of Ottoman rule in Lebanon after it had been occupied for a decade by the Ottoman Empire's obstreperous Egyptian vassal, Mehmet Ali; and European statesmen encourage the promulgation of the Gülhane proclamation, which inaugurated the period of Ottoman "reform" (*Tanzimat*). But Makdisi's account differs from those of his predecessors in a fundamental way: Makdisi refuses to treat reform-era religious communities as monolithic. Instead, he focuses on the heterogeneous responses among various social and political groups within Ottoman society to the introduction of European ideas, the

restoration of Ottoman power in Lebanon, and the promise of equal citizenship for all inhabitants of the empire. Thus, according to Makdisi, sectarianism must be viewed as an historically inscribed effort to resolve the inherent contradictions of a society divided vertically, not horizontally, during a period of acute crisis.

By adroitly applying methodologies introduced by cultural and postcolonial historians during the past two decades, and by drawing from a stunning array of published and unpublished, privately and publicly held sources in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, and various European languages, Makdisi presents Lebanon as a site in which diverse groups of actors each in their own way interpreted, contested, and attempted to take advantage of the revolutionary political and cultural upheavals that wracked the region during the mid-nineteenth century. The Ottoman government, for example, which not only served as a barbaric foil for European statesmen but discovered its own barbaric foil among the warring "tribes" of its Lebanese backwater, found itself trapped within contradictory imperatives of the *Tanzimat*: on the one hand, reform measures promised imperial "modernization" and centralization; on the other, it promised the devolution of authority to local leaders and religiously defined communities. Local notables (and, in a different way, church leaders) not only demanded a restoration of the privileges they had enjoyed during the period before the Egyptian occupation, they were quick to realize the benefits that they might accrue from balancing Ottoman reestablishment with European protection, imperial legitimacy with sectarian identity. And through a discussion of an 1858 revolt led by a Christian muleteer, Tanyus Shahin—a discussion that provides the true centerpiece of his book—Makdisi demonstrates the manner in which nonelites employed their own interpretations of reform and sectarian identity to undermine a "traditional" hierarchic social structure and thrust those previously regarded as passive *juhhal* (ignorants) into the political arena for the first time. Because Makdisi thus restores agency to sundry groups of local actors and refuses to present them as supine victims of alien conspiracy, his explanation for the emergence of sectarianism and sectarian conflict is far more nuanced and convincing than that provided by his predecessors.

While there may be those who would complain that Makdisi paints an all too utopic picture of a presectarian Lebanon in which hegemony is absolute and takes an all too functionalist approach to religious debate, these criticisms do not in any way invalidate the core of Makdisi's thesis. Makdisi's book provides invaluable insights into the rise of sectarianism in Lebanon, the legacy bequeathed by the Ottoman era to the contemporary Middle East, and, more generally, the very nature of "modernity" and its diffusion. A *cri de coeur* for Lebanon written by a passionate observer, Makdisi's book argues that since "sectarianism was produced . . . it can be changed" (p. 166). Unfortunately (and with all due respect to globalization enthusiasts), Makdisi's own argument that sectarianism, like

its analogue, nationalism, is inherent to the modern condition makes such a prospect dim at best.

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RALPH M. COURY. *The Making of an Egyptian Arab Nationalist: The Early Years of 'Azzam Pasha, 1893–1936*. Reading, UK: Garnet Publishing. 1998. Pp. viii, 528. £35.00.

This encyclopedic political biography of 'Abd al-Rahman 'Azzam Pasha, the first secretary general of the League of Arab States, relies on extensive interviews with 'Azzam Pasha and his friends and relatives, unpublished Arabic and English versions of 'Azzam's memoirs, 'Azzam's speeches in the Egyptian parliament, his journalistic writings, and political reports of the British embassy. There are no letters or diaries that might give us some insight into 'Azzam's private life, but such matters are not the point of Ralph M. Coury's book.

Orientalist scholars of Arab politics like Elie Kedourie, Nadav Safran, P. J. Vatikiotis, and Martin S. Kramer have argued that pan-Arab nationalism was a British invention, that Arabs who adopted it were irrational or worse, and that Egyptians in particular were disdainful of Arabs and Arabism until King Farouk and his supporters embraced the formation of the Arab League in 1945 as a vehicle that offered the king and Egypt opportunity to assert regional leadership. In contrast, Coury shows that 'Azzam Pasha's Arab nationalist views were not unique among Egyptian political figures of the 1920s and 1930s. He sees 'Azzam and other Egyptian pioneers of Arab nationalism as "elaborating a weapon that reflects the objective necessities and possibilities of the Egyptian bourgeoisie within the Arab circle" (p. 455). Coury argues that 'Azzam's Arab nationalist commitments are the result of his formative years as a young man in Libya.

Italy invaded the Ottoman provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in 1912. At the end of 1915, 'Azzam left medical school to join the resistance. He first linked up with the local pro-Ottoman forces, then the Tripolitanian republic. He served as general secretary of the National Reform Party and was a leading force in its newspaper, the *Tripolitanian Standard*. 'Azzam returned to Egypt in early 1923, after Italy conquered the urban regions of Tripolitania. Coury's detailed treatment of 'Azzam's Tripolitanian period adds a new perspective and new information to earlier work on the development of Libyan nationalism by Lisa Anderson and Ali Abdullatif Ahmida. It also demonstrates the fluidity of ideological identities during this turbulent period. 'Azzam joined the anti-Italian resistance motivated by Ottoman loyalism, commitment to Turco-Arab symbiosis, and Islamic solidarity. At the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire collapsed. By his own admission, 'Azzam turned to Arabism because "Islamism would not work" (p. 173). Returning to

Egypt, he was a parliamentary deputy and journalist of the secularist Wafd Party until he became an independent in 1932. He maintained extensive connections and interests in the broader Arab world in this period.

Coury is correct that some figures of the Egyptian upper bourgeoisie, like Tal'at Harb, the director of Bank Misr, were interested in the broader Arab world as a potential market for Egypt's nascent industries. He is also correct that Arab and Islamic sentiment were factors in Egyptian politics before 1936. But his argument that 'Azzam's embrace of Arab nationalism reflected bourgeois class interests is too mechanical. 'Azzam was not, as Coury claims, a member of the Egyptian ruling elite but rather of the second stratum of landed notables. Much of the Egyptian upper bourgeoisie in the interwar period had a cosmopolitan orientation. They maintained business partnerships with Europeans and resident Greeks, Italians, and Jews and were not Arab nationalists. Egyptian Arabism was more than a vehicle to promote the interests of King Farouk and his political allies. But it did not gain broad acceptance among the political classes until after the period covered by this book.

Coury's overstatement of his thesis as well as his insistence that newer work by Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski shares the same flaws as outmoded Orientalist scholarship may be due to the fact that most of the research for this book was apparently done in the early 1970s. While Coury has read the secondary literature published since then, he does not seem to have used the period between the research and publication of his book to place Egyptian Arab nationalism in its historical context. During the period from the beginnings of Egyptian nationalism in the 1870s to the present, pan-Arab sentiments were ascendant for only about thirty-five years. Egyptian Arab nationalism gained strength in response to the 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine and the intensification of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict. It became a powerful force as the Arab world embraced the militant anti-imperialism of Gamal Abdel Nasser from the mid-1950s to 1967. In this perspective, 'Azzam Pasha and Arab nationalism represent only one of several possible Egyptian politico-cultural orientations—one that has, moreover, been in decline for over thirty years.

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ISAIAH FRIEDMAN. *Palestine: A Twice-Promised Land? Volume 1, The British, the Arabs and Zionism, 1915–1920*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 2000. Pp. lxxvii, 411. \$49.95.

Noted Middle East historian Elie Kedourie appropriately gave his 1976 study of World War I era-Anglo-Arab negotiations the title, *In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth*. Over the last quarter century, many have attempted to lay the same Minotaur to rest. Isaiah Friedman is one of the most persistent, beginning in 1970 with an article in the *Journal of Contemporary*

History on "The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence and the Question of Palestine" (5:2) that subsequently appeared as a chapter in his book *The Question of Palestine, 1914–1918: British-Jewish-Arab Relations* (1973). Friedman's article aroused some controversy and was therefore the focus of an exchange between Friedman and Arnold J. Toynbee in a subsequent issue (5:4). So central are these two articles to the theme of the first volume of Friedman's new study that they are reprinted in a seventy-five-page introduction.

The issues are not exactly new; nor, despite Friedman's assertion to the contrary, can they now be said to have been settled permanently. First, did Britain pledge unilaterally to support postwar Arab independence, or was that pledge dependent on a major Arab rebellion and military effort against the Turks, which did not occur outside the Hijaz? Friedman, and others, have consistently argued that reciprocity was integral to the agreement. Second, was Palestine included in the area in which an Arab state or states were to be supported? Friedman, supported by most historians who have studied this issue, concludes that Britain had no intention of including Palestine in that pledge, while admitting that British intentions on this point could have been expressed with considerably more clarity. Toynbee, who had had some official responsibility for reviewing the whole issue in late 1918, came to the opposite conclusion, but as Friedman demonstrates, Toynbee in official documents contradicted himself more than once. Indeed, over the years Toynbee has been supported by few writers on the subject—though one pre-Toynbee book holding that viewpoint has maintained a persistent influence: George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (1938). Finally, were Britain's several commitments to the Arabs basically incompatible with those made to France in the Sykes-Picot agreement, which in the end resulted in France's taking control of Lebanon and Syria? Friedman believes that they were not, though his detailed arguments on this point await the publication of volume two of this study.

Friedman makes his arguments throughout on the basis of a wide reading in the documents from many archives (the work of other historians, by contrast, gets considerably less attention). The first third of the book is basically a perpetuation of the Friedman-Toynbee quarrel (especially chapter three, "Toynbee versus Toynbee"); since Toynbee died in 1975, and the historical literature has not tended to accept his rather muddled views on this subject, there seems at first sight to be little point to it all. But there is, for the Antonius-Toynbee position has a habit of turning up periodically in new summaries focusing either on Albion's traditional perfidy or on the "betrayal" of the pledges made to the Arabs. Although his arguments are sometimes repetitive, Friedman does demonstrate once again that while British policy makers had not sorted out the long-range incompatibility of Zionism and Arab nationalism, in the short run, their aims were clear enough on the exclusion of Palestine and the

(unfulfilled) expectations they had of Arab wartime participation. Imprecise and vague some parts of the process certainly were, and Britain's own uncertainty as to what had happened is demonstrated by the number of subsequent occasions on which some individual or office was assigned the task of analysis and summary of Britain's commitments. But the ill-considered language found in Sir Henry McMahon's communications pales into insignificance when compared to those points that McMahon clearly had made (always assuming we have the right texts, including the key Arabic version of the 1915–1916 letters, which Friedman now claims to have found and reprints in an appendix). If in all this it cannot really be said that the Minotaur has at last been bested, still any future challenger would do well to study Friedman's book before again tackling the beast.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

PIETER BOELE VAN HENSBROEK. *Political Discourses in African Thought: 1860 to the Present*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1999. Pp. viii, 238. \$59.95.

This is an important work of synthesis. The author examines African political thought over the past century and a half. Pieter Boele van Hensbroek adopts a hermeneutical approach to the historiography of African political ideas, focusing on concrete African political discourses in their specific historical situations. In Kuhnian terms, he likes "to think like the historical authors" whose works he examines. His analytical standpoint seeks to cover the assumptions, oppositions, and heuristics that have shaped the grand tradition of African political thought. Van Hensbroek argues that in order to understand African political concepts, we have to identify the specific examples that African authors (and readers) had in mind when deploying such familiar terms as socialism and Pan-Africanism. In the process, van Hensbroek delineates the key models of African thought as being identity, modernization, and liberation, with the key terms in the discourses being authenticity, development, and liberation (again). The author recognizes that as a critic he is implicated in the results of the study, through becoming part of the debates concerning the heuristics of the discourses of African political thought.

The study is anchored on two perceptions of Africa in the twentieth century: namely, tradition or modernity. The book begins with the optimistic universal modernity of the Sierra Leone Creole intelligentsia, typified by James Africanus Horton and anchored by the Krio discourses of modernization and self-government at mid-nineteenth century. The hope represented was to be negated by formal British colonialism and conquest at the end of the century. African political

thought then turned to a quest for an authentic identity discourse (the project of W. E. Blyden with its battle cry of "Ethiopia shall arise") and into Pan-Negroism, an African regeneration discourse that articulated an order to difference. Under the latter banner, Marcus Garvey's "Africa for the Africans" became symbolic: the African Dress Society and the study of African cultural, religious, and political systems were highlighted.

The high noon of British, French, and Portuguese colonialism between 1900 and 1939 made emphasis on the political an urgent concern, leading to the discourses on modernization ideals and self-development by such luminaries as Joseph Ephraim Casely-Hayford. The Aborigines' Rights Protection Society was their organ of expression. This cohort argued for a modernization from indigenous roots, and "going Fante" became fashionable as a fad. The culturally autonomous success story of Japan was often invoked. The movement's collapse, brought on by realization of the fact of unfettered conquest and colonization, ushered in the era of nationalist liberation, an anticolonial discourse in a colonial situation. Neotraditionalist texts emerged as reaffirmation of indigenous structures in struggles against the encroachments of colonial-capitalist social formations. Jomo Kenyatta's *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938) was their exemplar. These texts claimed the right of Africans to take their destiny in their own hands, an argument for African control of the putative multiethnic independent state. In this form, texts were the precursors of postcolonial ideological philosophies. Alongside them emerged the political manifestos of these imagined communities, championing the views of the angry young men of Africa. The exemplar here was Nnamdi Azikiwe's *Renascent Africa* (1937), which championed the global struggle of the black race. Through the agency of the press, mass nationalist movements were born, employing a vocabulary of rights, liberties, and political principles borrowed from European political thought and appealing to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Declaration while stating the nationalist cause. The political analyses of Kwame Nkrumah's *Towards Colonial Freedom* (1946), replete with its metropolitan Marxist vocabulary, completed this triad.

The era of African political independence in the 1960s ushered in the golden age of African socialist ideologies: Julius Nyerere's *Ujamaa* (1962), Kwame Nkrumah's *Consciencism* (1964), and Tom Mboya's "Sessional Paper No. 10" (1965). Marxism took center stage in the 1970s in the context of economic stagnation, dependency and underdevelopment theories, and the liberation wars in Portuguese territories. In the 1990s, democratization came into vogue again. These discourses constitute the "history of the present" and have produced a range of vocabulary foundational to present-day political thought.

African Socialism was an important discourse of the 1960s, with its developmental, cultural, and political

variants, respectively represented by Mboya, Leopold Senghor (*Negritude*), and Nyerere. The central figure here remains Nkrumah, the symbol and spokesman of African liberation. His text, *Consciencism*, aimed at creating a "harmony that will allow the combined presence of traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and EuroChristian Africa, so that this presence is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying African Society." The need for a revolutionary struggle to liberate Africa was forcefully argued by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1967), wherein the peasants are presented as the revolutionary force, "rebels by instinct."

For Fanon, political liberation was a therapeutical process of reestablishing collective self-identity. His views contrasted sharply with those of Amílcar Cabral, who found in the petty bourgeoisie "the only 'social stratum capable of both having consciousness in the first place of the reality of imperialist domination and of handling the state apparatus inherited from that domination' (*Unity and Struggle* [1980], p. 134). But because of its tendency toward bourgeoisification, "the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class" in order to be restored to life in the condition of the revolutionary worker (p. 136). A more thoroughgoing scientific socialist stance was expounded by Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu in *African Socialism or Socialist Africa* (1981).

By the end of the 1980s, the agenda of political thought shifted to the lexicon of democracy, social movements, and civil society. The collapse of the socialist bloc and the changes in the policies of the World Bank and other Western donors introduced new conditions requiring an end to single party rule and the fostering of good governance. The discourses of the donor world set the agenda for African intellectuals as well. Their mutual vocabulary became one of multipartyism, empowerment, democratization, grassroots, human rights, citizenship, and market freedom. This democratic turn marked the revival of a liberal democratic discourse that in fact replicates the modernization discourse of the 1960s. It was also accompanied by palaver discourses that harked back to African communal democracy and authenticity, and by a radical discourse on popular struggles by former Marxist intellectuals like Anyang' Nyong'o, Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, and Mahmood Mamdani. As a result, the models of democracy advocated in the 1990s were eclectic combinations that hardly result in coherent argument, van Hensbroek avers. He concludes that "The main traditions of African political thought which have been powerful vehicles for addressing the relevant issues over the last 150 years, have run out of steam" (p. 201). From whom, then, shall Africa borrow a paradigm for the twenty-first century?

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BEVERLY B. MACK and JEAN BOYD. *One Woman's Jihad: Nana Asma'u; Scholar and Scribe*. Bloomington: Indi-

ana University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 198. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$13.95.

This book by Beverly B. Mack and Jean Boyd presents the history of the life and work of Nana Asma'u (1793–1864) together with a selection of her poems (elegies, laments, and admonitions, among others). Nana Asma'u was the daughter of Shaykh Usman dan Fodio, leader of a jihad to reform and purify Islam in the Sokoto region of what is today northern Nigeria. Her half-brother was Muhammad Bello, who became caliph of the region and whose descendants still hold that office. Nana Asma'u was a remarkable woman who was devoted to the cause of purifying Islam and unifying the region. She established a group of literate women teachers (*jajis*) who carried her teachings, written into her poems, and disseminated them to illiterate women throughout the community. One stunning example in the book is the poem "Be Sure of God's Truth" (pp. 120–126), which reaches out to ordinary people (men and women) with advice on the behavior of good Muslims anywhere.

The story of Nana Asma'u brings a fascinating glimpse into early nineteenth-century northern Nigeria, the organization and activities of the reformers and the caliphate they established, and, in particular, the role of women. Nana Asma'u was advisor to and interpreter of her father and his teachings. She was a scholar of Islam and had a mission of her own to help in the purification of Islam in the region. Her *jajis* had their own band of student followers (the '*yan-taru*'), and, through this network, Nana could reach out through society. Her writings tie her role as teacher and reformer to the roles of other women in historical Islam. Teaching was, and is (according to the authors), an accepted and respected occupation for women in the caliphate. When writing to women, moreover, Nana not only counseled them to be modest and obedient but spoke of their obligation to seek educa-

tion: "Women, a warning. Leave not your homes without good reason. You may go out to get food or to seek education. In Islam, it is a religious duty to seek knowledge. Women may leave their homes freely for this" (p. 83). This book is a fine piece of scholarship by two authors who know in depth the work of their subject and its context. It is well written and contains clear explanations of the intricate pattern of people and events from the era. The addition of maps, a genealogy, pictures, and the full text of a wide assortment of poems make it particularly useful for the serious reader. The book will be important to any student of West African history, especially the history of northern Nigeria and the establishment of the caliphate in the 1800s. However, the book also appeals to a broader audience as it takes direct aim at the belief that women under the reign of reformist Islam are totally oppressed. The authors point out that under the caliphate there was hierarchy of women who were "prestigious and powerful" (p. 91). Women are not, Mack and Boyd assert, on the outskirts of Islam, alienated from it and seeking to avoid its injunctions; such a view has contributed to "negative stereotypes about Muslim women" (p. 91). One reason for the misconception, they believe, is that very little of women's written work is known. They urge other scholars to help redress this mistaken perception of the role of women in Islam by unearthing the texts written by women scholars elsewhere.

The view presented by this book is perhaps a little misleading, as only a few women of the highest families would have had the education and freedom Nana Asma'u had. It is, however, extremely valuable in redressing the balance of (Western) scholarship on the important roles played by women in conservative reformist Islamic societies.

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Film Reviews

AIMEE AND JAGUAR. Produced by Hanno Huth and Günter Rohrbach; directed by Max Fäberböck; screenplay by Max Fäberböck and Rona Munro. German, with English subtitles. 1999; color; 124 minutes. Distributed by Zeitgeist Films.

LOVE STORY. Produced and directed by Catrine Clay. 1997; color; 60 minutes. Distributed by Zeitgeist Films.

Max Fäberböck's *Aimee and Jaguar*, which opened at the Berlin Film Festival in 1999, reflects several important shifts in Germany's public debate about the Holocaust. Specifically, German cinematic traditions of Holocaust and lesbian films, which had been associated with left intellectual and feminist avant-garde traditions, respectively, are integrated in *Aimee and Jaguar*. Significantly, this fusion appeared as a big-budget film aimed at a mainstream audience. At the time of the film's release, Erica Fischer's book, *Aimee & Jaguar: Eine Liebesgeschichte, Berlin 1943* [Aimee & Jaguar: A Love Story, Berlin 1943] (1994), had been out for five years, and translated into eleven languages. The lesser known documentary, *Love Story*, produced by Catrine Clay for the BBC, had aired two years before, in 1997. All three works follow the same historical events but with different degrees of differentiation, depth, and emphasis: the love story of Lilly Wust, housewife, mother, and Nazi follower, and Felice Schragenheim, member of the Jewish underground during the war years in Berlin. They met in 1942 through Lilly's household help Ilse, a German who was part of the circle around Felice that hid Jews and organized papers and food stamps for them. When Felice and two of her friends received false papers enabling them to leave Nazi Germany, Felice decided to stay behind. After an outing to the river Havel, she was arrested at Lilly's apartment and deported to Theresienstadt, where she died. All three works are based, again to varying degrees, on the enormous collection of material preserved by Lilly: photographs, diary entries, poems, and, most importantly, the letters exchanged between her and Felice, in which they had taken on the fantasy names of Aimee and Jaguar.

Aimee and Jaguar came out in 1999, ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, when the question of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the German national past of the Holocaust) had resur-

faced with new intensity in a unified Germany in which Berlin again was the capital. Intense public debates about remembering and guilt over the past were made manifest in relationship to a range of cultural artifacts: for example, in disputes about the then almost completed Jewish Museum and the then planned national Holocaust memorial. These trends converge and are reconfigured in *Aimee and Jaguar*.

In contrast to the domestic focus of the political debate about the German past, the two cinematic representations of the Holocaust that had the greatest public significance came from the United States: the television miniseries *Holocaust* (1978) and Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993). The latter in particular provides a paradigmatic instance of the cinematic convention of representing the Holocaust by integrating classical melodramatic aspects of Hollywood cinema with a documentary style that claims historical accuracy as a moral justification for screening the unrepresentable. *Aimee and Jaguar* participates in this internationally established discourse. In the tradition of *Schindler's List* and Polish director Agnieszka Holland's *Europa, Europa* (1991), it claims a connection to established true history, negotiated through the outstanding fate of one individual. All three films employ voice-over, traditionally associated with documentary; and all three films, to different degrees, mimic the aesthetics of the time period. All three films also frame the narrative with the present, which works to lay claim to the documentary aspect of the actual history. It is the relationship between the framing narrative and the story that differentiates *Aimee and Jaguar* from the other films, which show the actual Holocaust survivors only at the end. In contrast, *Aimee and Jaguar* foregrounds the present in Berlin at the film's opening: a guide who shows an apartment to potential renters emphasizes how close the place is to Berlin's new center and to the chancellor's apartment. Only after we see the apartment are we shown the old woman in the corner of the room: Lilly, the main character of the film, who is being moved to an old people's home. This framing contextualizes the narrative with the specific context of the new nation: the question of how to deal with history, embodied by an individual fate, and its material traces, referenced by the old stuff that will be thrown away.

The framing narrative that positions the melodramatic story of the past in relationship to the new nation and the question of how to deal with history's material traces are taken up at the film's end and reconfigured as a discussion about Germany's guilt. The melodramatic historical narrative ends when Felice is taken from Lilly's apartment by the Gestapo and Lilly has a nervous breakdown. The film then cuts to the old people's home, where Lilly meets Ilse, Felice's friend. Lilly asks Ilse whether she is responsible for Felice's death, and Ilse absolves Lilly of any guilt associated with Felice's fate, telling her: "Felice stayed because she loved you. And you visited her [in the camp] because you loved her." *Aimee and Jaguar* does not represent the past as a linear narrative but instead employs a dialogic perspective, secured through narrative voices consisting of Ilse's voice-over and the letters exchanged by Lilly and Felice. Yet while the representation of the past is framed by the present, it is precisely the finite answer Ilse provides about guilt that summarizes and interprets the past for the German viewer. Instead of using the past to pose questions for the present, the present is employed to close off the past from questions. The story of Jewish survival and the insistence on forbidden pleasure in the midst of oppression is reconfigured into an absolution of German guilt.

The documentary *Love Story* takes a different approach. Directed by a British feminist director, it tells the same story without embodying the past through a recreation of events. The documentary relies instead on interviews with Lilly Wust, at that point eighty-two years old; her former household help, Ulla Schaaf (who becomes Ilse in the feature film); and Elenai Predski-Kramer and Gerd Ehrlich, both part of the circle around Felice. The interviews are geared more to understanding Felice's behavior and motivation and are less concerned with coming to terms with the German past. The different voices of the interviews, in conjunction with the letters, shift the emphasis to a collective account of complex relationships and tense interactions instead of the one great love that motivates the *Aimee and Jaguar*. Ironically, given the title of the documentary, the interviews allow an image of love to emerge that is not beyond history and politics, but shaped by the conditions of history and politics. In that way, the film makes sense of the seeming contradiction of the love between an underground Jew and a Nazi housewife through the interviews with Felice's friends, who explain conditions of living in the underground. The tension in *Love Story* arises out of the fact that, by not recreating the actual characters, the film relies on images of the present void of the traces of the past and documentary footage from Nazi films. These Nazi documentaries tell the official story, whereas Lilly's vast material of collected photographs, letters, and diaries tell the unofficial story. *Love Story*'s power arises not only from watching the real Lilly Wust recreate her memories but also from the minute

documentation of her attempts of keeping, assembling, and making sense of the traces of history.

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THE WAY WE LAUGHED (*Così ridevano*). Produced by Vittorio Cecchi Gori and Rita Cecchi Gori; directed by Gianni Amelio; screenplay by Gianni Amelio, Danielle Gaglianone, Lillo Iacolino, and Alberto Taraglio. 1998; color, 124 minutes. Italy. Italian with English subtitles. Distributed by New Yorker Films.

Much has been written concerning the so-called "economic miracle" of the late 1950s and early 1960s in Italy. Attention has largely been focused on the plight of southern Italian peasants migrating to the more industrial and prosperous northern cities. This postwar internal migration was as serious a societal change as the earlier wave of mass emigration to the Americas. Entire towns of the Mezzogiorno were decimated and have still not fully recovered from the demographic catastrophe. Rather than stressing the Horatio Alger, rags-to-riches mythology that could be (and has been) woven from such material, Gianni Amelio's film recounts the story of how the transformation of Italian society destroys two brothers from Sicily who seek their fortune in the northern industrial city of Turin. *The Way We Laughed* presents six days in the lives of the two brothers between 1958 and 1964. Each vignette is titled—"Arrivals," "Deceptions," "Money," "Letters," "Blood," and "Family"—and each title functions on at least two levels of meaning.

Pietro Scordia, the younger brother (Francesco Giuffrida), has been sent to Turin to study for a career as an elementary school teacher. His older brother, Giovanni (Enrico Lo Verso), is prepared to make every sacrifice so that this will come to pass. Having a family member in the professional class would confer important social prestige and (hopefully) economic benefits on the entire family. Here Amelio has, in a way, artfully presented Edward Banfield's provocative and controversial thesis of "amoral familism." Banfield, a Harvard University sociologist, claimed in *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (1958) that the lack of a civic culture in southern Italy was caused by a moral philosophy that could best be summed up thus: "act according to the best short-term interests of the immediate family and assume that all others will do likewise." Amelio amply demonstrates that Banfield confused cause and effect.

Rather than reaping opportunity and riches, the Scordia brothers find a society that fails to reward hard work, where one advances based on connections and *raccomandazioni*, and where *padroni* manipulate and abuse workers. They meet with conditions that are, in short, not very different from those they left behind. Still, Giovanni manages by all sorts of enterprises (some legal, some not) to pull himself out of abject poverty to a middle-class status, but one that is pred-

icated on historical amnesia. It is perhaps no coincidence that the brothers' surname is Scordia, a variant of the Italian *scordare* (to forget or to put out of tune).

The Way We Laughed took the Golden Lion prize at the Venice Film Festival in 1998. That three years passed before it became available to an American audience (and even then playing only in New York City, and only for two weeks) could be the subject of an essay on the scandalous politics and economics of foreign-film distribution in the US. Over the past decade, Amelio has succeeded in crafting films that astutely examine some of the darker corners of modern Italian history. In *Open Doors* (1989), he depicted the struggle between the ethics of an honorable judge and the moral bankruptcy of the fascist regime; with *Stolen Children* (1992) he challenged the myth of the indomitable family in Italy; *Lamerica* (1994) is told through the eyes of an impoverished Albanian who ironically views contemporary Italy as a country with "streets paved in gold."

For much of his filmmaking career, Amelio has depended, as he does here, on the extraordinary performances of actor Enrico Lo Verso. The expressiveness of Lo Verso's face permits Amelio to depict Giovanni's descent from good will and hopefulness, through bitter realization and despair, to a kind of amoral acceptance of a corrupt and consumerist society. The enigmatic Pietro, however, is more difficult to read. He is far from the ideal scholar that Giovanni believes him to be, but the reasons for Pietro's angst are never fully revealed. He is smothered beneath Giovanni's physical presence and self-sacrifice, and he tries to influence the awkward relationship by surreptitiously giving Giovanni some of his ill-gotten gains and taking the rap for a horrendous crime. By film's end, Giovanni is married, with a son and a thriving business in the north, while Pietro is a shattered wreck. Pietro's condition derives not only from the fact that he is being punished for a crime committed by Giovanni but from his realization of the reality that has destroyed both him and his brother.

Filed entirely in the city of Turin during the first months of 1998, *The Way We Laughed* makes the city itself a protagonist: its streets, slums, cafes, automobiles, and Fiat factories are omnipresent, forming the background for the human drama that unfolds. It was also filmed almost entirely in Sicilian dialect, which became the focus of controversy when it proved necessary to impose subtitles in "proper" Italian; most Italians simply could not understand what the main characters were saying. In the Sicilian dialect of Giovanni, however, one can hear the faint echoes of the French, Spanish, and Arabic conquests of that tragic island in the Mediterranean.

As a result of this specificity of location, there are visual and linguistic jokes that are not likely to register with an American audience. For example, when a peasant family wandering around Turin in search of an address stumbles across a monument, they take it to be the Duomo when in fact it is the Mole Antonelliana,

originally built in the nineteenth century as a synagogue. On a more personal level, Pietro's books function as another prop: always present but never opened by the lackluster student, they acquire an almost talismanic power in the eyes of older brother Giovanni, who is willing to spend outrageous sums of money to keep Pietro supplied. Giovanni's reverence for books—a trait often found among the illiterate—is matched only by the contempt of his fellow workers and his brother's disregard of them. When Pietro disappears for a while, Giovanni grasps the books and speaks to them as if speaking to Pietro.

In an interview with Stuart Klawans of the *New York Times*, Amelio lamented: "Now we are rich—and arrogant—without any memory of our past, of illness and poverty. How much have we paid to achieve our affluence? Is it possible that in searching for material comfort we have lost something—humanity, bravery, civic valor?" (November 18, 2001). But Amelio does not fall into the trap that is endemic to movies of this sort, the lure of nostalgia. The movie's ironic title refers to a feature in the weekly magazine *Domenica del Corriere*, in which subscribers sent in silly jokes. Together with Amelio, we look back at what we once thought was funny and can only marvel at what little it took then to make us laugh.

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ME YOU THEM (*Eu, Tu, Eles*). Produced by Leonardo M. de Barros, Pedro B. de Hollanda, Andrucha Waddington, Flávio R. Tambellini, and Nilda Spencer; directed by Andrucha Waddington; screenplay by Elena Soares. Brazil. 2000; color; 99 minutes. Distributed by Sony Pictures Classics.

MAIDS (*Domésticas*). Produced by Andrea Barata Ribeiro; directed by Fernando Meirelles and Nando Olival; screenplay by Cecília Homem de Mello and Fernando Meirelles, based on the play by Renata Melo. Brazil. 2001. color. 90 minutes. Distributed by O2 Filmes (Brazil).

Me You Them and *Maids* constitute two important cinematographic experiments of contemporary Brazilian cinema. Both films provide insights into the lives of marginalized women in contemporary society without being didactic or moralizing. Yet these films recreate worlds that are diametrically opposed to each other. *Me You Them* takes place in the arid, sparsely populated backlands of northeastern Brazil, the *sertão*, while *Maids* presents audiences with a glimpse of life in Latin America's most dynamic urban center, São Paulo. The poor women within their local spaces defy easy definition, but both films explore the limits and possibilities of their respective subjects.

Life in the *sertão* has inspired histories, novels, plays, musical compositions, and films that investigate a number of important themes, from Messianism, machismo, and clientelism to poverty and corruption,

while others have explored the simplicity and dignity of life in the region and the customs and music of the people.

In *Me You Them*, director Andrucha Waddington shares the Brazilian fascination with the *sertão*, but the film represents a significant departure from the traditional and largely male-oriented emphasis on political and social struggles. Waddington explores the life of a *sertaneja* woman who manages to find and live with three (common-law) husbands under the same roof. Focusing on the female protagonist, the title recalls Bruno Barreto's film sensation *Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands* (1979), based on Jorge Amado's novel of the same name. As in *Dona Flor*, the story centers on a female protagonist who must strike a balance between her own needs and desires and those of her male partners, but Waddington avoids the sensationalism many would associate with polyandry or unconventional familial arrangements. Inspired by the life of a poor northeastern woman from the Ceará, whom screenwriter Elena Soares discovered in 1995, the director uses her story to recreate life in a small town of the *sertão*. The film presents an impoverished world with few opportunities for change within which the main character, Darlene, makes choices to enhance her well-being. Poverty makes life difficult, but ordinary people like Darlene invent ways of finding fulfillment.

At the film's beginning, Darlene, who once left her town pregnant after being jilted at the altar, has returned with her son to attend her mother's funeral. She eventually marries one of the old men of the community, Osias, who provides her with financial security and in exchange expects her to cook and clean for him. Darlene is able to clean but does not know how to cook. Eventually, Osias's cousin Zezinho, a fun-loving man and an excellent cook, begins a romantic relationship with Darlene and moves into the house, providing both Darlene and Osias with something they lack. Ciro, a young temporary farmhand then shows up, taking a job in the fields with Darlene. Ciro fills Darlene life with passion, and in him she finds her third husband.

The story unfolds in a chronological fashion, giving viewers glimpses of life in the town, in the church, at the local pub, and in the fields where Darlene works. None of the familiar cinematographic tropes propel the movie forward, nor is there any apparent conflict that must be resolved. Yet the slow and calculated pace of the film make this an interesting piece of social representation. Andrucha's technique is reminiscent of the early politically and aesthetically committed black-and-white films of *cinema novo*, such as Nelson Pereira dos Santos's *Barren Lives* (*Vidas Secas*, 1963) and Glauba Rocha's *White God, Black Devil* (*Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol*, 1964). Influenced by a commitment to social realism, these films present daily life in the northeast through routine interactions rather than through intrigue. Andrucha may have borrowed his aesthetic from *cinema novo*, but he is not necessarily

making a political statement. He presents his characters in color, and scenes are accompanied by the spirited *forró* music of Gilberto Gil.

The film does not successfully place the narrative into broader social context of the village, however. We rarely see the main characters interact with others in the town, for example, nor do we know what others thought about Darlene's relations. Furthermore, Darlene's life is certainly not typical of most women's experiences in the *sertão*, although her situation does represent one possibility. The dynamics within the house and the kindness with which the characters are presented indicate a continued respect for the backlands and its people. Darlene leads a difficult life, but this film is a poetic meditation on the possibilities within her world.

Maids, directed by Fernando Meirelles and Nando Olival, shifts the focus from the life in the country to the urban world of the working poor. There is a frenetic life in the city, and the framework of life, so ambiguous in , is clearly demarcated here. In many ways, this contrast mirrors the transition from the early films of *cinema novo* in the 1960s and 1970s to a cinema focusing on the challenges of urban life in the 1980s, apparent in *Pixote* (Hector Babenco, 1980) and particularly Leon Hirszman's *They Don't Wear Black Ties* (*Eles Não Usam Black Tie*, 1981).

Hirszman provided a multifaceted look at the social and political activities of workers in São Paulo and exposed a number of problems related to the urban poor—from police brutality, racial tension, and poor living and working conditions while also commenting on the challenges of political action. Although *Maids* lacks Hirszman's political intensity, the film touches on many of the problems of urban life in Brazil.

The role of maids in Brazilian social history is understudied, despite the curious position that the virtually entirely female class occupies in Brazil's complex social hierarchy: as representatives of the working poor and at the same time as observers of the middle and upper class. To be able to hire a full-time maid in the United States constitutes, for the most part, a privilege of the upper or upper middle class. Not so in Brazil, where many if not most middle-class families contract maids, in part because wages are depressed. Although maids function as paid employees, they also enter the homes and private lives of employers, and many develop intimate relationships with family members and children that last for decades. These bonds notwithstanding, for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, maids and their employers went about their lives as if under a type of Brazilian social apartheid. Many buildings, for example, have two entrances: one for residents and another for service personnel such as maids (although adherence to such codes is technically illegal). Houses and apartments have special maid's quarters for eating or sleeping, usually close to the kitchen.

Maids is not "a moral tale." Nor does the film preach to the audience, and the main characters are not

presented as monolithic. Instead, the film follows the daily struggles and joys of five very different maids: Roxana, a working maid who longs to be a model but ends up becoming a prostitute; Cida, a woman stuck in a boring marriage; Raimunda, a romantic in search of the ideal partner; Créó, a born-again evangelist; and Quitéria, a dumb young woman. This film could easily have been presented as an angry aggressive drama, but instead the directors offer viewers a poignant comedy with tragic elements. The directors create a coherent narrative while utilizing techniques of the documentary. Throughout the story, for example, the characters turn and speak directly to the audiences, as in an interview. All five women are at once individuals and caricatures, representing different types of urban women. They share their stories with viewers and take us into private and public spaces around the city. In this regard, the film is both about maids and the working poor (the gardeners, car cleaners, and doormen with whom they interact) and about the intricacies of the urban jungle that is São Paulo.

The audience also attains a window onto the private world of the female characters as they discuss beauty, their bodies, men, and money. Because the film is constructed within the framework of comedy, however,

much of the class, racial, and gender violence is downplayed. Likewise, the film does not broach the issue of political consciousness. As in the case of *Me You Them*, this film is not necessarily representative of the social dynamics of the city, nor do the maids represent a cross-section of the actual population of maids, the majority of whom are Afro-Brazilian. At one point Quitéria wonders why she has been born "black and ignorant," but her character is developed in such a way that it is clear she is speaking only for herself.

Maids is a compelling, even entertaining, film that successfully recreates the energy of São Paulo, a locale quite distinct from that of the *sertão* in *Me You Them*. In some respects, each film plays with specific perceptions of the local space it explores. The maids cannot seem to capitalize on the opportunities of city life, while Darlene constructs an uncommon (and perhaps controversial) relationship in the backlands. Neither film dwells on the misery or tragedy of the situation, however, although they both provide viewers with much material for discussion.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

In "Mother Ada Wright and the International Campaign to Free the Scottsboro Boys, 1931-1934" [*AHR* 106 (April 2001): 387-435], James A. Miller *et al.* note that neither of the two standard histories of the case "pursues the international defense campaign" (p. 388, n. 1). Not quite. Dan Carter confidently believed he knew enough about that campaign to write, "Nowhere was the subservience of the [Scottsboro] boys' interest to Party goals more evident than in the European tour of Mrs. Wright" (Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South*, 1969, 171-72). Clearly, the material amassed by Miller *et al.* demonstrates that Carter's words were little more than ignorance seasoned with Cold War prejudice.

On March 20, 1976, at the New School for Social Research, I presented a paper at a conference sponsored by the Union of Radical Political Economists on Mrs. Wright's tour. I began by challenging Carter's interpretation of her campaign, but nevertheless arrived at a conclusion quite different from that offered in the recent *AHR* article. While Miller *et al.* present a popular effort with Ada Wright winning friends beyond the party, and occasionally this was surely true, I discovered the other side of the coin. Indeed, I found so little genuine support that I titled my paper, "Crusade from Above." My conclusions were, first, Communists attempted to create concern in Europe for the fate of the convicted Scottsboro youths, often at great expense of energy and space in their newspapers, and often with little popular response; second, it is possible

that European Communist parties actually subordinated their own interests, narrowly viewed, to the cause of the Scottsboro boys; and, third, Mrs. Wright's tour increased the intensity of Scottsboro protest as she informed Europeans of American injustice toward blacks.

I cannot detail here the research that led me to those conclusions (see my unpublished article in the Hugh Murray Papers at Tulane University Library), so one example must suffice. On June 23, 1931, the London *Daily Worker* headlined, "Demand for Release of Negro Workers; Tower Hill Demonstration to American Embassy." But a careful reading of the article about the Sunday rally shows, "*The mass demonstration . . . to protest against the Labour Government's employment policy passed a resolution*" regarding Scottsboro (emphasis mine). Furthermore, the London *DW*'s story about the same rally, published on June 22, had read, "3,000 at Tower Hill Demonstrate to Fight 'Abuses' Attack." In a description of the same demonstration, Scottsboro was deemed so inconsequential that it went unmentioned. The London *DW* by the next day was clearly attempting to magnify the British support for the Scottsboro campaign.

In the British International Labour Defence's pamphlet, *Stop Legal Lynching of Nine Negro Boys* (1931), it urged, "In every working-class organisation, trade union branch, co-operative guild, political party, etc., resolutions demanding their release, and donations for their defence should be passed." I do not have space to record each article in the London *DW* announcing this or that organization's Scottsboro resolutions. But these resolutions evidence more the party leadership's resolve than enthusiasm by the populace. Even Miller *et al.* concede the disappointment of Comrade Arnold Ward when, observing the 1932 London May Day rally with 50,000 participants, he counted a mere five blacks (p. 424). Despite the continual promotion of the Scottsboro case by the *DW* and the CP, the general lack of support should be kept in mind when reading a *DW* article of June 1, 1932: "When we have a trade union branch under our influence we do not always work the branch in a way to increase our influence throughout the union . . . Very often the questions we raise are not the questions which are interesting the workers, but the questions which we think *ought* to

interest the workers." As to why the Communist leadership was so determined to create a *cause célèbre* of Scottsboro, one must not overlook Stephen Koch's view that the "idea" of America was the great alternative to the Soviet ideal. By promoting the Sacco-Vanzetti and Scottsboro cases, depicting American oppression of immigrants and minorities, the Stalinist state might appear more acceptable (Koch, *Double Lives*, 1994, esp. 30–44).

Next, the question of methodology. I had no access to the Soviet material discussed in the Miller article. But how heavily should one rely on assessments in Soviet archives to arrive at reality? If comrades were reporting to Moscow on how popular the Scottsboro case was, it may have been true—or it may have been telling the boss what he wants to hear. For example, when viewing the picture of the large gathering of the Internationale Arbeiter Hilfe in the Miller article (p. 417), one can wonder, how committed was each delegate to the cause of Scottsboro? Or was Scottsboro one more issue tacked on by the leadership of the IAH, as at the Tower Hill Demonstration in London?

Finally, there is the question of omissions in the Miller article. They mention Paul Robeson (p. 428) but fail to add that, a few years after Ada Wright's tour, Robeson co-chaired a Scottsboro Defence Committee in Britain alongside Johnstone (Jomo) Kenyatta. I have elsewhere described the changes in American popular culture as reflected in the treatment of the Scottsboro case from the 1930s to 1970 ("Changing America and the Changing Image of Scottsboro," *Phylon*, March 1977).

However, another movement has since influenced Americans view of Scottsboro. In 1975, Susan Brownmiller began her attack in her influential volume, *Against Our Will*, and the feminists soon succeeded in enacting sexual harassment and rape-shield regulations. What recent historians fail to point out, and this is most important, if feminist-sponsored rape-shield laws had been in effect in Alabama in the 1930s, there would have been no way for Attorney Leibowitz to introduce into court the sexual background of the women, no way for him to expose the lies they had concocted, no way to reveal to the world the innocence of the accused boys!

Had today's feminists laws been in force in the

1930s, there might have been a European tour for Ada Wright in 1932, but her sons would have been electrocuted in 1933 and the general public would have applauded their executions. The silence of recent historians on this point amounts to political correctness, cowardice, or both.

HUGH MURRAY
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The authors of the article decline to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

Alfred J. Rieber's "Stalin, Man of the Borderlands" [*AHR* 106 (December 2001)] is insightful and interesting. But on page 1662, it states that Stalin's "first born, Iakov (Jacob), was named for the son of the biblical Joseph." Shouldn't that be "the father of the biblical Joseph?"

RON CANTOR
Jefferson Community College
Watertown, New York

ALFRED J. RIEBER REPLIES:

Ron Cantor is correct, of course. Jacob was Joseph's father and not his son, and I regret the slip that inverted the relationship between them. My error does not, however, invalidate the point I was trying to make. Namely, Stalin selected a name for his son that expressed a filial relationship within the Old Testament tradition that reflected, it must be assumed, his wife's religious outlook and his own training in the Tblisi Seminary.

ALFRED J. RIEBER
Central European University

ERRATUM

In the review of *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945–1970* [*AHR* 106 (December 2001): 1748–49], the name of the book's author was spelled wrong. It should be Yoshikuni Igarashi. The editors regret the error.

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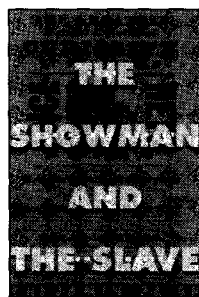
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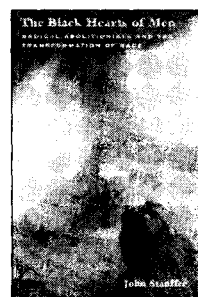
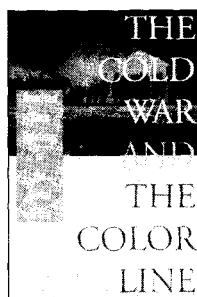
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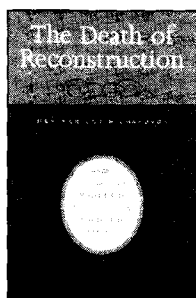
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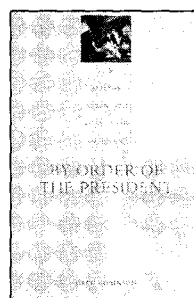
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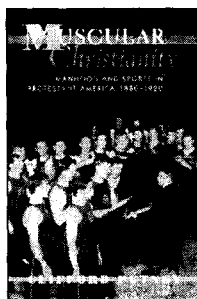
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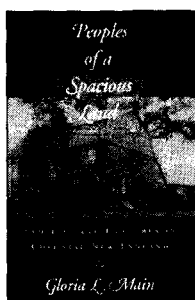


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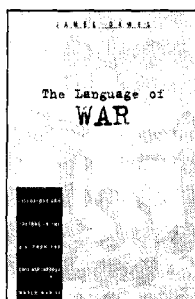
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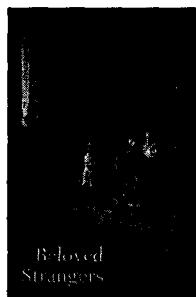
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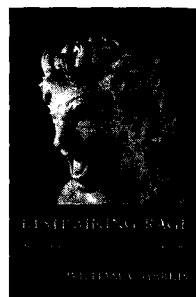


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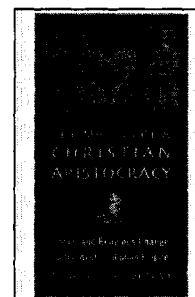


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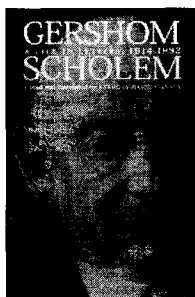
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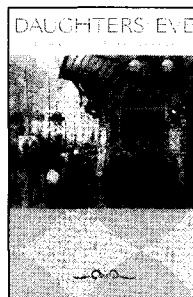
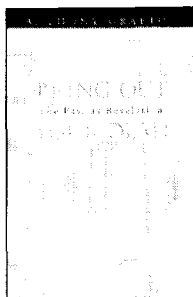
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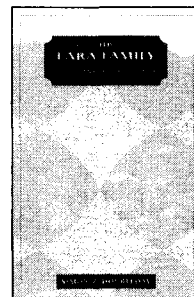
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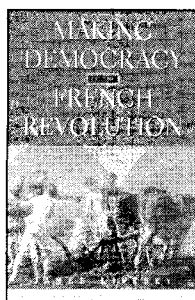
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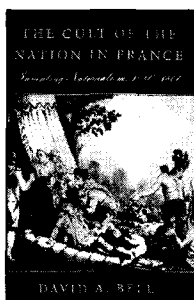
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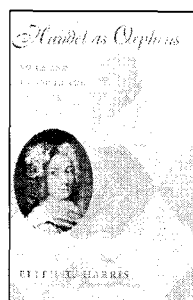
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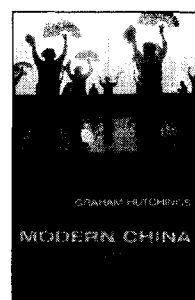
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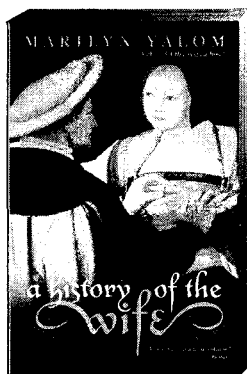
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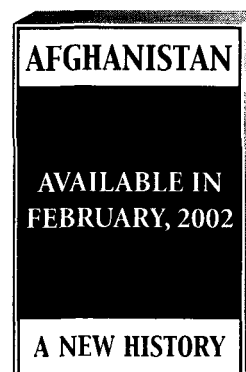
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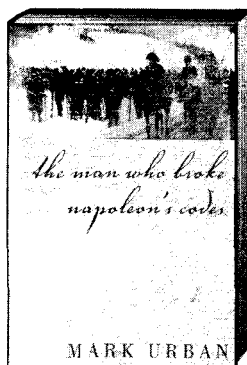
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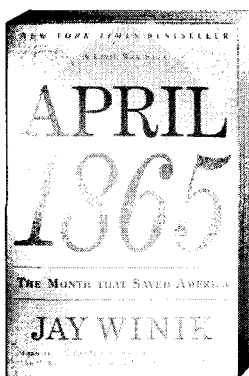
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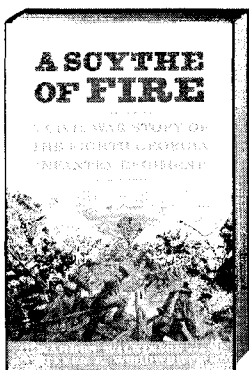
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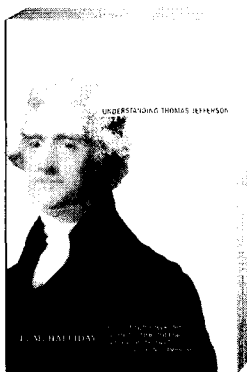
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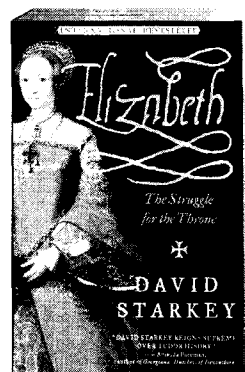
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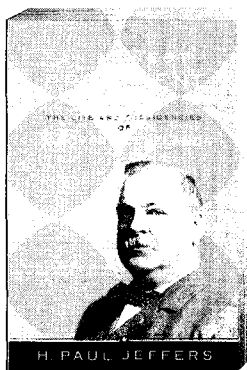
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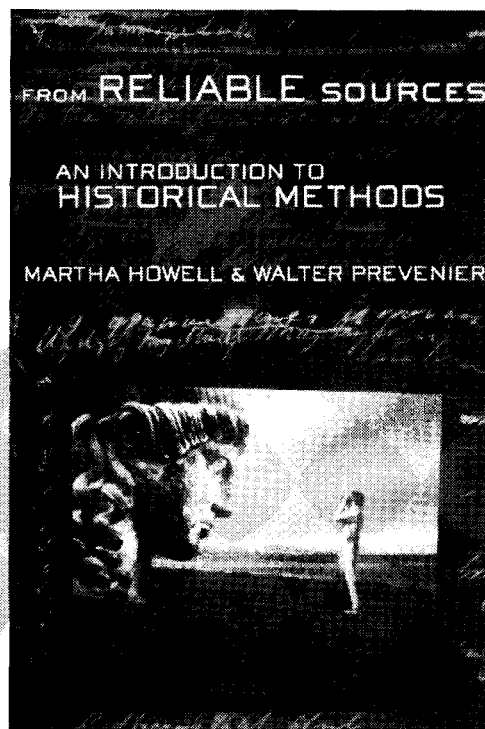
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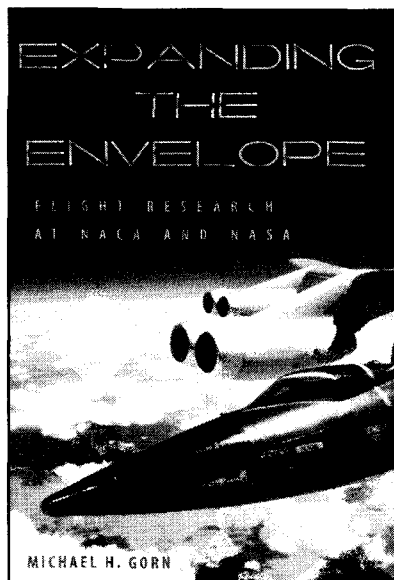
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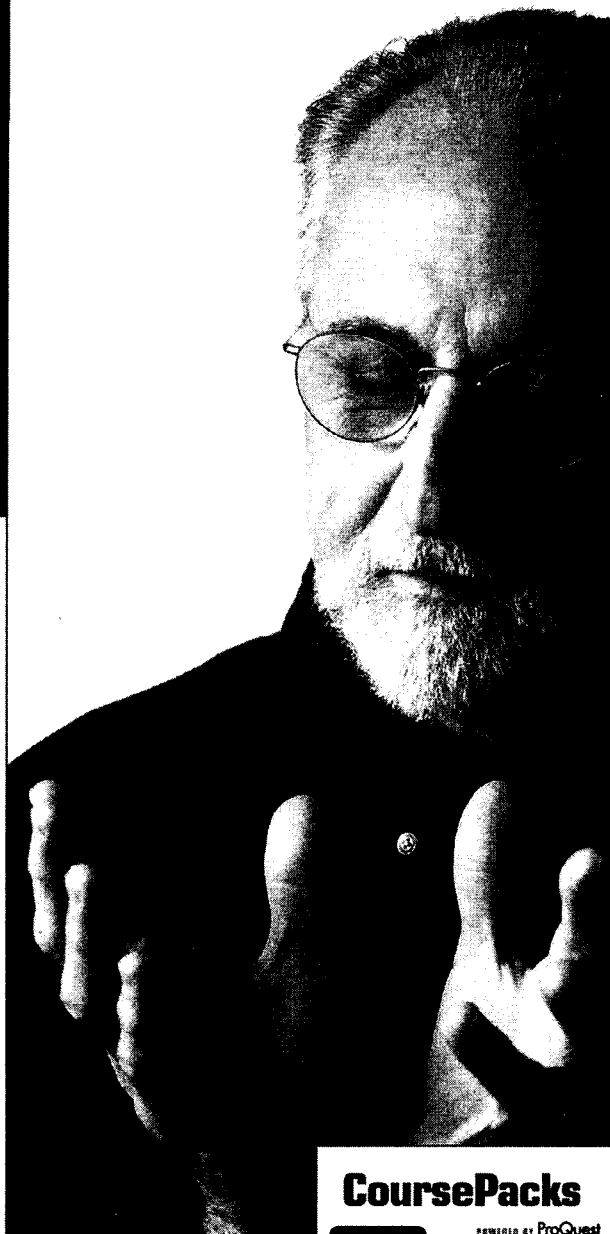
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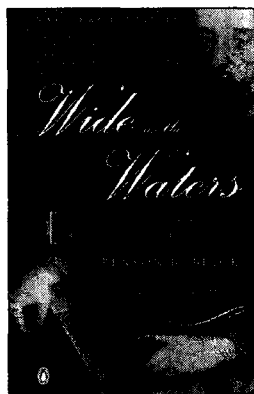
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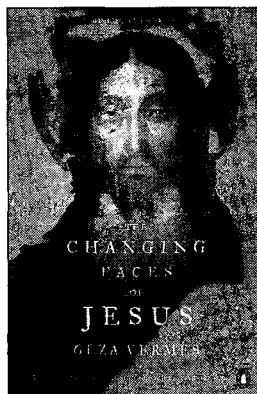
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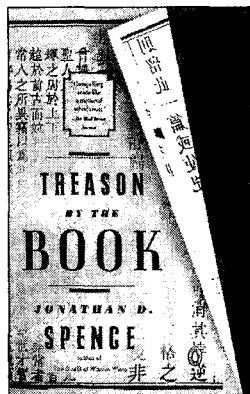
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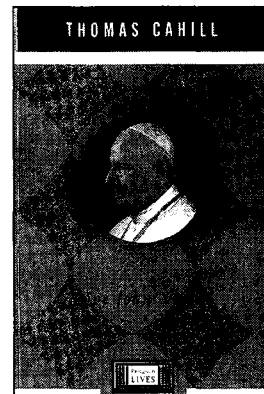
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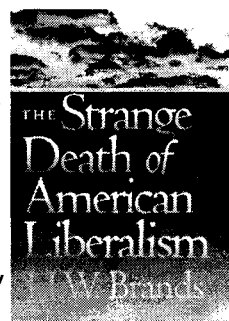


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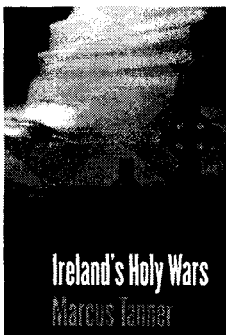
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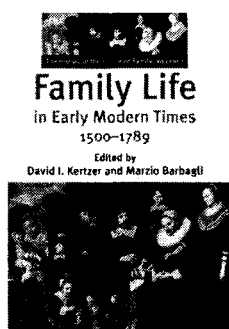
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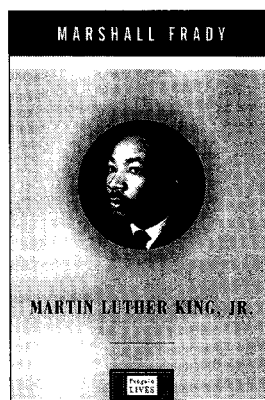
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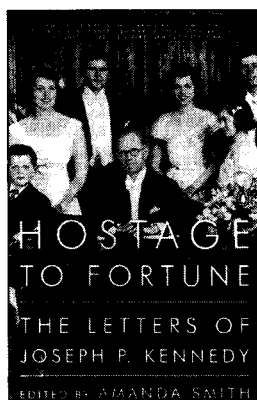
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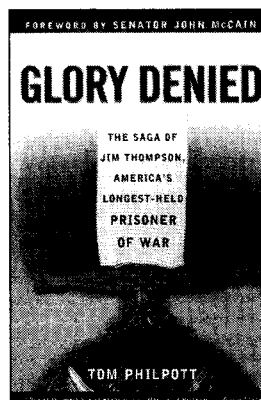
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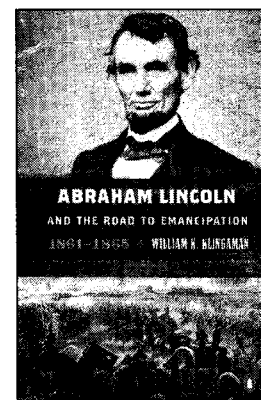
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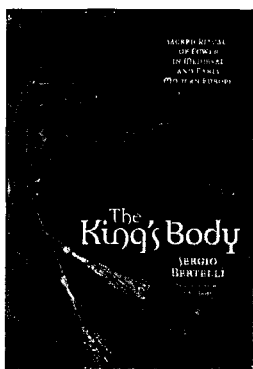
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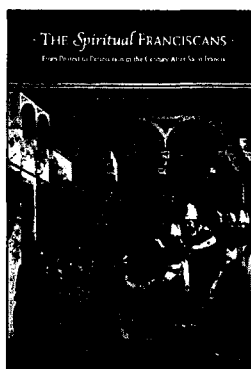
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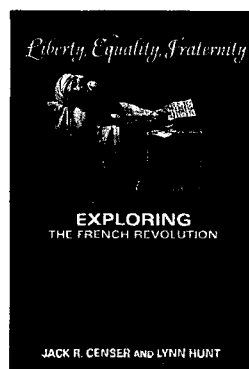
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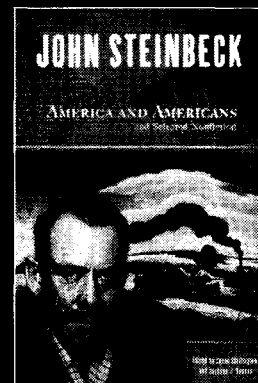
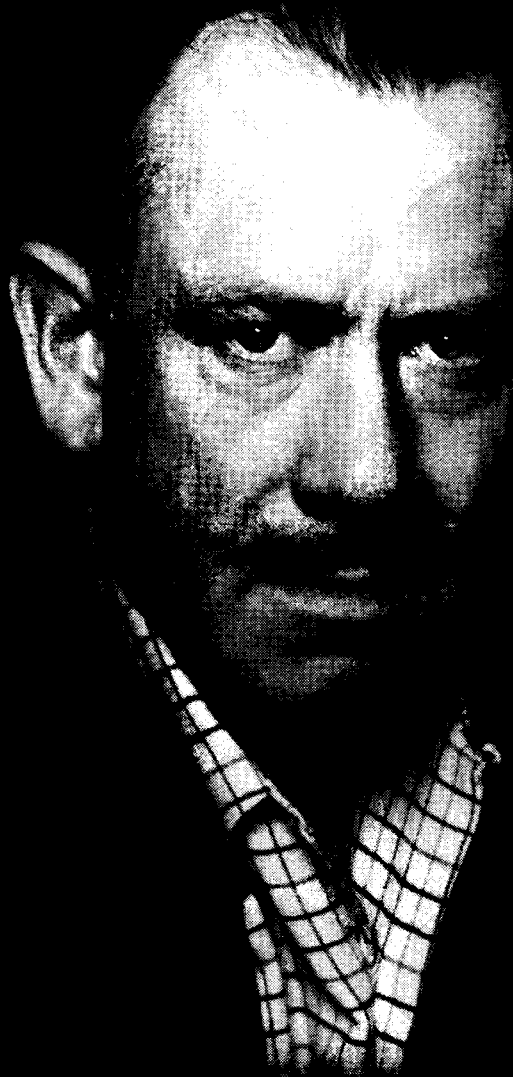
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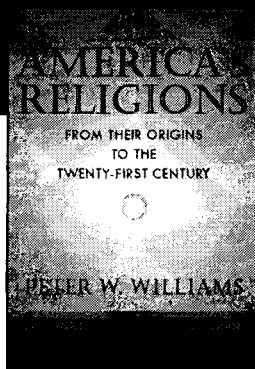
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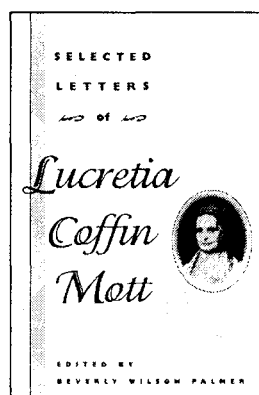
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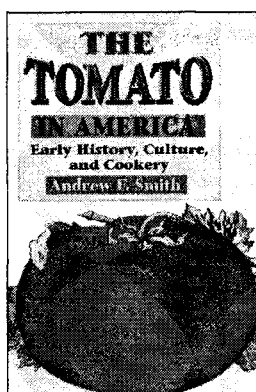
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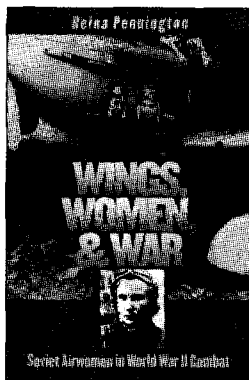
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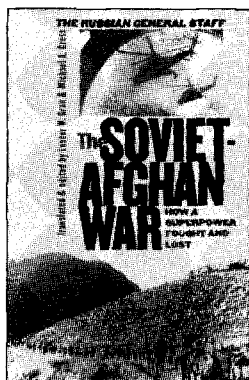
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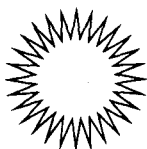
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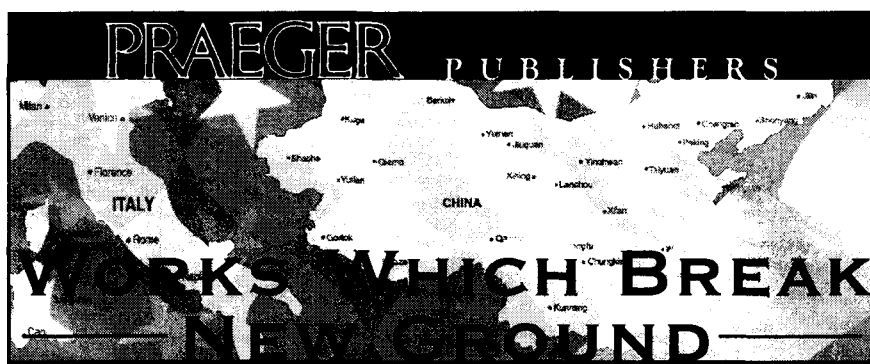


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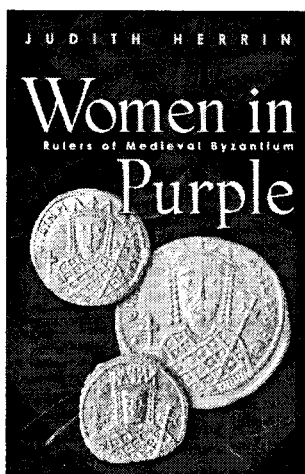
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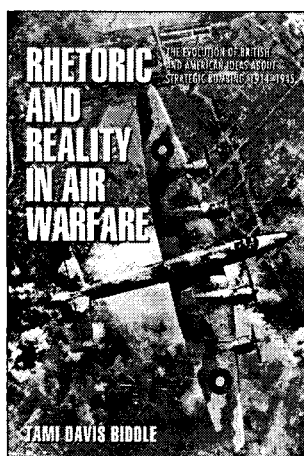
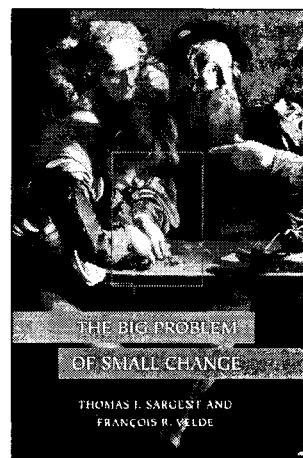
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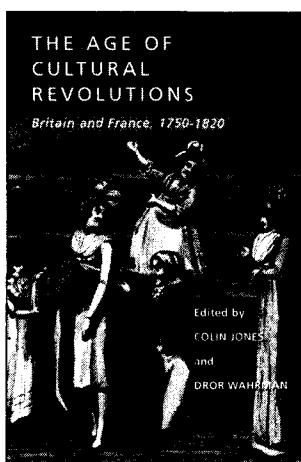
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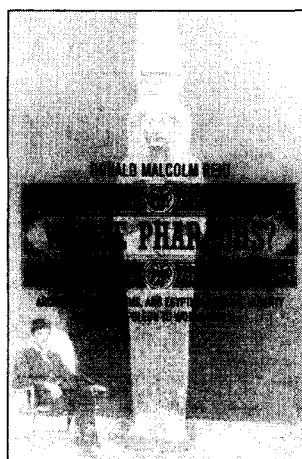
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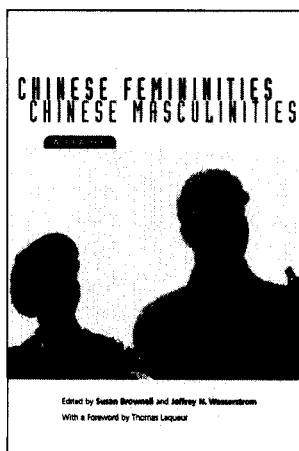
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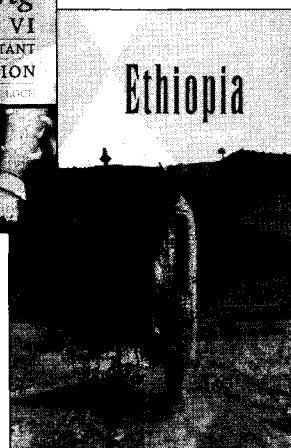
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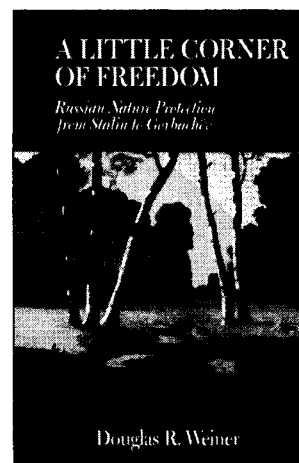
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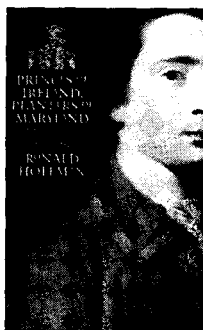
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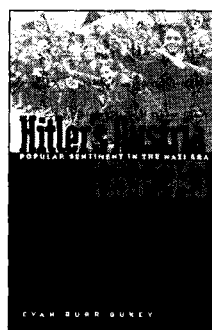
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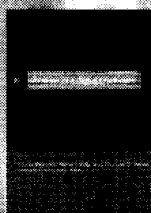
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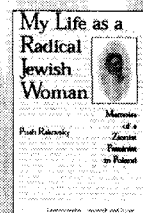
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For guidelines and submission information, please write to:

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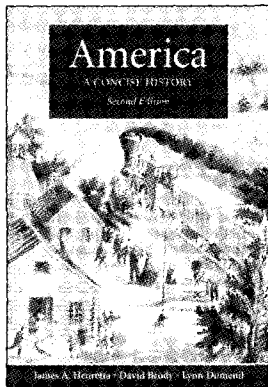
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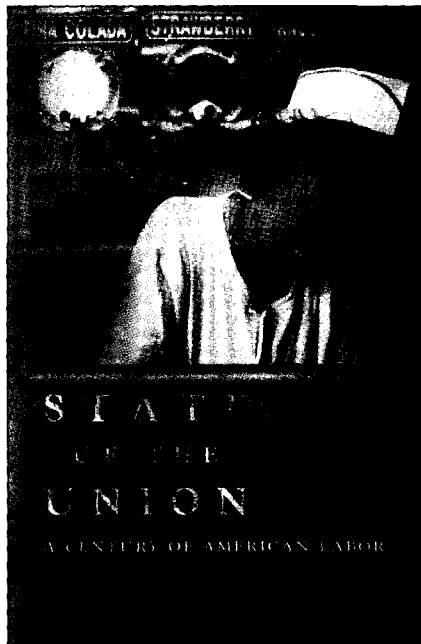
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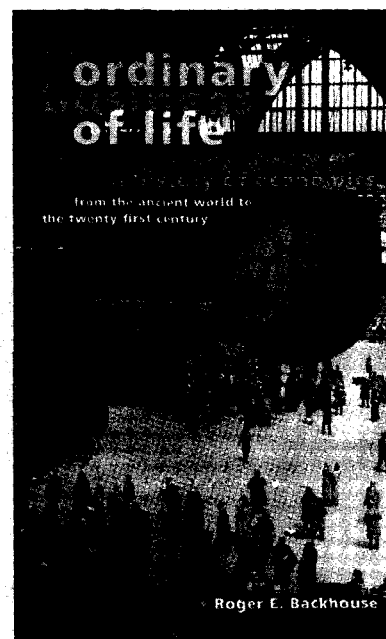
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